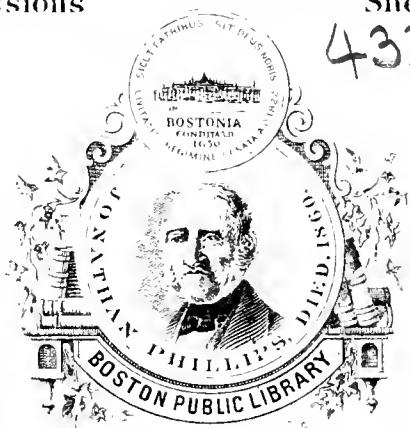


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THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. II—No. 27.] LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 30, 1862. [PRICE 6D.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Two events, which in themselves seem of minor importance, have greatly disturbed Northerners. The first is the expedition of General Stuart into Pennsylvania *via* Maryland. The people can neither forgive nor forget it. It has proved to them, and, if to them, to the Southerners, the vulnerability of Northern territory. General McClellan had a large army under his command, and yet he could not prevent a body of Confederate cavalry from entering Pennsylvania, capturing horses and clothing, having a merry time with the inhabitants of Chambersburg, who cared not for the destruction and loss of Government property whilst their own was respected; and then returning to Virginia loaded, hampered with spoils, without molestation of any kind. McClellan, according to the War Department at Washington, promised that the "rebels" should not escape death or capture, but they reached headquarters without a scratch. It was a dashing exploit and a substantial, bloodless victory. It is an affair, moreover, which, we repeat, has a moral effect. If McClellan's large army cannot protect Northern territory, what will become of Northern frontier towns where there is no army to protect them? The Federal press decries the Government and the commanders; but their indignation would not be so great if it were not for the uncomfortable reflection that what General Stuart has done can be done again. If the Confederates chose they could retaliate for the barbarity of the tyrant of New Orleans, or the atrocity of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. There is a tolerable confidence that the South will not retaliate, but it is not pleasant to have to trust to the unmerited mercy of a generous enemy. The great defeats sustained by the North have not produced so much real panic as General Stuart's last expedition.

The second event that has disturbed and altogether unsettled the Federal public is the operations of "290." This vessel, which is worthy of being the successor of the Sumter, has played such havoc with the Federal marine, that the rate of insurance has increased 5 per cent. It is thus apparent that the commerce as well as the territory of the North is vulnerable. If privateering should be facilitated by the Confederate Congress, the North will find its trade completely crippled. It is aggravating, as well as alarming, to find that the South can retaliate both

by sea and land, and we can understand the anger of the New York Chamber of Commerce, but we cannot so well understand that it should threaten this country. According to the telegraphic summary,—

The New York Chamber of Commerce has passed resolutions stating that the destruction of the ship *Brilliant* by the Confederate steamer *Alabama* is a crime against humanity. The Chamber of Commerce has not failed to notice the change in British sentiments, transforming a friendly nation into a Power the nature of whose neutrality is shown by its permitting ships to go forth, and armaments to follow them, for the work of plundering and destroying American vessels, thus encouraging upon the high seas an offence against neutral rights, upon the plea of which, in the case of the *Trent*, England threatened to plunge the American Government into war. The Chamber has heard with amazement that other vessels are fitting out in British ports to continue the work of destruction begun by the *Alabama*. It is the duty of the Chamber of Commerce to warn British merchants that a repetition of such acts as burning the *Brilliant* by vessels fitted out in England, and manned by British seamen, cannot fail to produce wide-spread exasperation in America. The Chamber therefore invokes the influence of all men who value peace and goodwill among all nations to prevent the departure of other vessels of the same character from their ports, and thus avoid the calamity of war.

The resolutions close by declaring that it is the desire and interest of Americans to cherish and maintain sentiments of amity with England.

Copies of the resolutions are to be forwarded to the Board of Trade in London.

The New York Chamber of Commerce must, we presume, be aware that the North has supplied herself from England with the warlike stores which has enabled her to perpetrate "crimes against humanity" in the South. Our neutrality has been to allow either party to trade with our markets, and certainly the North has used the privilege to provide warlike stores to an immense amount. The neutrality was greatly in favour of the Federals, because the South, being blockaded, she was almost excluded from the European markets, and when the stores were procured, there was the expense, difficulty, and danger of running the blockade. If the New York Chamber of Commerce supposes we shall help the North to subjugate the South, it is labouring under a strange error; and with regard to threats we are confident that the English public will not tolerate anything more than verbal insults. We cannot help the pluck, devotion, and resources of the South. It is not England's fault that Northern States and Northern commerce can be invaded and crippled by Southern troops and Southern ships. However, we may well rejoice that the North is now learning that she cannot try to subjugate and exterminate the Southern people with impunity. It is, of course, extremely annoying that whilst General Stuart is supplying his troops with stores and clothing from the Federal stores at Chambersburg, the Federal army under McClellan should "be unable to advance on account of short supplies of clothing and stores for the troops," but the annoyance hardly justifies the startling resolutions of the New York Chamber of Commerce. If the "290" offends, why not take her? That may be difficult, but it is the only remedy for the Federal Government.

General Stuart's expedition is not the only brilliant Southern exploit we have to record. A few days since we were told that General Morgan had been routed by the Federal General Dupont. We now hear from Northern sources a little more about the affair. Whatever the "route" might have been, it appears that on the 18th of this month General Morgan "started with 1500 men, 'dashed' into Lexington, Kentucky, capturing the town and 100 prisoners." Nothing is said about the stores captured, but the occupation of Lexington is a sufficient reply to the former account of General Morgan's discomfiture. The Confederates afterwards evacuated the town, but we may be sure that the report of "a sharp engagement in which General Morgan's

forces were routed and scattered," is about as truthful as the former report of his overthrow, and which we last week ventured to discredit. We are more confident of this, because the same telegram that announces he is closely pursued, informs us that he has captured eighty waggons.

Nashville is completely surrounded by the Confederates, and a demand has been made for its surrender.

The Northern papers have been urging General McClellan to advance. He has done so, but afterwards retired to Harper's Ferry. This has somewhat damaged the Republican party. The Northern public begins to understand the nature of the Maryland battles, and sees how *the* cause there was for the triumphant tone of the Federal commander. The following despatch and order of General Lee has been published:—

Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia, Camp on Washington River, Oct. 2.

General.—The enemy's cavalry, under General Pleasanton, with six pieces of artillery, drove back our pickets yesterday in front of Shepherdstown. The 9th Virginia Cavalry, which was on picket, repulsed the enemy several times by vigorous charges, disputing the ground step by step back to the main body. By the time his artillery reached him, Colonel N. F. H. Lee, who was in command of the brigade, was obliged to place it on the west bank of the Opequon, on the flank of the enemy, as he approached Martinsburg.

General Hampton's brigade had retired through Martinsburg, on the Tuscarora-road, when General Stuart arrived and made dispositions to attack. Lee's brigade was advanced immediately, and Hampton's ordered forward. The enemy retired at the approach of Lee along the Shepherdstown-road and was driven across the Potomac by the cavalry, with severe loss; and darkness alone prevented it from being a signal victory. His rear was overtaken and put to flight, our cavalry charging in gallant style under a severe fire of artillery driving squadron after squadron, killing a number, wounding more, and capturing several. He was driven through Shepherdstown, and crossed the river after dark, in no case standing a hand to hand conflict, but relying upon his artillery carabineers at long range for protection.

I regret to add that we lost one lieutenant and several privates.—I am most respectfully, &c.,

R. E. LEE, General Commanding

Official—CHARLES MARSHALL, Major and A.D.C.
General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General,
C.H.A., Richmond, Va.

GENERAL ORDERS—No. 116.

Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia, Oct. 2.

In reviewing the achievements of the army during the present campaign, the commanding general cannot withhold the expression of his admiration of the indomitable courage has displayed in battle and its cheerful endurance of privation and hardship on the march.

Since your great victories around Richmond you have defeated the enemy at Cedar Mountain, expelled him from Rappahannock, and after a conflict of three days, after repulsed him on the plains of Manassas, and forced him to take shelter within the fortifications around his capital.

Without halting for repose you crossed the Potomac, stormed the heights of Harper's Ferry, made prisoners of more than 11,000 men, and captured upwards of seventy pieces of artillery, all their small arms and other munitions of war.

While one corps of the army was thus engaged the other insured its success by arresting at Boonsborough the combined armies of the enemy, advancing under their favourite general to the relief of their beleaguered comrades.

On the field of Sharpsburg, with less than one-third his numbers, you resisted from daylight until dark the whole army of the enemy, and repulsed every attack along his entire front of more than four miles in extent.

The whole of the following day you stood prepared to resume the conflict on the same ground, and retired next morning, without molestation, across the Potomac.

Two attempts subsequently made by the enemy to follow you across the river have resulted in his complete discomfiture and being driven back with loss.

Achievements such as these demanded much valour and patriotism. History records few examples of greater fortitude and endurance than this army has exhibited; and I am commissioned by the President to thank you in the name of the Confederate States for the undying fame you have won for their arms.

Much as you have done, much more remains to be accomplished. The enemy again threatens us with invasion, and to your tried valour and patriotism the country looks with confidence for deliverance and safety; your past exploits give assurance that this confidence is not misplaced.

R. E. LEE, General Commanding.

ding to the Northern reports, the Confederates in Virginia were strongly entrenched; it is evident that the Federal commanders are ignorant of the position of the enemy.

Northern accounts of the battle of Perryville a victory, and the capture of 9000 Federal prisoners.

military news is as usual confused. Amongst rumours it is again asserted that the Federal army under General McClellan is going into winter quarters. This would, no doubt, be a desirable step; with the present strength of the South, and especially after the activity displayed by General Grant, it will be dangerous and even impossible. The North may not be able to conquer, but she must fight.

Political affairs just now demand the public attention. In an article called "The Struggle for Peace in the North," our readers will find an account of the nature of the contest now going on between the Democrats and Republicans. We cannot indicate probable the results, though it is significant that till now the Northern Government has shown a marked indisposition to let the returns of the elections, as far as they have proceeded, transpire.

At a Democratic meeting held at New York, the following letter from General Scott was read, and produced a great sensation:—

Washington, March 3, 1861.

Dear Sir,—Hoping that in a day or two the new President will have happily passed through all personal dangers, and find himself installed as honoured successor of the great Washington, with you as the chief of his Cabinet, I beg leave to repeat in writing what I have before said to you orally—this supplement to my printed views dated in October last on the highly disordered condition of our so late happy and glorious Union. To meet the extraordinary exigencies of the times, it seems to me that I am guilty of no arrogance in limiting the President's field of selection to one of the four plans of procedure subjoined. 1. Throw off the old and assume a new designation—the Union party. Adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden or the Peace Convention, and, my life upon it, we shall have no new case; but, on the contrary, an early return of many, if not of all, the States which have already broken off from the Union. 2. Adopt some equally benign measure, the remaining slaveholding States will, probably, join the Montgomery Confederacy in less than sixty days, when this city, being included in a foreign country, it would require a permanent garrison of at least 35,000 troops to protect the Government within it. 3. Collect the duties on foreign goods outside the ports of which the Government has lost the command, or close such ports by act of Congress and blockade them. 4. Conquer the seceded States by invading armies. No doubt this might be done in two or three years by a young and able general—a Wolfe, a de Saix, or a Hoche, with 300,000 disciplined men, estimating third for garrisons, and the loss of yet a greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles, and Southern fevers. The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful, however perfect the moral discipline of the invaders. The conquest completed at that enormous waste of human life to the North and North-West, with at least 250,000,000 dead there, and *cui bono* fifteen devastated provinces to be brought into harmony with their conquerors, to be held for generations by heavy garrisons at expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a Protector or an Emperor. 5. Say to the seceded States, "Wayward sisters, art in peace."

In haste, I remain very truly yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT

Hon. W. H. Seward, &c.

rice 300,000 men have failed to conquer the South, and "the frightful destruction of life and property" that has ensued since the commencement of the war has done nothing towards the conquest of the South, and if the General had to advise the President, he would probably urge his fourth suggestion—"Say to the seceded States, 'Wayward sisters, art in peace.'"

The Hon. J. A. R. Nelson, formerly a member of the House of Representatives, and who has hitherto been a strong Union man, has denounced Mr. Lincoln's proclamation as unequalled in atrocity and barbarism. He urges the people of East Tennessee, if they would save themselves from a species of carnage unequalled in the history of North America, but uninvited by the President's proclamation, at once, without waiting for the conscription, to take up their arms and volunteer in the struggle against Lincoln's Government. "No despot in Europe," he says, "would dare to exercise the powers which Mr. Lincoln in two years has usurped. He now claims the prerogative of abolishing slavery without the consent of East Tennessee. If he thus treats negroes, why may he not take lands, and reduce the people to a state of vassalage, of which no parallel can be found except in the history of the Middle Ages?"

General Butler "has officially announced that no plea of neutrality will be received from native inhabitants of New Orleans; that all refusing to take the oath of allegiance are enemies of the United States, and must send their names and a list of their property to the Provost-Marshal." Thus New Orleans is treated as a conquered city, and the people are compelled to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, under pain of spoliation and impeachment. An oath so extorted from helpless women cannot be held binding by the sternest

moralist. It is merely an act of cruel and savage despotism on the part of the Federal commander.

The draft in some States is again postponed. No wonder the Washington Government is afraid to enforce it. "The residents of Luzerne County, in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, endeavoured to resist the draft. The military were called out, and fired upon the insurgents, killing four or five. Further opposition ceased." Thus the North has to recruit the ranks of its army by fire and sword.

A Federal foraging expedition up the Mississippi, on transports, does not seem to have met with much success. It is said some cattle were captured, but it is also admitted that "eighteen men were killed on board the transports by the Confederate batteries erected on the levees."

The following telegraphic summary of financial matters, under date New York, Oct. 18, needs no comment:—

The rapid rise in the premium on gold has created uneasiness in commercial and financial as well as in political circles. There has been a fall of 5 per cent. since Wednesday, when the price stood at 37½ per cent., but the general impression is that the fall will not be maintained, and that the higher rate will be speedily reached and surpassed. A deputation of merchants and bankers is preparing to visit Washington, for consultation on the subject with Mr. Secretary Chase.

At the latest date gold was quoted at 32 per cent. premium. The British steamship *Gladiator* has arrived at Liverpool, with advices from Bermuda to the 7th inst. The captain of the *Gladiator*, having heard previously to his departure from Bermuda that Commodore Wilkes, of steamship *Trent* notoriety, intended to capture the *Gladiator*, obtained the protection of Her Majesty's ship *Desperate*, which vessel accompanied him a certain distance from the port. The vessels had scarcely parted company when the *Gladiator* was boarded by a boat's crew from a Federal man-of-war, and the captain was ordered to go on board and report himself. The *Desperate* being within gunshot, he declined to obey the order, and was then allowed to proceed. The *Desperate*, on seeing the *Gladiator* boarded, immediately ran out two guns ready for action. We have elsewhere reprinted from the *Bermuda Gazette*, an account of the doings of Captain Wilkes.

The proclamation of Mr. Lincoln has not secured him many friends even in the North. Savage as it is in its character, it does not go far enough for the Abolitionists, who are indignant that Mr. Lincoln did not proclaim immediate and unconditional emancipation.

ENGLAND.

The distress in the manufacturing districts increases at an appalling rate. The Poor Law Board this week reports an addition of over 13,000 to the number of paupers, of whom more than 3500 are in Manchester and its suburbs, and above 2000 in Ashton-under-Lyne. The condition of the last-named town is horrible. Out of a population of 35,000 there are 25,000 paupers. Disease is making rapid progress among the starving population. A leading physician reports:—

As a medical officer of the Ashton Union, I have daily experience of the prevailing misery and want. Increase of sickness is the natural result. Fever, measles, scarlatina, rheumatism, pulmonary and other diseases are rapidly increasing, and I fear there will be great mortality during the winter, for the poor people have neither money nor credit, and are destitute of the common necessities of life, many of them subsisting on Indian meal and other cheap articles. Some families have no bedding or blankets, and huddle round the fire at night, or cover themselves with their day clothing, which is very scanty, and fast diminishing. My district includes the north side of the borough and adjoining villages. You will understand the ratio of increase when I report 300 cases for the last four weeks, as compared with only 54 cases for the corresponding weeks of October, 1861. . . . 1s. 6d. a-head is not sufficient to recruit the strength of sick people, who are wasting for want of proper food, and a form of typhus fever is setting in which will spread through the country and affect the rich as well as the poor.

The loss to the people of Ashton in wages alone is estimated at £6000 per week. Probably the masters are losing as much or more. The costliest war that was ever waged would not have cost any town of 35,000 inhabitants half as much as the present peace with America costs Ashton-under-Lyne.

A public meeting held at Blackburn received the report of the Local Relief Committee. Out of a population of 63,000, it seems that above one-half are dependent on charity, private or parochial, while two-thirds of the remainder are in receipt of only half their usual income. Blackburn is losing in wages alone £13,000 per week, or at the rate of over £650,000 annually; and this pecuniary loss is a trifle in comparison with the sufferings of the people.

Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, whose knowledge of the factory districts, and experience in official business, renders him a valuable authority, estimates that, by Christmas, there will be 780,000 people dependent on alms. This will imply a loss in wages of above £5,000,000 a year; sustained entirely by honest hardworking people, who have had nothing to do with the American war, and certainly had originally

no sympathy with the South. Northern orator, boast of the injury the war has done to England, and their audiences cheer the boast. Would the cheers be equally hearty if the boaster were to make his statement in somewhat more explicit terms—"We have taken the bread out of the mouths of a quarter of a million of English families of the working class; we have robbed the poor people of Lancashire of five millions a year, earned by the sweat of their brows; we have consigned their wives and children to starvation; we have inflicted upon them the misery of idleness, disease, cold, and hunger; and of this great achievement we are justly proud?" And yet, if English statesmen are content to permit this state of things, we cannot wonder that American demagogues should exult over it.

The Mansion House Committee last week distributed £10,000.

At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee at Manchester, Mr. H. B. Farnall read his weekly report. (The difference between his figures and those of the Poor Law Board is owing to the disappearance of several unions, not properly connected with the cotton trade, from the tables of the latter. In these unions there has been a great diminution of pauperism, which is deducted by Mr. Farnall from the increase in the manufacturing districts):—

My tabular report for this week, on twenty-four unions in the cotton manufacturing districts, shows you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved last week, of 9376 persons.

There are now 186,219 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 43,157 were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 143,062 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 331.5 per cent.

Of the above 186,219 persons, 26,248 are able-bodied men.

The total weekly cost of outdoor relief is now £11,626 10s. 9d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2185 17s.; there is, therefore, an increase of £9440 13s. 9d., or 431.9 per cent.

The average percentage of pauperism on the population of those unions is now 9.7 per cent.; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.2 per cent.

The average amount of outdoor relief per head per week in these unions is now 1s. 4d., and the lowest is 1s. 0½d., the highest 1s. 8½d.

On the 21st, I reported to you that, during the six preceding weeks the increase of persons in the receipt of parochial relief in the above unions was 35,668 persons. This seventh report gives an additional increase of 9736 persons so that in seven consecutive weeks 45,404 persons have become paupers in these unions.

I am enabled to state that forty-seven local committees, formed in the cotton manufacturing districts for the distribution of charitable aid, were, at the date of their reports to me, relieving 174,317 persons, but since the reports were dated distress has increased, and a few other local committees have been formed, so that I have reason to believe these local committees are now aiding about 191,300 persons, and that rather more than one-third of those 191,300 persons are at the same time relieved by the guardians of the poor.

The Maine Law sect, of all the political and religious sects in England the most disreputable and despised, has been endeavouring to improve the occasion, and make capital out of the distress of the Lancashire operatives. The President of their "Alliance," Sir W. C. Trevelyan, forwards on their account a donation of £225; hopes that the "benefits" which many families must have felt from their enforced abstinence from spirituous liquors will induce them hereafter to abstain voluntarily; and forwards a resolution which, for wanton insolence and deliberate falsehood, could scarcely be equalled on this side of the Atlantic. The advocates of legislative interference with the people's diet "rejoice to know that by the adoption of total abstinence thousands have been enabled to provide for their families without appealing to public charity." This is utterly untrue. The awful calamity which has overtaken Lancashire has ruined all, except those employed in the mills that have not stopped; the most thrifty have, after a more or less protracted struggle, shared the fate of the most improvident. And the brutality of the insult is completed by recommending to the sufferers "voluntary abstinence, and those habits of economy and self-control which would greatly tend to mitigate the present distress." Nothing but the long habit of association with New England stump-orators could have taught a man belonging by birth, rank, and education to the English gentry, to indulge in such outrageous insolence towards a class of his countrymen now overwhelmed by unmerited suffering. But it seems as if there were something in Teetotalism which inevitably degraded the character and manners of its votaries. How seldom does one meet with a member of the Alliance who can speak soberly, courteously, and truthfully on the subject of "intoxicating beverages." Did any of our readers ever meet an advocate of Temperance who was not among the most intemperate of men?

The following very important letter has been forwarded by Lord Russell to the Cotton Supply Association:—

British Consulate, Charleston, August 13.

My Lord,—The near approach of the close of the "cotton year," which is compiled from September 1, seems to render appropriate a few remarks upon the condition and amount of the crop which has been planted during the last spring and

al information on the
gin by expressing my regret that the disturbed
country, and the irregularity of communication, render it
difficult than usual to procure trustworthy details, but I
have taken some pains to collect the information, and venture
to think that it may be depended upon.

There can be little doubt that the crop of 1862 would, under ordinary circumstances, have reached 4,500,000 bales; but, in consequence of the civil war, not more than 1,500,000 have been planted. It is thought by some that the present crop will not exceed 1,000,000 bales, but I have reason to believe that the supply from Texas has been underestimated. That State has been as yet very little disturbed by military operations, so that agriculture has been less interfered with than elsewhere. On the banks of the Mississippi very little cotton has been planted, as the danger is too great. It is only in the interior of the various States, at a distance from the great rivers, that the crop of this year is to be found.

The crop of 1860 was disposed of, and, in a considerable measure, exported before the blockade of the Southern ports was established, but it is calculated that 750,000 bales still remain on hand.

The crop of 1861 amounted to about 2,750,000 bales. Of these about 1,000,000 bales have been destroyed at various places to prevent their falling into the hands of the Federals; the rest is stored in the interior of the different States. Much of it has been bought by foreigners, who hope to preserve it as neutral property through all the dangers of the war.

About 50,000 bales have run the blockade successfully, chiefly to Nassau. One cargo has gone to Barcelona, and one to France; I do not take into account the product of the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia. They are in the possession of the Federals, and I have no means of ascertaining whether any cotton at all has been grown there during the present season.

The amount, therefore, of cotton remaining in the Southern States at this date, which might be available to foreign commerce as soon as the blockade is removed, may be said to stand thus:—

	Bales.
Remainder of crop of 1860 . . .	750,000
Undestroyed crop of 1861 . . .	1,750,000
Crop of 1862 (not yet picked) . . .	1,500,000
	<hr/>
	4,000,000
Shipped through the blockade . . .	50,000
	<hr/>
Remaining in the South . . .	3,950,000

It must, of course, be remembered that a portion, or the whole, of this accumulation may be destroyed at any moment by the Southern people.

I have, &c.,

R. BUNCH.

Mr. Gladstone will not soon hear the last of his Newcastle speech. A letter was addressed to him by a gentleman carrying on business in Manchester, complaining that the language used by the right hon. gentleman in his speech at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with reference to the American war, had misled, not only himself, but the "whole commercial community of Manchester." He has received the following reply:—

11, Downing-street, Whitehall, October 18.

Sir,—I am directed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge your letter of the 15th, and to state that he agrees with you as to the grave responsibility attaching to all public declarations made by any of the advisers of the Crown.

He holds himself fully responsible for having declared his opinion at Leith, nine months ago, to the effect that, if the Southern States of America were in earnest, the struggle on the part of the Northern States was hopeless; and again at Newcastle last week, to the effect that the Confederation which has been formed under Mr. Jefferson Davis has shown itself to be sufficiently supplied with the elements which make a nation, and with the will and power to defend its independent existence.

He cannot, however, be responsible for the inferences which, from your letter, you appear to have drawn from his statement; the more so as they might, he thinks, have been checked by attention to other portions of his declarations concerning America on the same occasion, in which he referred to steps that might, under conceivable circumstances, be taken by the Powers of Europe. And, generally, he desires me to remark that to form opinions upon questions of policy, to announce them to the world, and to take or to be a party to taking any of the steps necessary for giving them effect, are matters which, though connected together, are in themselves distinct, and which may be separated by intervals of time longer or shorter, according to the particular circumstances of the case.

As you inform the Chancellor of the Exchequer that your impressions are shared by others, I am to add that you are at liberty to make whatever use you think proper of this letter.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES L. RYAN.

Those passionate propagandists of conflicting dogmas,

Who fight like devils for conciliation,
And hate each other for the love of God,

have been doing their best to square accounts, and to strike an exact balance between Catholic violence and Protestant folly. Irish ruffians having done their utmost to bring their church to disgrace by a series of unpardonable outrages on the Queen's peace, it behoved the Evangelical Alliance to make themselves supremely ridiculous by a corresponding series of offences against the common sense of the Queen's English, committed for the honour of Protestantism. Respectable Churchmen abhor Sir Culling Eardley almost as heartily as honest and loyal Catholics detest the Irish mobs; and if Lord Shaftesbury and Sir George Bowyer could be deported together to some desert beyond the hearing of humanity, the sober and pious votaries of either faith would feel greatly relieved by their absence. Of the two nuisances the Irish is certainly the more irritating; but we are inclined to think the English the more contemptible. The only business of the

Evangelical Alliance appears to be perpetual interference with the business of everybody else. At its last meeting it was occupied chiefly with the persecutions inflicted in Spain on certain vendors of unauthorized editions of the Bible, which it fiercely denounced and with Mr. Lincoln's schemes of massacre and incendiarism in the South, which it as fiercely applauded. It must be exceedingly painful to the feelings of these estimable men to know that their American allies—the Abolitionists—are mostly infidels both in religion and in morals; while the armies of those against whom they invoke the vengeance of Heaven are led by men almost as much distinguished by their piety as by their military skill and daring. That is a strange Evangelicalism which finds a friend in Garrison and an enemy in "Stonewall" Jackson.

The report of the Royal Commission on the Volunteer Forces has been published. It appears that there are above 162,000 enrolled volunteers, of whom 134,000 are riflemen, and 24,000 artillerymen. A grant is recommended of 50s. a-head for the latter, and 20s. for all other arms; to be expended only for specified purposes. It is suggested further that the volunteers should be as often as possible associated on field-days with the troops of the line. One member of the Commission alone—General Eyre—is opposed to the principle of a capitation grant.

Lord Palmerston delivered at Southampton, the other day, a rather clever speech on the blessings of Free Trade, in the course of which he took occasion to speak on the inadequacy of commercial interests to restrain nations from hostility when once their passions were excited. It had been said, he observed, that England and America were far too closely allied by commerce ever to go to war. Yet when we demanded the surrender of the men seized under our flag, the American people were eager for war; as we should certainly have been had satisfaction been refused. His lordship forgot that the America with which it was said that England could never quarrel included the cotton States. Nevertheless, the hint was thrown out in season, and is perfectly sound. Mr. Cobden, and other amateur diplomatists, will do well to make a note of it.

At a Conservative demonstration at Colchester, the members for North Essex took the opportunity of explaining away such portions of their speeches at Castle Hedingham as had given annoyance to their friends and satisfaction to their enemies. Major Beresford proved his courage by a fierce onslaught on the *Times*. Mr. Du Cane drew critical distinctions between support to Lord Palmerston, and support to the Ministry of which Lord Palmerston is the chief. Mr. Miller, M.P., hoped that the time would soon come for the recognition of Southern independence, and intervention to put an end to the war. Mr. Pencocke, M.P., was still more outspoken. He called attention to the dissension in the Cabinet; remarked that no less an authority than the Queen's Advocate had laid it down that any Power has a right to recognize any revolted State whenever it pleases, and that the disseized Government has no right to complain. The only question, therefore, was whether it was the interest of England to exercise that right in the present case. He thought that the disruption of the Union, and the recognition of the Confederate States, would be a benefit to England. He had also very good authority for stating that the Emperor of the French told Mr. Slidell, at Vichy, that personally he was in favour of a recognition of the South as an independent country, but that he was unwilling to take any step except in concert with England. The responsibility of recognizing the South therefore rested with the English Government, and he trusted that the English people would put such a pressure upon them that they would not shrink from taking the step. It was in the interest of humanity itself that the war should be brought to a termination, if it was to be carried on in the spirit of the manifestoes of General Butler and the proclamation of President Lincoln. The most ardent Abolitionist in this country would not desire to see the unqualified emancipation of 4,000,000 blacks upon a given day; and if the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln was worth anything more than the paper upon which it was inscribed, and if the 4,000,000 blacks were really to be emancipated on the 1st of January, then we should be prepared to witness a carnage so bloody that even the horrors of the Jacquerie and the massacres of Cawnpore would wax pale in comparison. The Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, even if it had been in the interest of the negro, would have been a political crime; but when we reflected that it was put forth, not in the interest of the negro or of civilization, but that it was merely a vindictive measure of spite and retaliation upon 9,000,000 of whites struggling for their independence, it was one of the most devilish acts of fiendish malignity which the wickedness of man could ever have conceived.

At Greenwich, Alderman Sa Jewish member, said that although in intervention, he did not believe th would hereafter be disposed to American quarrel so lightly as it h last session. The people of the Sou. the strongest patriotism, had fought like deserved that nationality for which they were gling. He hoped that some plan might be adopted by means of which the American people might be brought to their senses, and he thought that if this country could combine with France, Russia, and the other Powers, a mediation could be brought about which would terminate this infamous contest, a disgrace as it was to the nineteenth century.

At a public meeting held at Pontefract, to consider the case of the distressed operatives of the cotton districts, a somewhat remarkable speech was made by Mr. Monckton Milnes, well-known as a poet of no mean order, and a politician of considerable capacity, but, perhaps, still better known as collecting around himself the most agreeable and intellectual society that is to be met anywhere in England. He commended the sense and patience of the operatives, and regretted the American war, which could lead to no issue that Englishmen would not regard as a calamity. "If the North triumphed, a portion of the country would have to be held in permanent political bondage. If the South were victorious, a new Power would be introduced among the nations of the world, based on the institution of slavery. He was opposed to the recognition of the South. It would not help us to get cotton. The Southerners would keep it back, in order to exasperate us against the North; and if they let it go, very little could escape the blockading squadrons. Moreover, if we recognized the South, we should be forced by the law of nations to go to war with the North." What does Mr. Milnes mean? In the first place, the South is no more, as a political Power, founded upon slavery than was the confederacy of which it recently formed a part. Slavery, under the new as under the old Government, is merely a domestic institution of the several States, with which the Confederate Power has no concern. And are we not on excellent terms with the slave empire Brazil? Again, it is absurd to think that the South wishes to prevent our getting cotton. It would only too glad to sell what we are so anxious to. The blockading squadron is a more serious objection; but it is one which was created by ourse. If we had not allowed a paper blockade before, there would not now be an effective or quasi-effective one. And, in the name of Grotius, what rule of international law makes it necessary that if we recognize the Confederate States, we should go to war with their enemies. Recognition does not involve alliance; nay, it does not even give a good ground of complaint to the Power which claims the provinces whose independence we acknowledge. Did we go to war with Spain when we recognized the Spanish colonies, or with Austria when we recognized Italy?

Mr. Cobden has delivered at Manchester an oration of portentous length, setting forth his view as to the reforms required in the present code of belligerent rights. He wishes to exempt private property from capture at sea, and to abolish commercial blockades. He accepts these proposals as American; and perhaps admires them as much because they are American as for any other reason. He would allow no captures at all on the high sea, unless he would except contraband of war; and he would not permit any blockade except of arsenals and fortified places. He affirms that it is for our interest to carry out both these proposals. England is now becoming a great neutral Power; and it is her interest as such to promote freedom of trade in time of war; she is a country absolutely dependent on her foreign commerce, and therefore, even when at war, she would generally suffer more injury than she would inflict by a commercial blockade. If we had assented to the American proposal in 1856, we should not now have been suffering fearfully from cotton famine, caused entirely by the commercial blockade of the Southern ports.

At Rochdale, the Radical orator entered more generally into the politics of the day. He vindicated the millowners of Lancashire, pointing out how severely they suffered from the suspension of their trade, and reminding their calumniators that though they might not subscribe to the funds of Relief Committees, they had duties to perform nearer home. He argued that intervention would unite all parties in the North against us, and that it would not give us cotton:—as if we could not break the blockade at a blow, and so free the whole store of the South. The Warrior also could get us all the cotton that exists. Mr. Cobden abused the Government for spending so much on the military and naval defences of the country, and the Tories for supporting Lord Palmerston,

ding as a panacea for all evils. As that those who do not pay the taxes and spend them, it is hardly likely to buy.

EUROPE.

ANCE.—M. Proudhon has taken up his pen in defence of the occupation of Rome. The phrase which alone secured for this extremist of Communists and Red Republicans the notoriety so dear to men of his stamp—the phrase which must endear him to Northern soldiers and New England Abolitionists—that “all property is robbery”—precludes him from vigorously defending the indefeasible right of the Pope to the patrimony of St. Peter. He only argues that the union of Italy would weaken France by creating another great Power—an idea which implies that France is always meditating aggressions, and that her neighbours are always concerting resistance. The Emperor would probably prefer that his policy should not be defended by men whose praise is infamy; and he may envy Signor Mazzini the honour of being heartily abused by this European Wendell Phillips. We may remark another phrase worthy of that which first made M. Proudhon infamous.—“In politics, ingratitude is the first of rights and the first of duties.” Surely this preacher of immorality has now reached the last depth of deliberate baseness. *Ingratum cum dixeris omnia dixi.*

ITALY.—Brigandage and reactionary conspiracies still continue to agitate the Northern provinces of the late kingdom of Naples. Hitherto the Italian Government has acted feebly, trusting to get possession of Rome, the nest and refuge of Bourbonists and banditti, and thereby to extirpate the nuisance at small cost to themselves. Awakened from this delusion, they appear to be taking more vigorous measures against the brigands. Great severity is to be exercised against all persons suspected of correspondence with the banditti, and the Syndics (local magistrates) and National Guard are to be held liable to make good all depredations committed by bands numbering less than ten. The clergy are also to be closely watched. There is no doubt that the clergy are generally, the peasants often, and the magistrates sometimes, in league with the banditti; the National Guards are notoriously cowardly and loathful. Nevertheless, there are visible in the signs issued by the Piedmontese authorities signs of carelessness about shedding innocent blood, which will bring down upon them the condemnation of civilized Europe, if some check is not placed upon it by the Government at Turin.

No longer a prisoner, Garibaldi has been removed from Vanguano to Spezzia. Very dismal rumours have been circulated in regard to his health. It has been reported that the bullet is in the wound; that his life is in danger; that amputation will be necessary. There is, however, ground for hope that these altidings are greatly exaggerated.

GERMANY.—It appears that the Hessian Elector and Chambers have made up their disputes. Those between the King and the Liberals of Prussia are far as ever from a settlement. The Deputies have been received with honours on their return to their respective homes. An appeal to the people for subscriptions to indemnify those who have suffered in the cause of the Constitution has been published by the *People's Gazette* of Berlin. The following, published by a semi-official paper, is probably to be taken as a Government manifesto:—

The proposals of the Government, aiming at a conciliatory solution of the question of the military Budget, having been rejected by the Chamber of Deputies, the Government has placed in a new position. The country may be convinced by its former conduct, and by its present disposition to a constitutional solution of the question, that the Government will take care to narrow the conflict within the narrowest possible grounds, that is to say, to the maintenance of the unavoidable military expenditure of 1862, which will be paid under the constitutional responsibility of the Ministers.

But very shortly the means prescribed by public duty and science will be employed in order, at the beginning of the next session, to bring about a definitive constitutional solution of the question at issue, to restore to the country entire peace in the interior, and to ensure the undisturbed development of constitutional institutions.

GREECE.—King Otho has been sent about his business. Discontent has long been rife, and the direction of the garrison of Vozitza was the signal for military revolt and popular risings in every direction. After a futile resistance the royalists gave way, and the King abdicated and fled. The event has caused considerable excitement in Greece, but in England it is regarded with general indifference. So long as the Greeks will refrain from invading Turkey, or meddling with the Ionian Islands, Englishmen would not grudge them a respite per month, after the fashion of Spanish comp.

FEDERATION.—It is reported that Mavro Cordato, one of the few respectable men in Greece, has been elected at the head of the Provisional Government.

If this be so, it would seem that the revolution is supported by the better classes, and instigated by a real wish for the good of the country. As yet all details are wanting.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 29.

Our last report closed on a steady market on the basis of 26d. for Middling Orleans, and 16½d. for Fair Dhollerah cotton. The hardening tendency which was apparent at the beginning of last week gave place towards its close to that heavy languid tone which has so often characterized our market of late. On Thursday the sales reached 4,000 bales; on Friday, 3,000; and on Saturday, 2,000 bales, at slightly lower prices but without any pressure to sell. On Monday, however, some anxiety on the part of holders was evinced to realize, and in American, which had been entirely neglected for some days, a few hundred bales were sold partly on the basis of 2s. for Middling Orleans. The whole business only reached 1,500 bales, and of those 1,000 to the trade.

On Tuesday another state of stagnation prevailed; business was almost at a stand-still, and the sales were only estimated at 550 bales. In Manchester a similar state of things prevailed, and to effect sales a considerable reduction in price would have been requisite.

To-day a little more has been done, the sales reaching 1200 bales, but only at prices sufficient to tempt the speculator, and the few transactions that have occurred establish a heavy decline on the quotations of Friday. Middling Orleans is said to have been done at 23d, and Fair Dhollerahs may be quoted 15½d, but these prices are entirely nominal through the absence of a bona fide demand.

The Europa's news to hand on Monday reported a great Democratic Demonstration in New York in favour of the popular candidate, Mr. Seymour. General Stuart, in a gallant, cavalry raid, had entered Pennsylvania, described a complete circle round the Federals, and reached his own headquarters in safety. By the City of Washington to the 21st via Cape Race, McClellan had met in his advance a heavy Confederate force, and retreated on Harper's Ferry. Gold had advanced to the enormous premium of 38 per cent., but closed at 31½.

The most favourable American news has now no effect in imparting life to our market, and for the present we are entirely in the hands of Manchester. The trade have been for a long time past buying only at the rate of 6000 or 8000 bales per week, and have lately been shutting up their mills wholesale, and the production has now fallen to a much lower ebb than any one a year ago considered possible. It is generally believed in Manchester that it does not now exceed 10,000 bales per week, or little over one-sixth of its former rate.

It is evident that with our large stock of cotton, present prices cannot be maintained unless consumption be materially increased; and this can only be brought about by an advance in Manchester, sufficient to enable spinners to work at present prices to a profit, or by such a decline in Liverpool as will bring about the same end. The last India accounts report the markets for goods dull, and prices much under a parity with the home markets, so that the improvement here may be delayed some time; and with the present stagnant state of trade in Manchester, it is hard to say what price for cotton would tempt spinners to recommence work—some full-confident that 15d. for fair Dhollerahs could start a large amount of machinery, but we are inclined to think even a lower figure necessary to materially increase consumption.

Private advices from New York estimate the amount of cotton to be shipped for Liverpool from that port at 12,000 bales, between Sept. 1, and Nov. 1.

MANCHESTER, October 31.

THE flatness of the Liverpool cotton market, for some days past, has produced a corresponding depression of tone here, which the tenour of the telegrams from the East, just received, has not tended to dissipate. The feeling to-day has been exceedingly dull, and in all departments the business transacted has been on the smallest scale.

Yarns are flat, and hardly any transactions of consequence are reported. Most export qualities are extremely scarce, and owing to this, prices are generally pretty firmly maintained; but some home-trade yarns, which have been more freely offered, are weaker and worse to sell. We hear of some transactions in the Blackburn class of yarn, at about ½d. per lb, decline from the rates current on Friday; and Bolton yarns are also more urgently passed for sale, with a very depressing effect on prices, although without leading to any business. Doubled yarns, from 100s. downwards, are flat and neglected, and the turn of the market is against sellers. The finer counts, both single and two-fold, are steady in value, but the demand is far from active, and nothing is doing.

In cloth the tone of the market is also dull, and with some exceptions, prices are irregular, and occasionally exhibit a drooping tendency. We hear of some inquiry for the better class of printing cloths, the value of which is very firmly maintained; but shirtings, T cloths, J. cloths, &c., are in very languid request; and although in many cases prices are firm, or, at least, nominally so, sellers find the course of the market decidedly adverse to them, and that it is impossible to do business in any quantity, without making a substantial concession from their quotations.

TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, October 30, 1862.

We have to record a large business during the past week, and for export there have been considerable sales of Western leaf, chiefly of medium to good quality, at price from 9d. to 10½d. per lb., and this tobacco is now being shipped, as rapidly as possible, to the Continent. Lugs and low leaf have almost disappeared from stock, and prices for such quality have now advanced to about 7d. per lb.

The trade also have taken some large lots of good natural Western leaf at prices from 10d. to 12d. and 12½d. In Western strips but little has been done, fine parcels are held for 17d. and much of the stock is off the market altogether.

Of Virginia leaf there is so small a stock that quite fancy prices are obtained. Virginia strips are quoted from 18d. to 22d., and business has been done at 19d. to 21d.

The speculative demand for Marylands has ceased for the present, but the advance created by the late purchases will probably be quite maintained by a consumptive demand as the winter draws on.

The tone of the market is decidedly strong, and though there is some evidence of a desire to realize present profits, the aspect of the war is quite enough to justify those who are looking for a yet higher scale of prices.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

Reliable information from New York, received by the friends of the Hon. John Forsyth, of Mobile, contradicts the death in a recent engagement.

It has been announced by telegraph, and published, that “the Captain of the Confederate vessel of war, Sumter, lying at Gibraltar, had been shot by one of his officers.” The facts, so far as ascertained, are these: The Sumter, being in a disabled condition was in charge of only a boat's crew, under command of an acting midshipman, when a quarrel seems to have arisen between the latter and one of the crew, which terminated in his death. Whether the fatality was due to an accident, how and where the quarrel occurred, is not known, as no details of the affair have yet reached us. The acting midshipman is described to have been a worthy man, of a quiet and peaceable disposition, and no blame is attached to the unfortunate victim.

The *Charleston Courier* says:—Alabama has sent to the war 65,000 men, out of a voting population of 85,000, and has armed 19,000 and equipped 8000, besides turning over 21,000 stand of arms to the Confederacy.

The *Richmond Examiner* says:—We learn from official sources that within the last few months our stock of arms in the South has been largely increased by importation and capture. Our small arms alone have increased from these sources not less than 80,000. Our supply of ammunition has also been largely increased by importation and manufacture; and there is said to be a prospect that the active and methodical operations of the Nitre Bureau will supply our demand, and make us independent of foreign importation. The production of nitre is already £1000 a day, and there is good reason to think that it will reach £3000 a day, and supply our consumption.

At present there are thirteen regiments of Indians in alliance with the South, numbering nearly 10,000 men, are in service, representing chiefly the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, with a few from other tribes.

The ladies of South Carolina subscribed \$6,929.60 for the gun-boat “Palmetto State.”

The Confederate Congress has passed the following resolution, thanking patriotic women for their contributions for the army:—

Resolved, By the proceedings of the Confederate States of America, That the thanks of the Congress of the Confederate States are eminently due, and are hereby tendered, to the patriotic women of the Confederacy, for the energy, zeal, and untiring devotion which they have manifested, in furnishing voluntary contributions to our soldiers in the field, and in the various military hospitals throughout the country.

Promotions and appointments in the Confederate Service:—Brigadier-General Jones M. Withers has been promoted to the rank of Major-General.

Major-General Buckner has been assigned to the 3rd grand division of the army. The following is a list of his staff officers:—Major Cosby, A.A.G.; Major Hays, Chief Quartermaster; Major Wintersmith, Chief Commissary; Surgeon Pallen, Medical Director; Major V. Sheliha, Chief of Artillery. Volunteer Aids:—Majors Tom Clay and Gallagher.

Captain Campbell, commanding Company A, Palmetto Battalion of Artillery (Furman Light Artillery) has been appointed Major of the Battalion. First Lieutenant Earle succeeds him in the command of Company A.

Captain Frank Buchanan, late commander of the Virginia, has been promoted to the highest office in the Confederate Navy, viz.—that of Admiral, for his distinguished services in the great battle and victory in Hampton Roads. His commission dates from Saturday, August 23.

A PATRIOTIC FAMILY.—General Joseph Graham, of North Carolina, has left a name renowned in history as a Revolutionary hero. His mantle has fallen upon his descendants. His youngest son, ex-Gov. Wm. A. Graham, has five sons in the army. His sister, the youngest daughter of General Graham, and wife of the Rev. Dr. Robert H. Morrison, has two sons and four sons-in-law in the service, two of the latter being “Bethel” Hill and “Stonewall” Jackson.

SOUTHERN MARKETS.—SALES BY AUCTION.

Richmond, Sept. 29.

Family soap, \$1.26 per lb.; Bologna sausages, \$1.70 per lb.; Congo tea, \$6.25 per lb.; Oolong tea, \$6.62½ per lb.; Hyson tea, \$10.50 per lb.; gunpowder tea, 11.25 per lb.; composition candles, \$1.33 to \$1.37½ per lb.; adamantine candles, \$2.10 per lb.; star candles, \$2.40 per lb.; brandy in cases, \$40 to \$51 per dozen; spades, \$41 per dozen; shovels, \$73 per dozen; wool cards, \$10.75 per pair, block tin, \$2.25 to \$2.30 per pound;

to 23½ cents per
as, \$250 to \$300
zen; patent calf
r dozen; Maroon
5 per dozen; sole
boots, various styles,
ous, \$4.75 to \$6.25
75 to \$14 per pair;
air; boys's Balmo-
\$8 per pair; boy's
\$9 to \$11.75 per
7 per pair; men's side
r; boy's brogans, \$8 per
gaiters, \$12.50 to \$14.50
s boots and slippers,
otass, \$19 per lb.; oil
n, \$8.50 to \$10 per lb.;
; oil cloves, \$9 per lb.;
safrass, \$3.75 per lb.; oil
ronia, \$3.25 per lb.; white
ed precipitate \$4.50 per lb.;
\$12 to \$12.50 per lb.; ver-
hicum, \$3.50 per lb.; cor-
dered Jamaica ginger, \$1.25
r lb.; citrate magnesia, \$2.75
.25 per lb.; copaiba capsules,
psules, \$3.25 per dozen boxes;
; mustard, in bottles, \$14 per
per ounce; pulv. tartaric acid,
d, \$2.60 per lb.; Rochelle salts,
60 per lb.; glauber salts, \$1.10 per
med alum, 50 cents per lb.; hamp
settified camphor, \$7.50 per lb.;
ric acid, in kegs, \$2.40 per lb.; sal-
la, \$2 per lb.; castor oil, \$13 to \$14 25
.25 per lb.; nitric acid, \$3.70 per lb.;
tannin, \$1.90 per oz.; chloride zinc,
orphine, \$36 per oz.; cinnamon, \$11 per
gal.; sumac, 40 cents per lb.; catechu,
2.40 per gallon; English garden seeds,
e potash, \$2.50 to \$2.60 per lb.; ivory
n; steel pens, \$1.60 to \$3.25 per gross;
; porte monnaies, \$9.50 per dozen; red
s, \$1.50 per lb.; carpenter's pencils, \$8
s, \$3.75 per gross; drawing pencils, 15
own Windsor soap, \$6.25 to \$8.25 per
\$5 to \$9.50 per dozen; family brown
0 per dozen; Coat's white spool cotton,
zen; Water's white spool cotton, 100 yards,
ater's white spool cotton, 150 yards, \$3.60
ushes, \$21 per dozen; hooks and eyes, \$2.26
edles, \$6.25 per M; English white six-cord
ards, assorted, \$4.75 per dozen; white agate
eat gross; pearl shirt buttons, \$5 per gross;
er, \$17 to \$23 per ream; envelopes, \$14 to
ote paper, \$13 per ream; cap paper, \$31 per
oth shirting, \$2 per yard; plaid gingham, \$1
d; mixed gingham, 95 cents per yard; striped
r yard; indigo jeans, \$1.10 per yard; cotton
per yard; cotton towels, \$13 per dozen; fancy
yard; bleached longcloth, \$1 to \$1.15 per yard;
12 springs, \$190 per dozen; felt hats, \$10.50 to
raw hats, \$14 per dozen; cotton counterpanes,
worstead rugs, \$9 each; blue cloth, \$13.50 per
own cotton half hose, \$11 per dozen; white cotton
in hose, \$10 per dozen; white linen bosom shirts, \$85 to
\$2.50 per dozen; Saxony Crimean shirts, \$112 per dozen;
anse merino vests, \$50 per dozen; white drill trousers, \$3.60
per pair; buff linen vests \$2.75 each; fancy doe and tweed
suits, \$28 to \$39 per suit; valparaiso coats, \$8 each; Madras
handkerchiefs, eight in a piece, \$8.25 per piece; flax thread, \$6
per pound; pavilion bobinet, 62½ cents per yard; knitting
pins \$5 per gross; men's silk vests, \$6 each; Cashmere vests,
\$4.25 each; blue army over coats, \$27 each; black cloth frock
coats, \$20 each; youths' cloth coats, \$9 each; heavier over
coats, Raglans and sacks, \$32.50 each.

CHARLESTON, Sept. 19.

Gum arabic, 65 cents per lb.; glue, 70 to 80 cents per lb.;
tobacco, 76 to 96 cents per lb.; mace, 60 cents per lb.;
mackerel, \$20 per kit.; chloroform, \$19 per lb.; soda ash,
\$1.30 per lb.; scrubbing brushes, \$1.50 per dozen; bi. carb.
soda, \$1.97 to \$2 per lb.; prepared potash, \$1.50 per lb.; targar,
emetie, \$3 per lb.; gum opium, \$41 per lb.; powdered do., \$42
to \$45 per lb.; sulphate quinine, \$16 to 17.75 per oz.; sulphate
morphine, \$35 to \$36 per oz.; calomel, \$12.50 per lb.; gum
camphor, \$7.25 per lb.; saltpetre, 60 to 71 cents per lb.; blue
smalt, \$1 per lb.; carb. potash, 65 cents per lb.; caustic potash,
60 cents per lb.; sweet spirits nitre, \$5.25 per lb.; tanners'
oil, \$2.65 per gallon; castor oil, \$16.50 per gallon; oil of sassa-
fras, \$3.75 per lb.; oil of peppermint, \$7 per lb.; oil of berga-
mot, \$12 per lb.; oil of lemon, \$7.50 per lb.; nitric acid, \$2.25,
per lb.; brandy in cases, \$46 per case; old London Dock
brandy, \$27 per gallon; whisky, \$10 per gallon; Madeira wine,
\$5.75 per gallon; Burgundy wine, \$21 per dozen;
Jamaica Rum, \$13 per gallon; English bar soap
\$1.30 to \$1.33 per lb.; common bar soap, \$1.25 per
lb.; cloves, 23 to 28 cents per lb.; hops, \$1.40 to \$1.60 per lb.;
cochineal, \$2.10 per lb.; lamp black, 29 to 41 cents per lb.;
English garden seeds, \$1.37½ per lb.; oil of vitriol, \$1.60 per
lb.; champagne, \$45.50 to \$51.50 per dozen; cephalic pills,
\$13 per gross; Wilson's pills, \$10 per gross; Carolina indigo,
\$6.80 per lb.; black pepper, \$1.25 per lb.; allspice 17 cents
per lb.; coppers, \$1.70 per lb.; Java coffee, \$2.35 per lb.;
Rio coffee, \$2.05 to \$1.15 per lb.; putty, 14 cents per lb.;
chicory, 25 cents per lb.; curious young hyson tea, \$10 per lb.;
English breakfast tea, \$12 per lb.; oolong tea, \$9.75 to 10.75
per lb.; tallow candles, 67½ to 82½ cents per lb.; wax candles,
\$1.60 per lb.; adamantine candles, \$1.80 per lb.; star do.,
\$1.95 per lb.; grey tweeds, \$4.50 per yard; ladies' cotton hose,
\$9 to \$13.50 per dozen; men's white and brown hose, \$7.75 to
\$13 per dozen; child's socks, \$4.25 per dozen; striped home-
spun, \$1 per yard; long cloth, \$1.10 to \$1.15 per yard; checks,
\$1.25 per yard; fancy cotton drills, \$1 per yard; barege, 60
cents per yard; narrow prints, \$1 per yard; wide do. damaged,
75 cents per yard; dotted and striped muslin, 30 cents per
yard; red flannel, \$3.25 per yard; black sewing silk, \$23 per
lb.; regatta and striped shirts, \$28 to \$20 per dozen; heavy
worsted shirts, \$6.25 each; fancy silk do. \$7 each; Coates' spool
cotton, white, 6 cord, 200 yards, \$4.25 to 4.75 per dozen; do.
black, 100 yards, \$2.87½ per dozen; do. white do. 100 yards,
\$2.60 per dozen; do. coloured, 100 yards, \$2.25 per dozen;
Water's 6 cord 300 yard cotton, \$4.50 per dozen; bone buttons,
75 cents to \$1 per gross; hair pins, \$7.50 per gross of boxes;
Howe's pins, \$10 per pack; fancy soaps, \$4.25 to \$15 per
dozen; commercial note paper, \$10.50 to \$10.75 per ream;

copying paper, \$4.75 per ream; letter paper, ruled, \$18.50 to
\$22 per ream; note, cap and letter paper, assorted, \$6.75 per
ream; envelopes, \$6 to \$15 per M.; men's brogans, gaiters,
&c., \$6.25 to \$13.50 per pair; men's sewed and pegged boots,
\$15.50 per pair; youths' boots, \$5.50 per pair; women's boots,
gaiters, &c., \$4.75 to \$13.75 per pair; Misses' boots, \$3.75 to
\$4 per pair; misses' and youths' shoes and ties, \$2.32½ per
pair; French waxed calf skins, \$305 per dozen; satin finished
calf skins, \$145 per dozen; kid skins, \$140 per dozen; patent
leather skins, \$170 per dozen; cotton cards, Nos. 8 and 10,
\$12.50 to \$15.50 per pair; wool cards, \$11 per pair; matches,
\$14.50 to \$30 per gross; white and black tape, assorted, 52½
cents per dozen; ivory nail brushes, 75 cents each.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

ST. GEORGE, BERMUDA, October 6.

You will no doubt be very much surprised to learn
that I am still here. But for the last two weeks the
island has been closely blockaded by Federal cruisers.
On the 27th ult. three heavily armed steamers, the
Wachusset (Admiral Wilkes), Tioga, and Sonoma, entered
this harbour in open defiance of the Queen's Proclama-
tion in regard to belligerent vessels and remained
five days, during which time they coaled, took in
supplies, and industriously informed themselves con-
cerning every vessel in the port. The flag-ship has
disappeared from British waters, but the other two are
still plainly visible in the offing, being constantly
engaged in steaming slowly to and fro across the entrance
of this harbour exactly like sentries, and frequently not
more than two miles distant. From the Telegraph Sta-
tion of St. George's, other Federal cruisers are constantly
seen; and it is said that there are about twenty of them
on the track hence to Charleston. I must not forget to
add that the United States' Consul here is constantly
communicating with the two steamers above alluded to,
by means of small boats. Wilkes, while here, made such
comprehensive threats of capturing English vessels, that
the steamer Gladiator, which has never been beyond
Bermuda and Nassau, and was advertised to sail for
England with a cargo of cotton, on the 20th ult., does
not dare to venture forth.

The state of things at Nassau is also bad. By a late
arrival we learn that the yellow fever had been raging
there, that vessels were quarantined at Charleston in
consequence. The blockade of the island was even more
rigorous than ever.

I write this by the mail steamer Merlin, which touches
here on her way from St. Thomas to Halifax, and is just
in. I have just learned that the Merlin was brought to
and boarded this morning by the United States'
steamer Sonoma.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 17.

The excitement in Wall-street continues; the price
of gold fluctuates hourly, and it is quite impossible to
give a correct quotation. All articles are advancing
upon the influence of the paper money system. It is
difficult to imagine how Mr. Chase can meet his pay-
ments, for he has occupied every channel of credit.

The elections in all the Northern Border States show
large Democratic gains in nearly every Congressional dis-
trict, but the general result is not fully known. Should
the opposition have obtained control of the respective
Legislatures of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa,
the Governors of those States will be deposed for their
unconstitutional acts; in a few days the complexion of
these important bodies will be made manifest.

The Confederate States steamer Alabama is playing
havoc with American commerce.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, Oct. 28.

The revolution in Greece has not produced any very
marked sensation. Phil-hellenism has dwindled here to
a very low ebb, and the quarrel between the Greeks and
their Sovereign would have been viewed with equanimity
even on the Bourse, but for the fear that the conflagra-
tion might extend to Turkey, and revive the slumber-
ing spectre of the Eastern question. Logically, the
Greeks have as good a right to get rid of an unpopular
Sovereign as the Neapolitans had to rebel against a
cruel despot; but it would be gross injustice to King
Otho to compare him either with King Bomba or his
successor Bombadino. Otho was a very King Log, and
what the Greeks required was an active, ambitious, and
intelligent autocrat, who would have hanged, and flogged,
and forced his subjects into civilization, and carried out
his favourite notion of snatching Stamboul from the
Turks, and making it the capital of a Greek Empire.
Otho, the Bavarian, stood in the same position with
regard to his subjects as the First Georges with us; but

sense and self-control are English qualities, which are
unknown to the Grecian mind. *C'est absolument, ob-*
served the late M. Roque, of Athens, to Lord Byron,
la même canaille qu'au temps de Themistocle. King
Otho may console himself with the reflection that he has
one thing in common with the great Athenians of old—
Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. He has been
ostracized by the demos, but the parallel goes no
further.

The simultaneous outbreak of the late rebellion argues
a preconcerted scheme, in which our political sooth-
sayers fancy they detect Russian or French intrigue.
France has so many irons in the fire just now that she
may be acquitted of the charge; but the part played by
Russia is by no means clear—the less so as a Russian, or
half-Russian Prince, the Duke of Leuchtenburg, is newly
mentioned as a candidate for the vacant throne.

In an European point of view the Greek revolution
is also interesting, from the fact that it may lead to a
further estrangement of the two great Western Powers,
the relations between which are just now rather acri-
monious—the stubborn and injudicious perseverance
with which the British Cabinet resists popular pressure
at home, and pressing requests from abroad, to put an
end to the useless sacrifice of life in America by a recog-
nition of the South, is not the least among the causes of
refroidissement which have sprung up between the two
Powers, and which has consigned the *entente cordiale* to a
premature grave.

The question, however, is too important not to force
itself upon the attention of the French Cabinet, and the
English Government may discover too late the folly of
pursuing, across the Atlantic, the policy of self-isolation
and self-abasement which has reduced English influence
to so low an ebb throughout the continent, where the
British Lion has degenerated in public regard to the
level of a common poodle.

During the past week the press have not been silent
on American affairs; *La France* in particular has dis-
tinguished itself by an able article on the atrocities per-
petrated by that despicable pettifogging tyrant, Butler,
at New Orleans. The remarks of your contemporary
are very much to the point, and as *La France* unques-
tionably is, for the present, the most authoritative expo-
nent of the policy of the Government, I have no
hesitation in reproducing them *in extenso*; it says:—

The struggle between the Northern and Southern States is
no longer a war of civilized people; it is a war of savages, in
which all the principles of the law of nations, and all the
guarantees of modern society are trampled under foot.

Terror reigns in every part of free America; the horror of
our first Republic are exceeded; nothing is any longer respec-
ted—neither the eternal laws of justice, the laws of huma-
nity, nor the lives, liberty, and property of citizens. And
these excesses, a disgrace to our age, are not committed in the
mad intoxication of the combat, they are produced under the
form of decrees, and coolly calculated proclamations, and
carried into execution with inconceivable *sang froid*. Let us
not weary in calling down the public indignation on those
attacks against social rights. On this question, as well as on
all others, where the coalition of interests and of passions en-
deavour to lead public opinion astray, let us raise our voice in
the name of justice and of truth. The strange sympathy
which the Northern States have acquired among certain organs
of the French press, has arisen out of a deplorable misunder-
standing. We have never ceased to demonstrate this, and,
supported by the evidence of facts, have shown that the philan-
thropy of Europe has been shamefully abused, in order to
procure success for a vast system of oppression, tyranny, and
violence. Under the pretence of emancipating the blacks, Mr.
Lincoln and the North pursue the object of enslaving the
whites of the South. According to their views, the South
must be the slave of the North as regards political supremacy,
and the economical and commercial system. The men of the
South must plant, reap, and labour, in order that the North
may receive all the profits, and remain its onerous interme-
diary with the consumers of the whole world.

In order to attain this object, and serve this policy, the
North will not hesitate at any rigour, or, if necessary, at any
act of cruelty. Thousands of men will be sacrificed and more
than that, all the liberties of America; ruin and mourning
will be sown in all the devastated States of the old Union.

Such is the truth which we shall never cease to point out to
those who intentionally disguise it, or who wilfully close
their eyes against it. The men of the North, who are void of
pity for their white brethren, whom they oppress, pillage, and
murder, are equally void of pity, for those poor blacks, of
whom our abolitionist journals speak as being their liberators.
They despise them; expel them from society, and put them
out of the pale of the law, and when in order to obey the im-
placable logic of their programme, they decide on emancipa-
ting them, it is only to drive them far from the American
soil, and banish them beyond the contact of the noble Yankees,
into distant colonies. The emancipation of the negroes is
only adopted as a means for ruining the South. It is not
founded on any generous sentiment, and those must
be blind who do not regard it in that light. That,
however, is not enough! Mr. Lincoln has adopted the
regime of terror in order to arrest his policy. The American
Government, wherever it is still standing, is no longer any-
thing but a frightful despotism, which crushes all citizens
under a yoke of iron. Is this a necessity of defence? Is it
the supreme law of public safety? Is it the all powerful in-
terest of threatened society, which calls for those terrorist
measures which leave far behind them the furious acts of
1793? Certainly not, and on this point the errors wilfully
circulated by the partisans of the Union, must be removed and
cleared away. It is the cause, the person, and the President-
ship of Mr. Lincoln that those acts of violence and of tyranny
are intended to defend and to protect. There has been
formed in the Federal States, and even in the army, parti-

inspection of the document. The victims of the pious fraud now protest. The clergy is said to be in general very active in this movement, the Church in the Protestant parts of Prussia being still in the state of thralldom as regards the State to which Frederick the Great reduced it. Your readers cannot have forgotten the story of the pastor whom he summoned before himself and his boon fellows in his *Tabagie*, or smoking-room, to give an account of his faith—in the Devil. So far the Feudal party are in ecstasies at their success, like children who have kindled a little fire in a corner of a wood, and clap their hands, and dance round, not foreseeing the danger of an all-devouring conflagration. According to them, the world may at length repose under the wings of the Prussian eagle. The King has made his *coup d'état*, the Deputies are dispersed, the country is tranquil, and the Executive rules supreme. This is their idea of a model Government; and they think it may go on so for ever. No doubt, at the stated time the Parliament may assemble, and the Deputies will either dutifully pass the Budget presented to them, blindfolded; or, if they are naughty boys and refuse it, the King will again send them about their business. The country has done very well for the last ten months without a Budget, and they see no reason why it should not go on for ten years more. They are quite sure that their side will not get tired of this game of moving the King backwards and forwards on two squares, and they do not foresee the possibility of their adversaries ending it by upsetting the board.

But there is something bitter even on the rim of the cup. The change of Foreign Minister in Paris has upset Herr V. Bismarck's most scientific combinations, and it is only after much hesitation that he has proceeded to Paris to deliver his letters of recall as Minister there, and perhaps to take some lessons in the art of State fencing. His plan of an alliance between Prussia, Russia, and France, which had a fair prospect of success while M. Thouvenel was Minister, has no chance against the known sympathies and antipathies of M. Drouyn de Lhuys. It is well known that M. Drouyn de Lhuys considers the isolation of Prussia, and consequent support of Austria, the only means of restoring French influence in Germany. The present Ministry has therefore lost all hopes of diplomatic support, and the King, who has made himself its responsible editor, finds himself equally alone. The Queen remains at Coblenz, and the Crown Prince has accompanied his Consort to spend some months in Palermo; so His Majesty goes to drink tea at Sans Souci with the long neglected Queen Dowager, whose affection for the Feudal party has never wavered. Although reigning extra constitutionally, in the wholesome severities which he exercises, the King is careful to keep as far as possible within its letter. The Deputies cannot be called to account for their conduct in the Chamber, but there is no proviso that those who hold appointments shall not be transferred. So Herr Borkum-Dolffs is removed from the Presidency of Coblenz to Gumbinnen; H. Klotz (who proposed the vote against the Lords' resolution), from Potsdam, where he was judge to Trebbin, a small town twenty miles off, and the Advocate-General, Oppermann, has been placed on the retired list, with half pay. This gentleman's crime was the expression of his opinion that the proposed reorganization of the army could only be legalised by a vote of the House. For readers in England, I should add that the office of Advocate-General in Prussia is not a political one. Whilst the Government thus visits its displeasure on the members of the Lower House, the papers are filled with addresses of approval from their constituents. The 18th is still celebrated throughout Germany as the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. On that day telegrams were received in Berlin from Heidelberg and Esslingen, from "the men of Wurtemberg and Swabia," thanking the Deputies for their undaunted defence of popular rights.

I have just heard of the Prince de la Tour D'Auvergne's arrival to take leave of this Court, where he will probably be regretted. He will carry away with him, as a matter of course, a Grand Cordon of some colour or other. People are getting accustomed to the situation, as one sleeps during a bombardment, and there is no apparent movement in diplomatic circles. From Munich we hear of the Queen of Naples' immediate return to Rome, escorted by an Italian cardinal, who has arrived to persuade her to resume her life of slavish etiquette. It was from this and the domineering temper of her step-mother-in-law that she fled, rather than the King's treatment. So long as the King remains in the leading strings of the Queen Dowager, who was the real cause of the loss of his kingdom, the young wife has little hope of domestic happiness. The old Chevalier, Charles Edward's father, who also lived in Rome, was not more happy in his married life, and his Queen, Maria Clementina, at one time left him, and was only persuaded to return by the intervention of the Pope. Her husband

was probably alone to blame for the rupture, for history describes her as an amiable woman, and her memory is still cherished in Italy as that of a saint. James had less excuse than Francis II., for he had no ambitious step-mother.

The more it is studied, the more remarkable seems the result of the Commercial Congress at Munich. The expression of public opinion there elicited in favour of the treaty with France, which is a step towards the introduction of free trade, was quite unlooked for, as Austria and the Courts which fix their faith upon Austria, had made great efforts to be fully represented. At the same time, the Prussian Court had done all in its power to destroy public confidence; the decision is, therefore, doubly important, as proving the advance of economical science in Germany, and the instinct which separated the future of Prussia from the aberrations of its Government. One of the chief speakers against the treaty was the representative of the commercial community of Nürnberg, which protested by telegraph against the opinions he advocated. The assembly of the Gross Deutsch party holds its first meeting to-morrow, in Frankfort, and it is understood that after the discussion of the plans for a Parliamentary union of the States, an attempt will be made to counteract the effect of the Munich resolutions in favour of the French treaty.

The Greek revolution is in so far a German question that the dethroned King is a Bavarian Prince, and his family will not be inclined to give up the chance of the succession without a diplomatic struggle. No man ever threw away a crown so wilfully, as no country ever offered a fairer field of action to an enlightened Prince. Its people have deserved to be well governed by the sagacious patience with which they have endured the most stubbornly retrograde of petty tyrannies. It is now twenty years since they wrested from the King their present Constitution, and for twenty years they have suffered the Court to render it nugatory—not that they were not earnest in their determination to have a popular Government, but because they hoped, by accepting the delay, to obtain it without having recourse to revolution. I have lived for a considerable time in Greece, and have conversed on this subject with men of all classes. The impression with which I left was, that of a people more universally acquainted with the political necessities of their country and of their position than any other body of men in the world. The fear of the difficulties which might arise in choosing a successor, not want of irritation at the incapacity of King Otho, was the motive of their forbearance. A few points will be enough to show how well-founded their complaints were. The Constitution gave them two Chambers, one for life, the other elective; trial by jury; irremovable judges. The Chamber of Deputies was packed by the Court, for both universal suffrage, and Government candidates were first tried in Greece, of all European countries. Every form of pressure was employed to prevent the return of opposition members, even to the extent of sending troops to refractory communes, to prevent freedom of election. The ballot box was almost avowedly tampered with, and it often contained more votes for the Government candidate than all the voters of the districts could have given. I saw a letter from the unsuccessful opposition candidate for a place in the Peloponnesus, at an election at which I was present. The ballot box was placed in the church of the commune, and the mayor and his subordinates spent the six days that the voting lasted at the church door, preventing any one from entering. The writer acknowledged that he sent a little boy through the sacristy window, to put into the room a thousand voting papers inscribed with his name; but after the urn, solemnly sealed in the presence of those who chose to attend, arrived at the chief town, and was opened, it was found to contain about 15,000 votes, all in favour of the King's man. Greek had met Greek. The judges were still subject to removal at the will of the King, a will not unfrequently manifested. On the other hand, the jury system worked admirably, and even in cases in which foreigners were concerned I could hear of no complaint; but it is fair to add, that while every man of twenty-one years could vote for a representative of the people, a rather high yearly taxation was required to qualify a jurymen. At one time there were many stories of brigandage in Greece, but the Greeks asserted, and not altogether without seeming grounds, that it only existed by Court favour. On one occasion, when the complaints of the Foreign Ministers became too serious to be trifled with, the King charged an officer of known energy to arrest the chiefs, and break up the bands. "Then I must ask your Majesty's permission to begin in the Palace," was the answer. The brother of a Deputy was arrested in 1856 at the head of a band which had committed great havoc in Eubœa and the mainland adjoining.

The cartouches of his men were found to be those provided by Government for the volunteer invasion of Turkey the year before. I could multiply stories proving bad faith as well as incapacity, but I should require a volume, not a short letter, to do justice to so fertile a subject. Europe is disappointed at the small success of its experiment in Greece; but the Greeks have not had fair play, and notwithstanding this, the results to an impartial observer are very remarkable. The country has prospered so far as persevering labour, unaided by Government, would allow Syra has become a flourishing port, the shores of the Peloponnesus are one long extended garden, and the eagerness for education has not been damped. I believe that the last thirty years have been usefully employed, and that now that they are free of the incubus which held them down, the Greeks will justify all the hopes once entertained of them.

AFFAIRS AND OPINIONS IN NEW YORK.

New York, Oct. 14, 1862.

The following letter has been sent to us for publication:—

The entrance of Stuart's Cavalry into Pennsylvania on Friday last was merely a raid, but like most of that able general's movements it was a successful one, and after its accomplishment the whole party, numbering nearly 3000, recrossed the Potomac, and landed safe in Virginia with all their booty.

The crossing into Pennsylvania was effected at Dam No. 5, and not at Hancock, as was stated in the despatches sent per last steamer. This Dam was in the vicinity of Clear Spring—and from thence the Confederates, who were led by Stuart in person, entered Pennsylvania. In the flourishing towns of Mercersburg, Urbana, Chambersburg, Liberty, Emmettsburg, Woodboro', and Newmarket, they obtained large supplies of harness, provisions, clothing, &c., &c. and then recrossed into Virginia, at a point to the east, and almost under the nose of the Federal army! Considerable Federal property, which they could not remove for the want of transportation, was destroyed by them before leaving, while much railway property suffered in like manner. Altogether it was one of the most dashing feats on record, while its success, and the time occupied in travelling (96 miles in 24 hours,) is, I believe, without a parallel.

When McClellan heard of the bold invasion, he immediately declared that "not a soul of them should ever return to Virginia." Accordingly, General Casanton, with his cavalry, was ordered in pursuit; but Stuart was too much for him, and they (the rebels) eluded him entirely. In their movements the Confederates passed completely around the Federal army. Yet so adroitly was the movement managed, that but a single person was captured. You may well imagine that the Federals feel terribly chop-fallen at such a result, which the *Times* characterises as an "infinite disgrace to our military leaders."

Why the immense force so lately enrolled in Pennsylvania for the defence of the State did not rush forward and expel the invaders, was because that after Lee's retirement from Maryland the Governor of Philadelphia felt that the State was perfectly secure, and the volunteers that had been called out in its defence were accordingly disarmed and returned to their homes. This fresh and unlooked-for invasion will probably open the eyes of the Governor, and it is doubtful if he is again caught napping while so daring and vigilant an enemy is within gunshot of his borders.

Reports are current of the invasion of the State at other points, but I am inclined to believe them erroneous.

With respect to the Federal army of the Potomac, it appears to be taking matters very quietly (the raid into Pennsylvania is good proof of this); and it is asserted in certain quarters that it will remain thus quiet until after the 1st of January, when the war will be carried on as the War of Emancipation. It is not unlikely but what there is some truth in this, as it is well known that McClellan is not in condition to make a forward movement just at present, for want of reinforcements, while after January 1 it is openly asserted that the "vast arsenal in the loyal South (the blacks of course) available for military purposes can then be drawn upon." Here is an open declaration by one of the Controllers of the Administration (the *Tribune*). Arm the slaves and carry on the war by means of their aid. But the slaves have first to be secured, and if the President or any of his adherents flatter themselves that they will come forward voluntarily, or of their own accord, in answer to the Proclamation, they will find themselves vastly mistaken.

No! I have no idea that any material number of the so-called "loyal South" (Nigs) will ever be found in the ranks of the Federal army, unless perchance their masters and the white residents of the South generally, shall have been first of all destroyed. Then, if there is anything left to fight for, the blacks may possibly be forced to take a hand; but not till then. In this connection, the letter of Gen. Scott, read at the Seymour ratification meeting, last evening, is worthy of mention. This letter was written as long ago as "March 3rd, 1861," but the old soldier and hero therein plainly tells the new powers that the war they are about to inaugurate will be a hopeless one, and only end in ruin. His prophecy is being rapidly fulfilled, and the authors of the war, if they had a spark of manhood left would, after re-reading this letter of the sage counsellor, hang their heads for shame, and call on the mountains to hide them.

General Scott's mysterious management of the war up to the period of the first Bull Run, is now readily accounted for, the true patriot, although the victor on many a bloody field, had no heart for such a contest, and he threw up the management of it in disgust. General Scott was a man of intellect, of calm reflection—a patriot, a statesman, and a soldier. He knew the attempt at coercion would end just as Webster, Clay, and others of that noble galaxy had predicted it would, and the moment the real purposes of the Administration were developed he washed his hands of all further contact with it. Oh! if it had but listened on the 3rd of March, '61, to his words of golden wisdom, what a world of sorrow, suffering, and loss, would have been averted!

Cotton is in brisk demand in part for shipment in place of exchanges, and the market closes firm at 60 c. for middling.

Money is a trifle easier again; the banks are still loaning freely in Stock, and the latter are once more on fire with excitement. Bankers' sterling, 147; Commercial do., 145.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bonnerie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honoré, Paris

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1862.

The Struggle for Peace at the North.

Before we can again address our readers, the people of the Northern States of America will have practically decided for themselves whether the ruinous war in which they are engaged shall end or be prolonged indefinitely. The policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, and the individual members of that Administration themselves, are now on their trial, and the people at the ballot-box are to give—nay, have in part already given—the verdict of "guilty" or "not guilty."

On Monday next a general election for Governor, Legislature, and Members of Congress, will be held in the great "Empire State" of New York, whose vote in the Federal councils is equal to over one-sixth of the entire national representation in Congress. An election for Members of Congress was held on the 14th inst., in the scarcely less influential State of Pennsylvania, and the fact that though we have seven days' later news from America, we are left doubtful as to the result of this election, is sufficient to prove that while neither of the contending parties can have gained a decided triumph, the election news is not such as to make the Government censors anxious for its speedy publication. The voices of these two great States have at all times had a controlling effect upon the fortunes of parties. In 1860 Pennsylvania, the first to speak, virtually caused Mr. Lincoln's election; New York at the last moment had it still in her power to prevent his accession to office by throwing the election into the hands of Congress. How much more potent must the voice of these States be now when Secession has diminished the Federal representation by nearly one-half, and when they, with Ohio, which is also soon to speak at the ballot-box, cast one-third of all the votes cast in Congress.

The importance of an election in America does not consist in the transfer of power alone. Long before that transfer actually takes place, the defeat or triumph of a party has borne its full fruit. A President is virtually deposed by the election of an antagonistic successor, though that successor does not assume the reins of Government for many months. So with a party and its policy. The political destinies of the country are in the hands, not of statesmen to whom consistency is of greater importance than the transient tenure of office, but of professional place-hunters whose highest ambition is to be always on the winning side. Like rope-dancers, their skill consists in the timely shifting of their balancing-pole. The rapid rotation to office makes it necessary for the aspirant to be constantly in accord with the changeable views of his State, or at least Constituency; for even the few prizes which are purely in the gift of the Administration are bestowed with reference to the local strength of the recipient. The moment, therefore, a party begins to exhibit signs of weakness it is instantly deserted by tens of thousands of its sworn adherents, and the party in the ascendant recruits its numerical strength in geometrical proportion. This accounts for the cowardice of minorities in America, which so much surprises the European spectator, and it also accounts for the

undue influence which the elections of the larger States have upon those in the smaller.

The character of the issue in Pennsylvania and New York, and in the various States which will follow during the winter, is defined with sufficient clearness. The Democratic or Constitutional party, despite some timorous disguises and affected disclaimers, is emphatically the party of peace. As such it is denounced, with a virulence unparalleled even in America, by the Republican or Administration party; and in this attitude, therefore, it appeals to universal suffrage, though by its own professions it assails only specific acts of the Administration, and not the war itself. The wholesale suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, the fiendish Emancipation Decree, the corruptions and mismanagement at Washington, are excellent electioneering weapons, and probably more judiciously selected than would be a sudden demand for peace, for which the mass of voters may well be supposed to be imperfectly prepared. The leaders of the Democrats or Constitutionalists thus secure the loyalty of many timid well-wishers, without precluding themselves, when they shall have the power, from terminating the war, as is their firm intention.

It must not be supposed, however, that this party consists in any considerable degree of friends to the South or favourers of Secession. On the contrary, it is almost wholly composed of men who deeply deplore the event, some of whom even yet hope for reconciliation at some future and happier period, and many of whom have by word and deed been among the most violent and active to repress the so-called rebellion. This party simply represents those who by stern lessons have been taught at last that the war is futile—that by persistence in it all that may yet be saved will be irretrievably lost—and that the part of wisdom is to make the best of a very disagreeable bargain.

Should this party succeed in the State of New York by the election of its candidate, Seymour, as Governor, the effect upon the contest between North and South would be almost beyond calculation. Not only might the Democrats of the West entertain reasonable hopes of carrying their States, but the Washington Cabinet would at once be deprived of some of its most efficient supporters; perhaps Mr. Seward himself, whose whole political fortunes are bound up with the State which he so long represented in the Senate, and now represents in the Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln would still continue President until the expiration of his term of office, but Mr. Lincoln's duties would be restricted to affixing his signature to State papers drawn up by abler men than himself.

That any party in favour of peace, though fighting with mask and closed vizor, should feel itself strong enough to do battle against the party actually in power, and which but lately seemed to have the whole nation passively at its feet, is certainly a most hopeful sign, especially when it is remembered how cowardly American minorities have always been, and how little the Democrats have heretofore formed an exception to this rule. But in the face of the most hopeful assurances from the other side of the Atlantic, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the war will terminate by such a return to sanity on the part of a majority of the Northern people. This war has been an anomaly throughout, but it would be the most astounding of all the anomalies it has yet presented, if the still feeble and uncertain voice of common sense should at this moment make itself heard above the wild and deafening tumult of wicked passions which resounds across the broad ocean. It would be the first time in history that, in the midst of a great popular revolution, the Conservative elements suddenly regained the mastery over the public mind. It would be as though a horse over which the rider had lost all control were checked in its headlong career by a child in its path; as though a mountain torrent was stopped in its furious rush by the bridge with which men had endeavoured to span it. Far more probable does it appear to us that the defeat of the Peace party will be the signal for renewed and madder orgies by the partisans of war. What acts of tyranny and revenge may have been restrained by prudence, so long as the issue was undecided, will fall with double force upon the

individual and collective components of the party whom defeat at the ballot-box shall have placed helpless at the mercy of the victors. We predicted this resistance of the Democrats when the scheme of the servile war first became known in Europe, and we then predicted that this resistance would only lead to their more complete destruction. May the event prove us bad prophets. But whatever evils may yet be in store for the unfortunate people which claims our kindred, a large portion must be placed to the charge of those who, deaf to the appeals of justice, humanity, and reason, encouraged and promoted, Mephistopheles like, what a word or a sign could have prevented.

The Federal Armies Need a Truce.

It is again rumoured in New York that the Federal army is going into winter quarters. The wish is father to the thought. Generally, delay is dangerous to the invading Power; but at this juncture a truce would, in a military point of view, be of incalculable service to the North. Recruiting is making slow progress, and attempts to enforce the draft in Pennsylvania and Ohio have resulted in a riot, and, in the first-named State, in bloodshed—a catastrophe full of evil foreboding to the North. The Irish, who are an important element of the fighting population have resisted impressment to the death. They may be coerced into obedience, but men enlisted at the point of the bayonet do not make the best of soldiers. Moreover, the Washington Government now learns that the transformation of the recruit into the soldier is a work of time; and above all, the North, after boasting of her endless resources and sneering at what she was pleased to call the poverty of the South, not only lacks arms and munitions of war, but has not sufficient clothing for the forces already enrolled and in active service. We see no reason to doubt the startling announcement that General McClellan's army, which was last spring so splendidly equipped that it dazzled the eyes of European military critics, and made them confidently predict that such a numerically mighty host, so fully prepared for war, was invincible, is now inactive for the want of shoes and clothing. The raggedness with which the Northerners, in a spirit of contemptible meanness, reproached their gallant foe, is now their own condition. Yet it must not be supposed the North is exhausted. The European markets are still open to her; and, although she is financially crippled, she is still rich enough to purchase all the equipments necessary for her new levies. But military stores are not obtained in a day; and some months must elapse before the Northern depôts are replenished.

If Mr. Lincoln did not foresee the urgency of a truce, and in his supreme ignorance imagined it was as easy to organize and equip armies as to issue atrocious decrees, or to make wooden nutmegs, the Federal commanders were not so blind. After the Seven Days' Battle before Richmond, when the Army of the Potomac was beaten, decimated, and disorganized, General McClellan saw the impossibility of continuing the contest without a thorough reconstruction; and General Halleck fully assented to the wisdom of this opinion. The object then sought for was, to withdraw McClellan's troops from the peninsula and mass the five Federal armies in Virginia, in a defensive position in that State, so as to cover Washington and command the leisure necessary for drilling the recruits. This plan was frustrated by the activity and genius of the Southern commanders. They were not deceived by the pretended reinforcements of McClellan, or by the flimsy *ruse* of Burnside and Pope attacking Richmond; but they crushed Pope's army before it could be joined by McClellan, and forced the whole of the Federal forces in Virginia to take refuge behind the fortifications of Washington.

It was then more necessary than before that there should be a temporary cessation of hostilities; and General McClellan placed his army so as to be safe from attack, and where he would have the op-

portunity of moulding the new levies into fighting regiments. The Confederates passed into Maryland, threatened to invade Pennsylvania, and so compelled him to abandon his Fabian tactics. McClellan broke up his camp, and whilst General "Stonewall" Jackson was taking Harper's Ferry with its vast amount of stores, and which place was secure so long as the Federal army remained in the immediate neighbourhood of Washington, he fought those Maryland battles which he claimed as victories, but which we now know were almost the severest reverses the North has sustained. Even at the battle of Antietam the Southern force did not exceed 60,000 men, whilst the Northern force was considerably more than 100,000 men. In none of the Maryland battles were the Confederates beaten, whilst the Northerners sustained fearful losses, and were only able to maintain their ground by their vast numerical superiority and continual reinforcements. Ultimately the Confederates recrossed the Potomac, having by the brief Maryland campaign acquired large supplies of food and clothing, the invaluable booty taken at Harper's Ferry, and having inflicted on the North losses which were equivalent to substantial defeats.

For a third time the Federal commander, pressed by an irresistible necessity, tried to get breathing time. He entered Virginia, not as the romance writers of the Federal War Office asserted, for the purpose of forcing the Confederates to battle, but, if possible, to occupy the defensive line that he had been compelled to abandon by the Maryland campaign, and making Harper's Ferry his headquarters. Then came the brilliant exploit of General Stuart, who with 3000 cavalry crossed the Potomac, traversed Maryland, entered Pennsylvania, captured Chambersburg, clothed his army, and carried away with him 600 horses and large stores of the clothing so much needed by the ragged soldiers of McClellan; and passing right round the Federal army, rejoined the main body of the Confederates without the loss of a single man. This adventure has produced a panic in the North, that all the promises and subterfuges of the Lincoln Government cannot allay. It shows the Northerners that it is not more difficult for Southern armies to invade their territory than it is for their troops to invade Southern territory; and what makes the lesson more impressive is, that this exploit should have been performed despite the presence of the largest Federal army. If the Confederates will persist in thus harassing and threatening their enemies—however necessary, it becomes impossible for the Federal army to go into winter quarters, and the raw recruits must learn the art of war in combating with disciplined and veteran troops. We are told that a general engagement is imminent in Virginia; and if it takes place, we may be sure it will be forced on the Federals.

In Kentucky and Tennessee the Confederate tactics are equally harassing and effective. By one mail we hear that General Morgan has been routed; by the next that he has captured Lexington; and by a third that he is being hotly pursued, and yet has made a large capture of stores. The fact is, General Morgan is one of those aggravating tacticians who are the peculiar abhorrence of Northern commanders. He has an inveterate habit of attacking the weak points of his antagonists, and having gained his object, does not wait to be attacked in turn, but is off, whither the Federal commanders know not; and his whereabouts is only ascertained by the report of some fresh capture. If at the battle of Corinth the Federals gained some advantage, it was not of a character to enable them to follow it up; and at Perryville they sustained a signal defeat. Nashville is surrounded, and its surrender has been demanded. It is evident that in the West, as well as in the East, the Federal troops have no prospect of a rest, however greatly they may stand in need of it.

The South, at the beginning unprepared for war, is at present in a better position than the North for active operations. She now has an abundant supply of arms and ammunition, whilst her enemy is temporarily crippled for needful supplies. The South has not only become a nation, but in the midst of an unequal

contest she has made sufficient preparations to defend her independence, even if the North should have the means and inclination to prolong the contest for years. She is now so happily situated that the loss of a battle, or even a disastrous campaign, would not involve her subjugation. And this the North knows. Knows that there is no hope of conquest but by extermination. Knows she cannot in fair fight do aught towards effecting this extermination, and therefore resorts to the infamous expedient of trying to stir up a servile war.

The Manchester School on International Law.

Mr. Cobden is, beyond comparison, the ablest man of the extreme party to which he has attached himself. Unless we are to except Mr. Forster, whose brief Parliamentary career has already excited great hopes of his future eminence, Mr. Cobden is the only Radical who ever showed anything like the knowledge or the capacity of a statesman. The others are mere declaimers, generally ignorant, and always perverse. Mr. Bright is listened to with admiration as one of the first orators living; but nobody ever learned a new fact or a new argument from Mr. Bright. He is untruthful, abusive, extravagant; often interesting; always eliciting a cheer; but never sensible, instructive, or statesmanlike. When he is not inspired by personal malice, he cannot speak; and he never yet delivered an oration on any subject whatever which did not principally consist of vituperative epithets or calumnious imputations directed against some class, party, or individual obnoxious by social, intellectual, or moral superiority, to the ambitious and intolerant arch-demagogue. The Member for Rochdale is a man of far higher calibre. He can speak, when he chooses, as calmly and effectively as any man living; he is perhaps the most lucid and logical of English politicians; and when he undertakes to state the case on one side of any great question, he is sure to say a great deal that is worth attention, and not a little that is very hard to answer. He was a greater man than he is; more candid, more rational, and less obstinately ignorant. Long association with friends far inferior to himself both in virtue and in sense—with men who share his most unfortunate defects, and exaggerate his worst mistakes—with men more conceited, less educated, and more prejudiced than he is—combined with the fatal want of a liberal training and the incurable one-sidedness which always marred his own character—has reduced him almost to the level of his chosen allies. A story is told of him which aptly illustrates the immense difference which once existed between him and them. No well-informed politician would have any difficulty in utterly demolishing the ablest argument ever delivered by a Bright, a Coningham, or a Stansfeld. Even Mr. Gladstone, Lord Russell, and Lord Palmerston rarely speak on a great question without laying themselves open to an effective and often damaging reply. But on one occasion, before the conversion of Sir Robert Peel, that statesman was observed to sit in attentive silence after one of Mr. Cobden's most powerful attacks upon the Corn Laws. The country gentlemen behind the Treasury Bench began to murmur, "This will never do. Why don't Peel get up and answer him?" Sir Robert half-turned round and muttered, "They may answer him who can." And on his own ground Mr. Cobden is still often unanswerable. If there were only one question in the political world, and that question had only one aspect, the Member for Rochdale would be master of the situation. As it is, the inherent narrowness of his mind, confirmed by a narrow education—he once said that a copy of the *Times* contained more political wisdom than the whole of Thucydides—utterly disqualifies him for practical statesmanship. He is essentially a man of one idea; and, like all such men, he is gradually sinking into a condition of political monomania.

Nevertheless, his Manchester speech on International Law was a masterpiece in its way. It ex-

pressed his convictions on a point to which he has given great study, and which, in one aspect, he thoroughly understands. The misfortune is that the subject has other aspects; and that the particular standpoint from which he regards it and everything else prevents him from seeing more than a very small part of the question. He touched, therefore, very few of his adversaries' positions, and those the weakest; but he put forward the argument on his own side as completely, clearly, and powerfully as it could possibly be put. Very much of what he said was true; but it was only a fragment of the truth, and therefore produced the effect of absolute falsehood.

Our readers will remember what was the state of maritime international law, as laid down by English jurists, up to 1856. We asserted the right of granting letters of marque to prey on the enemy's commerce; we asserted the right of blockading ports or coasts, provided the blockade were enforced by a naval strength sufficient to make access obviously dangerous; and we further asserted and exercised the right to confiscate the goods of an enemy found on board the vessels of a neutral. This last right was questioned by foreign Powers, who maintained the privilege of confiscating neutral property on board enemy's ships—a proposition obviously adverse to the interests of a Power which, having a vast commercial marine and a great navy to protect it, might hope, even in war, to share the carrying trade of neutral countries. It is easy to see that the doctrine that free ships do *not* make free goods is of great importance to a belligerent possessing a decided superiority at sea, inasmuch as it enables him utterly to destroy the commerce of his enemy. And this was, in fact, the chief reliance of England. Her naval supremacy enabled her to wage war with great effect, even if she did not send a single soldier from her shores; and the hope of prize-money tended greatly to facilitate the manning of her navy. By the Treaty of Paris she abandoned this advantage; and many of her ablest statesmen conceived that she committed a serious error in so doing, as well as in surrendering the right of privateering; though in the latter concession she herself obtained no inconsiderable advantage, American ships being thereby excluded from preying on her commerce in merely European wars. It was argued that the power of annihilating an enemy's trade, cutting him off from all foreign supplies, crippling the means of his merchants, and starving his people, was a most important and efficacious instrument of hostility; and that, in giving up this power, England would sacrifice the chief advantage she derived from her naval supremacy. But Lord Clarendon had made the agreement; it had been sanctioned by the Cabinet; and its ratification by Parliament was practically a matter of necessity.

The consequent state of international law is at once anomalous and inconvenient. We may still capture an enemy's merchant ships; but unless he puts his merchandize on board ships of his own, we cannot touch it. We may take his ports, and exact from the owners of property therein any contributions we think proper to levy; but when their property has left the port on board a neutral vessel, we are not entitled to meddle with it. If we were at war with America, the gold of California would be free on board French vessels. If we were at war with France, the silks of Lyons and the wines of Bordeaux would pass under the guns of our cruisers on board American merchantmen. We are therefore precluded from destroying an enemy's trade, but we may still destroy his merchant marine. His manufacturers and merchants are exempt from injury; his shipowners only are at our mercy. And ours are in the same plight, and complain loudly of the injustice and absurdity of the regulation. The shipping interest of England is by far the largest in the world; it is one of the most powerful interests in England; and it has power to make its protest heard and attended to, the more easily that it has reason on its side. The shipowners point out that the effect of the new rule in time of war would be to transfer to neutrals the whole carrying trade of Great Britain and her colonies. The greatness of

our naval strength would not prevent this. The Federal navy is enormously superior to that of the Confederates; and yet the exploits of one or two Confederate cruisers threaten wholly to interrupt the carrying trade of the North. Even in time of peace our merchant marine suffers by the possibility of war. Shippers in India and China are alarmed by every European quarrel. They fancy that between the time of the shipment and that of the arrival of their cargoes England may possibly be involved in war; and therefore they give the preference to a flag certain to be neutral. This would not have happened before the Treaty of Paris, because the goods would have been equally liable to confiscation on board a belligerent's and on board a neutral ship.

When the American Government was invited to accede to the Treaty of Paris, it refused to do so unless it were allowed to add to that treaty a further engagement, that private property should be altogether exempt from capture at sea. To this proposal the English shipping interest has given its support. The authors of the proposition contend that private property should be similarly treated on land and at sea; and as it is not liable to confiscation on shore, it should be equally exempt on the ocean. But this reasoning involves both a fallacy and a mistake in point of fact. Whatever protection is given to private property on shore arises from the well-understood rule of civilized warfare, that no injury should be done in mere wantonness; that no suffering should be inflicted on an enemy, and above all on a defenceless enemy, which does not tend to effect the object of war—the submission to terms of the party assailed. Now, there can be no doubt that the interruption of an enemy's foreign trade does inflict such suffering as certainly tends to compel him to make terms; while no such effect can be attributed to spoliation by an invading army. And further, it is not true that private property on land is altogether exempt from seizure. An invader has a right to take anything that his army requires, or that may be useful to that of the enemy. Some invaders go much further. We should like to know how these advocates of Free Trade during war, who are mostly warm admirers of Mr. Lincoln, regard the wholesale plundering of which, by his orders, the Federal troops have been guilty? Is it piratical, or is it lawful? And in either case, how is it possible to deny to the Confederates the right of retaliating on the merchant marine of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, the sufferings which Louisiana and Virginia have endured at the hands of the Northern soldiery?

But Mr. Cobden directed his argument chiefly against commercial blockades. We do not agree with him in holding the right of blockade inseparably connected with that of capture on the high seas. But we grant that the two questions are closely connected; and further, that the case against blockades has been stated with admirable force, skill, and clearness by the Member for Rochdale. He has very little to say against them on the score of right; but he labours to show that England has very little interest in maintaining their legality, and very great interest in putting an end to them. He argues that if in 1859, when General Cass, then Secretary of State, endeavoured to get rid of such blockades, England had supported him, we should have obtained the consent of Europe, and the American Government would have been precluded from the measures which it has now taken to ruin our manufacturers and starve our people. We doubt whether this inference be altogether warranted. It is true that Mr. Lincoln has abandoned the pretension to close the Southern ports by proclamation, as an exercise of municipal authority. But he did so only because he found it possible to close them by blockade. Mr. Cobden says that an attempt to enforce a municipal prohibition in such a case would have brought about a war with Europe, and that therefore no rational Government would have been guilty of such an attempt. But a paper blockade is an equally valid *casus belli*; and yet for many months the Southern ports were only blockaded on paper. We do not believe that Mr. Lincoln would have consented,

without a desperate struggle, to allow the South to export forty millions worth of cotton, and receive its price. If he would in any case have done so, he would now submit to the resolution of England or France to break the blockade. And this even Mr. Cobden feels sure that he would not do.

It is true, however, that England may in many cases be the worst sufferer by commercial blockades in wars wherein she is neutral. She suffers by the blockade of Mobile and Savannah and Charleston more severely than the Southerners. But it should not be forgotten that she has always the right and the power to relieve herself from such suffering by the only means which could be used to enforce an international prohibition of such blockades—by war, or the menace of war. It is true, also, that there are cases in which, even as a belligerent, she would probably abstain from exercising this right. But the fact that in certain cases it is better not to use a power does not prove that that power ought not to be jealously preserved. We may doubt whether any man will ever again be hung for treason; yet we should be sorry to relinquish the power of hanging traitors. When friends and foes are mixed together in a *mêlée*, no general would order his troops to fire upon the mass; but that does not prove that all battles should be fought with the bayonet alone.

It is strange that Mr. Cobden should not have seen, while he laboured to prove that commercial blockades must often be disastrous, and never useful, to England, that he was loading to the muzzle a weapon certain to recoil with terrible effect upon himself. Why could England so ill endure the use of this power by others—why so sparingly use it herself? Except in the case of cotton, the one necessary of her life which she cannot produce for herself, she might have been able to endure, without ruinous suffering, the commercial blockade of any coast except her own. But FREE TRADE has made her dependent on foreign countries for everything—for the very food of her people; and for this, of living men, Mr. Cobden is chiefly responsible. We do not say that, despite this terrible disadvantage, Free Trade is not a good, right, and necessary policy; but we do say that the essential one-sidedness of Mr. Cobden's mind is strikingly exhibited in his failing to perceive this aspect of the question, which has always been plain to men of very inferior powers to his own. The truth is, as he admitted or rather boasted at Manchester, his dream has been to make England "a great neutral Power." He thinks that he has succeeded; thank God, we *know* that he has failed. The position, the wealth, the temper, the duty, the virtue of the country, forbid it. Great Britain is separated from Europe, not by an ocean, but by a strait. Her geographical situation forbids her to be neutral in European politics. Her wealth compels her to be strong; her spirit makes it impossible that she should submit to the insults and the impotence which are the lot of a neutral Power in the midst of a constant conflict of interests and of rights. It is her duty to see that justice be done to the cause of liberty and national independence, of which Heaven has appointed her the especial champion; it is her duty to protect the rights of the weak against the restless ambition of the strong; and, whatever Mr. Cobden may think, his countrymen are not so selfish, so materialist, so atheistic, as to disbelieve in national duty, or so craven as to flinch from it.

The Blockade of Bermuda.

To Englishmen, and we believe to all unconcerned observers, it appears absolutely certain that a war with England would be about the most terrible disaster that could possibly befall the country which is still styled, and still is entitled to style itself, the United States of America. The Federal Government has a sufficient number of ships to blockade the principal ports of the South; it has gunboats and iron-clad vessels capable of doing great execution on inland waters; and it is able to spare a few vessels to infest British seas and prey, under the cloak of belligerent rights, upon British commerce. It has

an army, which, if not well-disciplined, is for the most part brave, and is throughout well equipped. It has a few forts in its principal harbours; and as it believes, the road to Canada is open to it, and will speedily be closed against England. But the Federal navy is not one which would give the least trouble to an efficient British fleet. The blockading ships are tolerably swift, and effective enough against unarmed craft; but they could not fire a broadside without imminent danger of sinking. The Monitor would probably keep beyond the Warrior's reach; if not, the latter would simply run over her, almost without feeling the shock; and the other iron and wooden gunboats would be annihilated with still greater ease, if they ventured out of the rivers. The few fighting ships that the American navy can boast would be easily disposed of by the present squadron of Admiral Milnes. The Atlantic cities, without an exception, would be at our mercy; the Southern ports would be instantly opened; and before a month had elapsed every Federal garrison on the Southern coast, from Norfolk to New Orleans, would be prisoners of war. The army, fully engaged by the activity of its present enemies, could not be spared for the invasion of Canada; and before new forces could be raised for that purpose, Portland would have received a British garrison, and the communication with Canada would be opened and held by a British army. Already at war with the South, it would be an act of suicidal madness in the North to bring upon itself a war with the first naval Power in the world. It would be madness in the North; but it might be an act of politic villany on the part of the Northern Government. A war with England would be popular; it would go far to restore the waning authority of Mr. Lincoln, and it would effectually cover the sins of his Ministers, and save them from being called to any account for failure and ruin, which would be laid entirely to the account of British treachery. Already men are beginning to demand of Mr. Seward the fulfilment of his lavish promises of victory; already they begin to murmur against that tyranny in the North which is not compensated by the subjugation of the South. An English war would supply a ready answer to all such complaints; nay, it would give the Government an excuse for effectually silencing—perhaps for ever—the most prominent of the malcontents. Mr. Chase would find in such a war an excuse for the national bankruptcy which cannot, save by peace, be averted or much longer postponed. Frauds, jobbery, incompetence, even treason, would be concealed or condoned; the evidence would be lost, and the culprit forgotten in the vast ruin and overwhelming excitement which would follow the report of the first cannon-shot fired by an American man-of-war against a British enemy. And there are some, therefore, who are inclined to believe that for their own purposes the Federal Cabinet desire to involve their country in war with England. We do not think it necessary to judge them so severely. Their conduct, no doubt, does seem to point to such a conclusion. They have fired shot and shell at our ships in British waters; they have blockaded British ports; they have offered us insults which, if received from France or Russia, would have been instantly answered by cannon-shot. But it does not follow that they wished for war. Hatred to England is the ruling passion of the Republican party; insult to England is the traditional policy of the American Government; but war with England is quite another thing. The Yankees like to insult and irritate us up to the very verge of war; and their rulers indulge them in this harmless amusement; but both the people and the Government rely on the forbearance of England, and believe that they will always be able to draw back in time. Therefore, outrageous as has been the behaviour of the Federal squadron in the Bahamas, we never believed that it was intended to provoke war. It may be that the Navy Department went further than the intentions of the President. It must not be forgotten that a large contraband trade has been carried on, of which Nassau was the entrepôt. That trade was as irritating to the Americans as their similar exploits were to our fathers in the Napoleonic wars; and they are

not accustomed, as civilized nations are, to keep their irritation within the bounds of reason and of law. It is not unnatural that, failing to interrupt the contraband trade between Nassau and Charleston, they should try to interrupt the legitimate trade between Liverpool and Nassau, which feeds and maintains the other. We ought not to let them do so; but their doing so does not prove that they are ready for war, but only that they cannot keep their tempers.

What has just happened at Bermuda is somewhat more threatening. It is very difficult to understand the appointment of Captain Wilkes to command in the West Indies, except on the supposition that the Federal Cabinet wish for war. It is possible that the act was that of Mr. Welles alone; and every one knows that Mr. Welles is not capable of prudence or common sense. But Mr. Lincoln could have revoked the appointment; and, as he has not done so, he must be held to approve it. Now, the selection of such a man for such a post was in itself an act of discourtesy towards Great Britain—as if we were to appoint Mr. Spence our Ambassador at Washington, or to send Sir George Bowyer to supersede Sir James Hudson at Turin. But, further, what could be expected from such a man but that he should insult and defy Great Britain? It must be remembered that his former act of piracy not only won him the applause of the rabble, the press, and the pulpits of the North, but that it also called forth the thanks of the House of Representatives, and the commendation of the Secretary of the Navy. He has a right to suppose that similar services are expected of him for the future. And it appears that he has acted exactly as, under such circumstances, it was to be expected that he would act. And the consequences are exceedingly irritating to Englishmen, and may not end very pleasantly for the Americans.* Mail steamers have been fired at and boarded within three miles of the land—that is to say, in British waters; boats have been employed to sound the channels at the mouth of the harbour; and still more outrageous insults have been offered to the British flag and to British neutrality.

The steamer *Gladiator* left Bermuda after being warned of the intention of the hero of the Trent to capture her while on a voyage between two British ports—she being bound for Liverpool. She was boarded, and her captain was ordered on board the American cruiser. He refused to go; and the enemy finally abandoned the idea of capturing the vessel—which, by the way, he had as much right to do as he would have to seize a steamer plying between Dublin and Holyhead. Whatever the vessel's previous history, the attempt to seize her while on a lawful voyage was simply an act of piracy. The above is the account given by the captain of the *Gladiator*; another version of the affair informs us that the steamer was escorted by H.M.S. *Desperate*, and was boarded while the latter was still in sight; and that the cause of the *Gladiator's* liberation was the sight of the preparations for action made on board the *Desperate*.

On Friday, September 26, Captain Wilkes, with his flag-ship and two gunboats, entered the harbour of Bermuda. He was warned that he could only remain there for twenty-four hours. But in defiance of this warning, he remained there for six days, under pretence, first, of coaling, and then of accident to his machinery. While he remained, one of the gunboats was constantly cruising about outside the harbour, while the other anchored every night *in such a position as absolutely to close the entrance, and prevent any vessel from passing in or out.* After his departure, Captain Wilkes left the two gunboats to cruise in the immediate vicinity of the port. These acts were, every one of them, gross insults to England, outrages on her neutrality, and violations of international law. It was Captain Wilkes' duty to quit the harbour when ordered, and it would have been the right of any British ship, or battery of adequate force, to sink him when he refused to do so. The anchoring of the gunboat at the entrance of the harbour was as gross an insult as could well be offered; the stationing of cruisers in British waters, within sight of a British port, is in itself a sufficient *casus belli*.

But for all these insults, we may thank Lord

Russell. When British shipowners complained of the blockade of Nassau, of the seizure of their ships while pursuing a lawful voyage, the Foreign Secretary replied that as the Americans were determined to interrupt our trade with Nassau, our merchants would do well to abstain from it altogether—and he refused them all protection. When a British vessel was fired upon by an American cruiser, while almost inside a British port, and when only accident prevented the murder of British seamen within sight of British shores, Lord Russell offered no remonstrance. Naturally, Mr. Gideon Welles and Captain Wilkes imagine that they may do as they please; that the forbearance of England is unlimited, or the cowardice of her Ministers unbounded. It is likely that before long they will be terribly undeceived. It is certain that the nation will not long tolerate a Ministry which allows its flag to be dishonoured and its ports to be insulted by the officers of a third-rate Power; it is probable that the Government will see the necessity, for its own sake, of taking measures, before Parliament meets, to put a stop to outrages which would inevitably provoke a Parliamentary storm. The issue may be war; it may be peace, and reparation extorted at a cost as great as that which procured the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell; but be it what it may, the weakness and timidity of our Foreign Secretary are at least as much to blame as the lawless temper and violent conduct of the Americans.

English Feeling towards the Belligerents.

THE attitude of Europe is unmistakable, notwithstanding the assertion of the English Government. There is no doubt that every country and every Government would gladly recognize the Confederation if it were not for the impassiveness, not of the English nation, not even of the English Cabinet, but the section of it which sways our foreign relations. What the feeling of the British nation is at the present day is evidenced in every speech, in every newspaper, and in every society; what the feeling of the Cabinet is was evidenced by the frank declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Newcastle. And yet Mr. Gladstone has frittered away into vague generalities the plain inference of his express words. Sir G. C. Lewis, Lord Ripon, Mr. Collier, and a host of minor satellites of the section of the Cabinet we have particularized, have been driven into the inevitable consequence of such an argument as this. The fact of the impossibility of the subjection of the Southern States by the Northern is conceded. The power of the Confederates to win their independence is conceded, and the only question left is—Have they won it? The answer is on the lips of every man. But, argue these gentlemen, we have nothing to do but to wait. It behoves us, then, to examine without warmth or partiality, the causes of what seems a moral phenomenon, and the riddle is not difficult of solution. Although the disruption of the United States was imminent, and the irreconcilable principles of the two sections of the Transatlantic Republic were perfectly well known amongst themselves, and plainly and unmistakably delineated by such philosophers as De Tocqueville and others who had looked beneath the surface; yet, notwithstanding, the whole question was to the British public an enigma. No one understood the constitutional bearings of it, and the legal powers of States, President, and Legislature were so hopelessly involved, and so unlike the rule and order of this country, that no one presumed to speak or write with authority. The confident assertion of the Washington autocracy, that the secession was a rebellion, was indeed accepted, like the rest of their assertions, *cum grano*, and the nation cordially endorsed the first position laid down by Lord Derby, that both parties were belligerents, without venturing to pronounce on which side the right lay. Under these circumstances two important elements came into action on the public mind in England—the religious and commercial. We will take them in this order. It is the great peculiarity of England that the heart of the country

is thoroughly religious. Fortunately for us, home influences are all-powerful, and at the fireside every national question is ultimately decided. The plain issue, then, between the two sections was therefore naturally overlooked by those whose programme in America was the law of conscience overriding the law of the land; and the prominence they gave to the slave question was especially directed to the religious public in England. And well has it answered their purpose. To this very hour the great mass of the people have no other terms to express the nature of the conflict. It is to no purpose that argument, fact, and experience have shown the utter indifference of the North to the welfare of the negro; the complete appreciation by the slaves themselves of the sham friendship offered them; and still more, the diabolical character of the preaching of the ministers of God's Word, who rely on Sharp's rifles and Blenkerism to carry out their doctrines. The emancipation of the negro from the slavery of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's heroes is the one idea of the millions of British who know no better, and do not care to know. But this would hardly have produced the national action had it not been for the other and more immediate cause. For many years past, owing to the peculiar advantages of England, the cotton trade of the world has fallen into her hands. On the other side of the Atlantic her relations were entirely with the Northern dealers. The whole wealth of the South passed through the houses of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and the produce of English industry was again by them distributed to the Southern buyers. It was no wonder, therefore, that all the sympathies of the manufacturing lords should be with their Transatlantic correspondents. It was a partnership of profit and loss, the most binding on all society. The failure of one was the ruin of the other; and corresponding have been the efforts of the English partners in the trade to prop up the fortunes of their co-speculators. There is, besides, a latent feeling, not expressed or acknowledged, but none the less penetrating, that a long series of uninterrupted insolence and injustice on the part of the United States to England has induced a national desire to see them lowered, more especially at their own hands; for it is apparent they have done themselves more irreparable damage in eighteen months than all Europe could have worked them in as many years. All these influences combined have acted on the public mind of England, and resulted, first, in violent abuse of the South on the ground of slavery, while the question between the two sections was misunderstood; then in the belief in the material strength of the overwhelming odds of the North, so powerful as to preclude all hope of success against men, arms, and discipline, so paraded in America, and so backed by money spread over every country in Europe, where the latest and best appliances of warfare were eagerly bought and extravagantly poured over the Atlantic, to equip the largest and best appointed armies that perhaps the world had up to that time beheld. But time, as usual, worked wonders. The true state of the slavery question became gradually known to those who studied the issues. The opinions of juriconsults and statesmen on the constitutional questions involved, filtered through the uninformed mind of England; and success, the idol of the nineteenth century, changed the tone of the quondam violent denunciation against the Southern Confederation. Perfectly unprepared, despite the rabid denunciation of Buchanan's treachery—with their chief city in the hands of their enemies—with 200,000 men in arms on their soil, menacing their seat of government from west, north, and east—with no fleet, no commerce, and no communication outside their own borders—with an improvised Government, and only such treasury arrangements as the patriotism of a united country could ensure—they have driven back the hordes of sanguinary mercenaries with slaughter and disgrace, and freed their native soil from the tread of the invader. Shoeless and without arms, they have successively beaten the best equipped troops that all the money and all the boasted nationalism of the United States could coax or force against them. They have

raised an army the terror of their foes, commanded by generals the admiration of the veterans of Europe. But still more, they have proved to demonstration that no feeling exists throughout their wide borders, save horror and detestation of their foreign oppressors, and the old British determination to be free on their own land, and, with the blessing of God, by their own strong arm. Nor need they fear domestic treason. The slaves, who have cheerfully shared their masters' peril, and in their absence faithfully guarded their masters' wives and children, as well as property, are not likely to be seduced by any professions of Northern love for the negro, or by offers of freedom like those of the Lincoln Proclamation. The soil of the Confederation is free. Its elected Government is contentedly and cheerfully obeyed in all its realm. The most painful sacrifices, both of life and property, are submitted to, not only without a murmur, but with cheerfulness; while all Europe has noted with acclamation the difference between the State Papers of Richmond and the voluminous documents which have poured from Washington in explanation of a policy as inconsistent with reason and decency as it is subversive of every maxim that has hitherto ruled the ways of civilized nations. And yet the organs of English neutrality bid us wait—aye, even as Sir Cornwall Lewis tells us, until the North recognizes the Southern independence. Be it so. We do not despair of that being wrenched from them. Nor is there much doubt that in time the falsity of the three combining causes of England's apathy as a nation will be proved by the unerring testimony of facts; and the warm sympathy with the Southern cause evinced by British men and women from the highest to the lowest, as individuals, completely vindicated. That it has been a support and encouragement to their struggling kinsmen on the bloody field, and in the deserted homestead, we know; and many a wife and mother has been cheered by the words of kindly feeling from afar that have reached them in the darkness of their bitter hours. The Southern men, and above all, the Southern women, have shown they know how to dare and how to suffer under the old British watchword of Duty; and English hearts have known how to appreciate.

But in the meantime it is worth while to think something of the honour and honesty of England evidenced by such universal sympathy. It is worth while to think something of the sufferings of her own starving millions, whom this internecine war is daily robbing of their children's bread. Let us turn to a brighter view. There are stored still in the Southern cities some four millions of bales of cotton, which are available for the starving Lancashire operatives, and even now measures are being taken for their transport. The comprehensive mind of Lieutenant Maury, months ago, pointed out the course to be adopted, and the statesmen at Richmond have proved themselves no idlers. England and the Southern Confederation must be friends and allies by the immutable laws of mutual interest. The demand and supply are both present, nor will the blind hostility of the enemies of both keep them much longer asunder.

The International Exhibition.

An hour after sunset on Saturday next the Great Exhibition of 1862 will be a thing of the past. It is true the closing ceremonial is postponed till January, and that the building will be kept open a fortnight for the sale of goods; but after Saturday next there will not be the slightest ground for calling the affair an International Exhibition. The pictures and statues will have departed, the shopocracy will reign supreme, and, unless we are misinformed, the whole concern is to be wound-up with a monster auction. The English exhibitors, in the fortnight's undisguised trading and the auction, will have some advantage over their foreign rivals, since, we believe, there is no impediment to their introducing into the building goods they cannot sell in their shops, and which they may by chance dispose of as Exhibition articles. We think, then, the moment has arrived when English journalists may criticise the undertaking frankly and unreservedly. Henceforth undeserved praise will not contribute a shilling to the coffers of the Commissioners; nor will merited censure add a sixpence to the liabilities of the guarantors.

One reason that has hitherto disarmed criticism seems to

us at this juncture to sternly demand it. We admire, or rather, as Englishmen, we sympathize with and reverence the loyal and grateful sentiment that has blinded the public to many glaring imperfections. The Exhibition of 1862, like its predecessor of 1851, is intimately associated with the name and memory of the lamented and good Prince Consort. The conception of gathering together, from all parts of the earth, the productions of every climate, and the art and industry of every nation, so that the whole world might be improved and knit together by a rivalry which injures no man, and benefits every community, was worthy of a Prince whose virtues made royalty loved as well as respected, and who showed that in peace, and even without the circle of political life, there are triumphs to be achieved not less glorious, and surely not less enduring, than those which are gained in the battle-field or in the Senate. And the conception is not only commendable in itself, but the author of it, though cut off in the prime of his days, lived to see it crowned with complete success. To this hour there is a tender remembrance of the gathering of 1851, and that gathering has led to others in Europe and America. Now, we admit the Exhibition that will close this week was originated and brought about by the influence of the same master mind; but except the approval of Captain Fowke's unsightly building, we deny that the late Prince Consort's taste and judgment are responsible. If he had lived there would have been no paltry evasion of the bargain made with the season ticket-holders; there would have been no unseemly broils about stick and umbrella pence; there would not have been the scandal about a bankrupt French cook and his hon. clerk. We are still more certain that the interior arrangements would have been artistic and intelligible, and not a confused maze that, but for the costliness and beauty of some of the articles, would be fairly comparable to the disorder that appears to prevail in the arrangement of the miscellaneous stock of a marine store dealer. The late Prince Consort had the feeling of an artist, and would not have tolerated the vulgar trophies suggested by some one who thinks the whole art of life and the whole life of art consists in the tradesman dressing his window as obtrusively as possible. Above all, prize medals and honourable mentions would not have been bestowed lavishly indeed and without discrimination. As it is, not to have obtained a prize so far from being a discredit is rather a test of merit; but, of course, we do not mean by this that many of the prizes have not been well deserved; we only regret want of judgment has made the distinction of so little value. In finding fault, then, with the International Exhibition of 1862, we are, in fact, vindicating the artistic reputation and administrative skill of the late Prince Consort.

The outside of Captain Fowke's building conveys no other impression than that of largeness, and yet, when the visitor enters it, he finds the interior arrangements dwarf the building, and so conceal the only merit of the design—if mere size is a merit. The best parts of the Exhibition were the pictures and the machinery—not, we mean, especially on account of their respective artistic and mechanical merits, but that they were grouped together—and not scattered about and mixed with incongruous articles. An International Exhibition is not intended merely as a fashionable lounge, but as a school of instruction, by enabling the visitor to compare the productions of different countries. Yet how could this be done when the productions of every country were isolated? If any one wished to compare the fabrics of France, England, and Switzerland, he would have found the Exhibition less convenient than many of the warehouses in the neighbourhood of the Old Change. He could not at Kensington see the goods side by side. We submit that, to make an Exhibition really useful, the products, whether agricultural or industrial, should be classed by kind and not by country; but even in the last arrangement chaotic confusion was not indispensable. Cases of cigars, trophies of bottles containing wine or water—the visitor knew not which—photographs, china, glass, and kitchen utensils, need not have been placed in the same compartment.

Some discretion should have been exercised in the reception of goods. A large percentage of the things in the building were of a very inferior description, and nothing is gained by looking at things too common for a tradesman's shop window. There were whole compartments in the galleries with nothing in them worth consideration. Would not the confusion and distraction have been greatly avoided if rubbish and commonplace—we do not mean cheap—goods had been excluded?

Somehow or other the whole venture has failed. The guarantors, if they do not lose much money, have had a few months of anxiety. The exhibitors complain of their treatment, and consider themselves cruelly used. Captain Fowke's building, with its dishevelled domes, has, we believe, not found a single admirer out of the charmed circle of the Royal Commissioners. The London tradesmen complain that the Exhibition has been more plague than profit; and certainly the inhabitants of London, who, not owning carriages, depend upon cabs and omnibuses—the class designated in Belgravia as "the omnibus people"—may be glad that months of inconvenience are over, and that sight-seeing foreigners and unsophisticated country cousins have returned to their homes.

There was nothing imposing about the Exhibition, except the chapmen and the eating department. It was a large shop, and to the unwary rather a dear one. Many ladies paid double prices under the excitement incident upon the idea that the Commissioners did not allow sales. It was a kind of smuggling, and ladies are inveterate smugglers. One "dodge"

was exceedingly effective. If the public did not buy, a few cards with the word "sold" printed on them, distributed about the stalls, soon attracted customers. People were anxious to have what others had secured. The keeper of the stall whispered the name of the distinguished nobleman who had purchased the article, and offered to supply a duplicate at a price which would not have been given if an aristocratic buyer had not been mentioned. In this way, by shifting about the "sold," and we may add "selling," cards, the dealers disposed of the wares they wished to be rid of. We are not grumbling. If the Royal Commissioners allowed it, what right have we to find fault? When the visitor had been through the Exhibition, he felt the appropriateness of the gilt gingerbread trophy at the grand entrance, which is supposed to indicate the quantity of gold found in Australia. Was it not a fitting monument to place in the Temple of Mammon?

Reviews.

THE TESTIMONY OF AN ENEMY.*

Rushing, or drifting, or in any way getting into print, is a dangerous experiment for those who would rather live unknown than acquire a reputation for folly. Stupid men never write wise books; but it frequently happens that very wise men write very stupid books, so that the odds are much in favour of an author unconsciously doing for himself what Dogberry so earnestly desired another should do for him. Men do not willingly proclaim themselves fools, but it is remarkable that sometimes they are at unusual pains to prove themselves knaves. Hence the world is treated to confessions which are, generally speaking, a long way after Rousseau. We do not, of course, refer to the "last dying confessions" of the "Newgate Calendar" worthies, or even to the confession of the late M.P. for Southwark, though it was strictly and charmingly artistic, and, by a motive of vanity, tinged, or rather suffused, with a roseate hue of romance and mystery; what we refer to are voluntary and gratuitous confessions. Such, for example, as "A Chequered Life," that has lately amused Belgravia, and all the little Belgravias that cluster around London; in which a man of fashion, with fascinating audacity, proclaims his past villainies, not only without a blush, but with the same unction that a converted drunkard details to a teetotal meeting the quantity of liquor he consumed when he had the means of procuring it. The hero of "A Chequered Life" differs from Barnum, and Mr. W. G. Stevenson, the author of "Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army," inasmuch as he knows that his practices are shameful, and he even bemoans them; whereas Messrs. Barnum and Stevenson glory in their shame, for the simple reason that they consider cheating, provided it is successful, a virtue.

That Mr. Stevenson has been in the Confederate army, is, we think, an undeniable fact, for the descriptions he gives of the Southern troops and of Southern operations are graphic; whilst his romance of how he was enlisted is a very poor invention. Our readers will not have forgotten the story of the learned sinner who was kept in Texas a whole year against his will, and during that time saw negroes regularly baked by their masters, and who made his escape with a terrible document concealed in the barrel of his rifle; and we can assure them, excepting the "slave roasting," Mr. Stevenson's adventures before he enlisted are scarcely less wonderful. He was an innocent youth, doing a profitable trade in wine-cask staves in Arkansas when the war broke out. On April 16th, 1861, "urged by a guardian, though warlike spirit," he cleaned his revolvers, and next night he was awakened by three men, who forthwith conducted him to Jeffersonville, where he had to appear before the "Phillips County Vigilance Committee," and during the journey one of the three men, his friend Buck Scruggs, informed him that he was to be tried on suspicion of being a Northern man and an Abolitionist, and that he must be cool, and only use his pistols in case of need. The committee, consisting of fifty or sixty "graceless scoundrels," who were maddened with "vile liquor," greeted him with cries of "Hang him," "Burn him," &c.; but for some unaccountable reason he was neither hanged nor burnt; and being acquitted, proceeded without a moment's delay to Memphis, and rather singularly found the passengers on the boat freely discussing his trial and acquittal. When he got to Memphis he was taken before the Committee of Public Safety, and though confronted by one of the Jeffersonville Vigilance Committee, was again set free; but he was followed out of the room by a policeman, who handed him a letter from the chairman, in which he was advised to enlist, or "he would probably stretch hemp instead of leaving Memphis." Acting upon this hint, he cheated the gallows of its prey, and volunteered. He does not pretend he was badly used in

*Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army: A Narrative of Personal Adventures, &c., with an exhibition of the Power, Purposes, Earnestness, Military Despotism, and Demoralization of the South. By an Impressed New Yorker. (London: Sampson Low, Son & Co.)

the service; on the contrary, he was rapidly promoted, and fully trusted. From the moment of his enlistment he was a traitor to the cause of the South, and only thought of how he could escape without risking his life. He suggests that the enemy may be spared by using "a cartridge without a ball, a pretended discharge without a cap, or an extra elevation of the piece." During the battle of Shiloh he was actively engaged as a aide-de-camp, and on the eve of the fight was anxious to escape and inform the Federals of their danger, but could not do so without risk. The strangest instance of our author's moral obtuseness is the remark he makes in reference to horrors of the battle-field. "The only relief to my feelings was the reflection that I had not shed one drop of that blood." He had, merely by acting as aide-de-camp, abetted and assisted others to do so. Mr. Stevenson has a most convenient and elastic conscience. If the Southerners were as indifferent about violating an oath, the tyrant of New Orleans would not have found so much difficulty in inducing the people to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government.

It is easy to see through the flimsy pretence of the compulsory enlistment. Mr. Stevenson wishes to stand well with the Northerners, for whom "Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army" is written, and to do so it was indispensable he should get rid of the awkward fact that he had done his best to defeat the Northern armies. He is evidently a commonplace deserter, who is anxious to make a little money and notoriety out of an act that all nations regard as infamous.

Still, his testimony is worth some notice, because, when an enemy is obliged to confess to the strength and virtues of the Southern cause, the most bigoted Northerner must admit there is something in it. We do not mean to infer that any such testimony was necessary. We can judge of the tree by its fruit. The South has maintained her independence against superior numbers and superior resources, and we may reasonably conclude she has been actuated by a better spirit, and strengthened by a greater unanimity.

Mr. Stevenson is almost eloquent on the subject of Southern earnestness:—

The planters were, and are yet, in bloody earnest in this rebellion; and my impression, since coming North, is, that the mass of Union-loving people here are asleep, because they do not fully understand the resources and earnestness of the South. There is no such universal and intense earnestness here as prevails all over the Rebel States. Refined and Christian women, feeling that the Northern armies are invading their homes, cutting off their husbands and brothers, and sweeping away their property, are compelled to take a deeper interest in the struggle than the masses of the North are able to do, removed as they are from the horrors of the battle-scenes, and scarcely yet feeling the first hardship from the war. Indeed, I do not doubt that regiments of women could be raised, if there was anything they could do in the cause of the South. That they are all wrong, and deeply blinded in warring against rightful authority, makes them none the less, perhaps the more, violent.

With regard to the reported Union feeling in the South, he is not less emphatic. Whilst he was in the seceded States, though he was an officer, and had excellent opportunities for observation, he did not find any evidences of disloyalty to the South:—

The truth is, and it should be stated frankly—the whole people, men, women, and children, were a unit, cemented together under a high heat in opposition to "the invaders."

So far from the Confederates lacking arms and ammunition, they have, according to Mr. Stevenson, abundant supplies. He reports that large quantities of arms have been received from Europe; but it is clear the North has had free access and made greater use of the European markets. We do not question the present abundant supply of munitions of war, or that it will be kept up by the energy of the people. It is, however, not the less true that at the commencement of the struggle the South had harder work to procure arms than to organize an army. It is stated that there is still a deficiency of clothing, and, if so, it seems that General Stuart is showing his comrades the way to remedy that deficiency at the expense of the enemy.

One of the passages which is contradicted by general report, and which any one acquainted with the actual condition of the Southern army cannot credit, is that in which Mr. Stevenson accuses the Southern troops of immorality and irreligion. Now, one effect of the life-and-death struggle has been to develop a strong religious sentiment in the South, and some of the most distinguished leaders have in a marked manner shown the compatibility of a Christian profession with bravery and patriotism. As to the South becoming "a moral wilderness" by the continuance of the war, we must remark, that if so, the past is no criterion for the future. Besides, Mr. Stevenson is self-refuted. He enlarges upon the discipline and patriotism of the Southern army; and these qualities are inconsistent with demoralization. Further, he tells us of an excellent officer whose reputation suffered greatly because he was

reported at time, to use profane language. We think it not unlikely that Mr. Stevenson will find the North not over pleased with his book. It may be no fault of his, but an irresistible impulse, that when he opens his mouth to curse his enemies, lo! he blesses them. He may, however, be sure such slips, however unavoidable, will not be forgiven. In the North the most atrocious libel, and the most unpardonable treason, is to speak the truth about the condition or institutions of the South.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Common Sense of the Water Cure. By Captain J. H. LUKIS. (Hardwicke.)

If the author of this book is a favourable specimen of the results of hydropathic treatment, we earnestly advise all persons to eschew the so-called cold water cure. We pity a man who is under the impression that he and his fellow-creatures were created mainly for the purpose of thinking of their organs of digestion. No doubt beef and mutton, farinaceous puddings, fruit and cold water, constitute a very wholesome regime; but we are not quite convinced that the taste for a variety of food was given to us for the purpose of not being gratified. Captain Lukis falls into the same error as the disciples of Hahnemann, and ascribes to medical quackery the benefits that result from a change of food. A person accustomed to rich living will often find relief from sickness by adopting a simple diet, and we can assure Captain Lukis that, on the other hand, persons accustomed to poor living are often cured by adopting a generous diet. If any one is sick, suffering from too practical acquaintance with Francaelli's "Art of Confectionery," or worn out by the exciting contingencies of Indian military life, let him go into the country, and have "pure air, regulated diet, moderate exercise, mental repose, and a judicious use of the renovating properties of water." But let him not go to Hkley, our author's "Young Malvern," because the four first restoratives he recommends can be obtained at almost any place remote from towns, and the portion of the prescription we have italicised is not procurable at hydropathic establishments, where they insist upon the injudicious use of water.

John and I. A Novel. (Hurst and Blackett.)

This story is well-constructed, and, excepting that it is a little spun out, very well told. John and Henderson Brown are the sons of a banker, who ruins himself with speculation, and dies in disgrace and poverty. His sons find a refuge with their uncle, Colonel Von Blum, who resides at Stuttgart. The elder becomes tutor in the family of the Baroness Weiler, and the younger obtains a situation as clerk in a merchant's office. John marries the baroness; and the domestic bliss is cut short by an unfortunate attachment, which results in a vast amount of jealousy and ill-will. We shall not attempt in our limited space to give an outline of the plot, which has the merit of not outraging probability. The characters are strongly marked, and the author evinces a considerable knowledge of German manners and customs.

CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Treasury Department, C. S. A.,
Richmond, August 18.

Hon. Thomas S. Bocock,
Speaker of House of Representatives, C. S. A.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit the following report of the condition of this Department, and of the estimates and supplies requisite for the support of the Government, until January 1 ensuing:—

The receipts at the Treasury up to August 1, from all the various sources of income, are as follows:—

From Customs	\$1,437,399.96
From Miscellaneous sources	1,974,769.33
From Loan, Act of February 28, 1861	15,000,000.00
From Loan, Act of August 19, 1861	22,613,346.61
From Call Deposits, under Act of December 24, 1861	37,585,200.00
From Treasury Notes, Act March 9, 1861	2,021,100.00
From Treasury Notes, Act May 16, 1861	17,347,955.00
From Treasury Notes, Act August 19, 1861	167,764,615.00
From Interest Treasury Notes, Act April 17, 1861	22,799,900.00
From \$1 and \$2 Treasury Notes, Act April 17, 1861	846,000.00
From temporary loan from Banks—balance	26,25,000.00
From War Tax	10,539,910.70
	\$302,555,196.60

The expenditures at the same date are as follows:—

War Department	\$298,376,549.41
Navy Department	14,605,775.86
Civil and Miscellaneous	15,766,503.43
	\$328,748,830.70

The difference between this sum and the receipts, amount-

ing to \$26,193,634 10, is made up of the various balances on the books of the Treasury to the credit of disbursing officers, which are not yet paid.

There are, also, outstanding requisitions upon the Treasury, upon which warrants are not yet issued, as follows:—

War Department	\$18,112,192.15
Navy Department	411,936.00
	\$18,524,128.15

This sum must be added to the expenditures paid as above, in order to exhibit the whole expenditures of the Government from its commencement to August 1, and the aggregate is \$347,272,958.85, and for still greater accuracy it should be stated that as about five millions of the amount charged as expenditure has been paid for the redemption of Deposit Certificates, the aggregate above stated is subject to that abatement, when considered in the light of actual expenses.

The Treasury Notes issued to the same date are as follows:—

General currency notes of Five Dollars and over	\$180,956,035
General currency notes under Five Dollars	846,000
Interest bearing at rate 3.65	1,441,200
Interest bearing at rate 7.30	22,799,900
	\$206,043,135

To pay the balance against the Treasury as above set forth, there must be a further issue of	26,193,634
And to pay the outstanding requisitions, as above stated	18,524,128
	\$250,761,797

The issue already made of these notes as above shown to	183,244,135
Leaving authority to issue only	16,755,865
	\$200,000,000

The difference between these balances now due by the Treasury	44,717,762
And the above	16,755,865
is	\$27,961,897

Unless this balance can be paid by bonds or 7.30 notes, the authority to issue general currency notes must at once be extended to pay the same; and that authority must be extended still further to meet the appropriations already made by Congress not yet paid, and also the further appropriations yet to be made.

The appropriations already made by Congress and not drawn on August 1, amount to \$164,687,389.93

The estimates submitted by the various Departments of the additional supplies required to make good deficiencies and to support the Government to 1st January next, are as follows:—

For the War Department	\$44,373,590.36
For the Civil List	386,607.39
For the Miscellaneous	102,889.38
	\$44,862,097.13

So that the whole amount of supplies required to January 1, presents a total of \$209,550,487.06

Congress must now determine the best mode of raising this sum.

If the Bonds or Stock of the Government to any considerable extent could be sold, they would unquestionably offer the best mode of raising the money. An examination of our funded debt account will show that only a small portion can be raised in this way.

The whole amount of Bonds and Stocks issued is as follows:—

Eight Per Cent. Stocks and Bonds	\$41,577,250
Six Per Cent. Call Certificates	32,784,400
	\$74,361,650

This statement, while in the large amount of call deposits, it exhibits its confidence in the credit of the Government, yet in the small comparative amount of Bonds and Stocks, it shows an indisposition to make investments in that form. We are, therefore, constrained to resort to Treasury Notes as the only mode by which the requisite funds can be raised. The resource has its limits. But it is hoped that with a reasonable economy in making the appropriations, the plans already set in operation will extend these limits, so as to reach to the end of the war.

The inherent objections which attend a Government currency are that it disturbs the standard of value and enhances prices. The facility with which it is created is a constant temptation to excess; and the danger of this excess, together with the doubt of an ability to pay, are the chief causes which affect its credit as a currency.

Thus far, no want of confidence has been exhibited in our currency. It freely circulates everywhere, and the fact that the banking institutions receive and pay out Treasury Notes in their own business is the most certain indication that their credit is unimpaired.

The other cause becomes active only when the total amount of circulation exceeds the usual business wants of the community. It operates without relation to the actual value of the circulation, so that even coin, if it could be kept in a country (if in excess produce the same result. The effect is a necessary consequence of the relation between the whole circulating medium and the whole business and property of the community, and can only be modified by influences upon the cause. Every means, therefore, which will reduce the quantity of circulation, becomes important, and should diligently be sought after.

It was with this view that Congress adopted two measures of relief; one, by which any excess in the quantity of currency might at once be permanently withdrawn and funded in eight per cent. bonds—the other by which the same effect could be produced for a time, through interest bearing notes and deposits on call. But plans are working well. The deposits have in fact been a permanent loan at six per cent. The interest notes, although current to a certain degree, are usually withdrawn from general circulation as soon as a sufficient amount of interest has accrued upon them to make them valuable as a temporary investment. It must be observed, however, that if this interest should remain in arrear for a long or indefinite time, these notes encounter a difficulty which seriously impairs their value, namely, that of an unproductive investment. Thus, being both unproductive and uncurrent,

they will not pass into general use unless the interest be paid annually. It will be seen that the issue of these notes already amounts to upwards of twenty-two millions. Much of it has doubtless been taken under the belief that the interest would be paid like other interest, and I have encouraged this belief by stating that I would recommend to Congress that the interest should be paid annually. I earnestly hope that Congress will approve this recommendation. The payment could be stamped annually on the note, without encumbering it with a coupon; and in this way it is believed the objects intended by the issue would be effected.

I would also recommend that the notes be issued of a less denomination than \$100. The large amount of money in the hands of private capitalists is the fund which we must induce to be loaned for the uses of the Government. From the War Tax returns, and from estimates as to such States as have not yet made complete returns, this fund may be set down at seven hundred millions, and one of the best means for procuring the use of part of it by the Government, seems to be through these notes, which answer the double purpose of currency and investment.

I have, also, to report that the acceptance of deposits on call at 6 per cent. has operated well. It will be seen that nearly thirty millions have been deposited in this way, thus proving at the same time, the confidence of the country in the Government, and the advantages of the plan.

It will also appear, from the statements herewith, that there have been issued about \$816,000 of notes under \$5. These notes are in great demand, and the issue of them may be extended to ten millions.

The issue of the large amount and various denominations of notes has confronted us with a difficulty which calls for the intervention of Congress. It requires the services of 129 clerks to perform the various duties involved in the issue of these notes. Of these about seventy-two are employed in signing; and it will be readily seen that the chief security intended by the signing is thus reduced to but little practical value. It is difficult for any one to bear in mind the signatures of so many different writers; but when to this is added the changes required by sickness, absence, and resignations, it becomes impossible.

These embarrassments have been increased by the efforts of our enemies to counterfeit the notes. Organized plans seem to be in operation for introducing counterfeiters among us by means of prisoners and traitors; and printed advertisements have been found, stating that the counterfeit notes, in any quantity, will be forwarded by mail from Chestnut-street, in Philadelphia, to the order of any purchaser.

Under these circumstances, it will be necessary to change many of the plates and to make new issues. The change would be more complete by dispensing with the variety of signatures, which are attached to the other notes. I am informed by the engravers that the signatures of the Register and Treasurer might be engraved in *fac simile* and printed, and that by stamping an elaborate engraving in colours on the back of the note, the security against counterfeiters would be greater than it is at present. The expense of the issue would be diminished by dispensing with the numerous signing clerks, and its more prompt execution would be secured. In order to make this change, the authority of Congress is necessary. The laws against counterfeiting, if not already sufficient, must be made to embrace these notes. In this connection, too, it is proper to bring to the notice of Congress that the penalties of the law, while they apply to any person found in possession of counterfeit blank notes, with intent to utter them, do not seem to embrace notes which are completely filled up and ready for circulation.

The situation of the country made it advisable to remove the printing and engraving establishments from Richmond, shortly after the last adjournment of Congress. The distance from the seat of Government at which so delicate a business must now be conducted, involves the necessity of greater expense and of greater ability and higher character than those of ordinary clerks, in those who must superintend. I would therefore, respectfully suggest that this department be made a separate bureau, and that a chief clerk, with an appropriate salary, be charged with the superintendence of its business at Columbia.

The War Tax has been paid by the several States as follows:—

North Carolina	\$1,400,000.00
Virginia	2,125,000.00
Louisiana	2,500,000.00
Alabama	2,000,000.00
Georgia	434,126.12
Florida	225,374.11
Mississippi	1,484,467.67
	\$10,168,967.90

The State of Georgia has substantially paid in the balance due by her, and the State of South Carolina has paid the whole amount due by her into the Treasury, in the form of six per cent. call certificates. But as the final settlement has not yet taken place, the certificates have not as yet been delivered up, and the account is not yet closed. The returns from the State of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, have not yet been rendered in complete. The two former States have, nevertheless, paid the taxes in advance.

From the documents furnished, it appears that the States of North Carolina and Alabama have overpaid their respective assessments, and I will ask leave to submit an estimate to the amounts to be refunded them as soon as the complete returns shall be received.

The collection of the War Tax has presented several difficulties, which it is proper that Congress should have in view, whenever a further tax shall be levied. These difficulties are presented together in a report from the Chief Clerk of the War Tax office, a copy of which is herewith respectfully submitted. It is also proper to state, that by a judgment of the District Judge of South Carolina, money invested in State bonds has been excepted from the War Tax. An appeal has been ordered from this judgment, but as no Supreme Court has yet been organized, the effect of the judgment will be, to release from any future tax all monies invested in this form in South Carolina, or in any other State wherein the District Judge may hold the same opinion.

Since the last meeting of Congress I have appointed three new places of deposit for public moneys, one at Galveston, Texas, one at Knoxville, Tennessee, and one at Augusta, Georgia.

The Assistant Treasurer at New Orleans has removed his office, for the time, to Jackson, Mississippi, and the depositary at Mobile has made a temporary removal to Montgomery, Alabama.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

C. G. MEMMINGER,
Secretary of Treasury.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Confederate States of America,
War Department, Richmond, August 12.

To His Excellency Jefferson Davis,
President of the Confederate States.

Sir,—Although it is not customary for the heads of departments to make reports at extra sessions of Congress, yet, in consideration of recent changes in the organization of the army, and of the necessity for further legislation, it is deemed best to depart from this usage on the present occasion.

It became apparent, in the course of last spring, to all acquainted with the condition of the army, that the Acts of Congress providing for re-enlistments would not affect the desired object.

The privilege allowed of re-enlisting corps, and even for different arms of the service, coupled with the love of change always found in camps, and heightened in the case of our armies by the monotony and discomfort of winter quarters, caused such extensive changes, that the re-enlistments tended to the disorganization of the army.

Large numbers of our men, yearning for home, weary of the discomfort of camp life, and deceived by the apparent inactivity of the enemy into a belief that their services were no longer necessary, declined to re-enlist, and prepared to turn over the burden of the war to those who had as yet borne no part of it. Efforts to procure re-enlistment and the expectation of change, relaxed the discipline of the army, impaired its efficiency, and rendered it incapable of accomplishing what otherwise might have been achieved.

While our armies were thus passing through successive stages of disorganization to dissolution, those of the enemy recruited and re-organized, had reached a high state of efficiency, and were ready at the opening of the campaign to enter upon it, with every guarantee of success that numbers, discipline, complete organization, and perfect equipments could afford.

The successes they obtained under these circumstances, far from being a matter of surprise, were necessary consequences of the relative conditions of the armies, and it is truly surprising that these successes were not greater and more complete.

The plan of voluntary enlistment having failed to preserve the organization, and to recruit the strength of our armies at a time when the safety of the country required both to be effected, a resort to draft or conscription was the only alternative. To all acquainted with the true condition of things there could be no ground for doubt. In a period of thirty days the terms of service of one hundred and forty-eight regiments expired. There was good reason to believe that a large majority of the men had not re-enlisted, and of those who had re-enlisted a very large majority had entered corps which could never be assembled, or if assembled, could not be prepared for the field in time to meet the invasion actually commenced.

There was, therefore, an interval of disorganization and weakness impending, and the enemy had already entered Virginia with an army now known to have had more than double the numerical strength of our own, and superior to it in everything but courage and good cause. It was obvious that conscription alone could save us, and it could hardly be supposed that a Constitution adopted in the midst of war, inhibited the only possible mode of raising armies.

Influenced by these and other considerations, Congress adopted the measure popularly known as the Conscription Act. Four months have not elapsed since its passage, and the present condition of the army and of the country sufficiently prove its wisdom. Four months ago our armies were retiring weak and disorganized before the overwhelming force of the enemy, yielding to them the sea-coast, the mines, the manufacturing power, the grain fields, and even entire States of the Confederacy. Now we are advancing with increased numbers, improving organization, renewed courage, and the prestige of victory, upon an enemy defeated, disheartened and sheltering himself behind defensive works and under cover of his gunboats. A military system which has done so much in so short a time should be cherished and perfected, and its defects speedily corrected.

Soon after the passage of the Conscription Act, the Department prepared to carry it out, and on the 28th of April, published General Order No. 30, a copy of which is herewith returned, prescribing regulations for the enrolment, mustering in, subsistence, transportation and disposition of conscripts.

It was determined to establish one or more permanent camps in each State, at points selected with reference to health and facilities for subsistence and transportation. Each camp has its Commanding Officer, its Drill Officers, its Commissary, Quartermaster, and Surgeon. The conscripts are to be assembled, drilled, taken through the camp duties, and distributed among the regiments of the State in proportion to their respective deficiencies.

The necessity of sending them immediately into the field has interfered with this plan of operations, but it has been carried out as far as practicable, and during any period of comparative inactivity it can be fully executed. Recruits thus prepared for the field, will be little inferior to old soldiers, and the army will be relieved from its crowded hospitals and the long train of inefficients that now drag in its rear.

The greatest difficulty encountered in the execution of the law has been that which constitutes the chief impediment in all involuntary military systems, the enrolment of recruits. The third section of the Act requires the enrolling officers of the State to be used with the consent of the respective Governors, and it is only on failure to obtain such consent, that the President is authorized to employ Confederate officers.

The military systems of many of the States have fallen into such disuse, that there are either no enrolling officers, or none that can be relied on. So far the experiment of using State officers has proved a failure, and I would suggest that permission be given to resort to other measures for enrolling recruits.

This may be done either by the appointment of a certain number of enrolling officers for each congressional district, or by giving each corps supernumerary officers to act as enrolling officers for the corps. The latter plan would probably give more activity and efficiency to enrolments than the former, as the enrolling officers would be under military control, and if inefficient, might be ordered back to their regiments and be substituted by others.

The 4th and 13th sections of the Act require all conscripts and volunteers to enter companies in existence at the passage of the Act, thus cutting off recruits for companies mustered into service after that time. The object of this restriction was apparent; the new companies then forming were allowed thirty days to complete their organization, and had the advantage over companies in the field in recruiting. It was supposed necessary, therefore, to restore equality by giving the

conscripts and volunteers after thirty days to the old companies.

The effect will be, that many fine regiments brought into service since the passage of the Act will go down for the want of recruits. I think it will be well to permit conscripts to be assigned and volunteers to enter all companies in service.

It is true that the number of regiments is already too great, and that it is impossible to keep them all up. This may have been a motive for restricting recruits to old regiments and permitting the others gradually to decline. But it will be better to discriminate in the reduction of a number of regiments, and to consolidate such as become too weak to be recruited. The power of consolidating regiments, battalions, and companies, is so essential that our armies cannot be maintained in a tolerable state of efficiency without its exercise. The department has been compelled to disband corps because useless from loss of men or other cause, but as the law now stands this can only be done by discharging the entire corps and enrolling the men within the conscript age for service in other companies.

Two inconveniences attend this mode of proceeding: First, all men over thirty-five and under eighteen are lost, even though they have enlisted for the war. Secondly, it is doubtful whether conscripts can be enrolled out of their own States, and a company, therefore, cannot be disbanded out of the State in which it was raised without losing the whole company.

I suggest, therefore, that whenever a corps become so much reduced as to be unfit for service, and there is no reasonable expectation of recruiting it, the President be authorized to disband it, to put the officers out of commission, and to transfer the non-commissioned officers and privates to other corps from the same State. It may be objected that this violates the contract of enlistment, which is for service in the company selected by the volunteer, and thus the Government, in accepting the volunteer, impliedly engages to keep him in the company of his choice. I think that the engagement of the Government is fulfilled by retaining the volunteer in his company so long as it is fit for service, but that there is no implied promise to discharge him when his company can be no longer preserved. Such a promise would be a premium to inefficiency. A company anxious to leave the service would secure its object by rendering itself unfit to remain.

I also further recommend that power be given to enrol conscripts wherever they may be found. Military service is a debt due to the Confederacy, and the power of exacting should not depend on the accident of place. Conscription may be altogether avoided by large numbers of men, if merely crossing a line concentrates them from it. The practice of employing substitutes at pleasure, supposed to be authorized by the 9th section of the Conscription Act, has led to great abuses. The procurement of substitutes has become a regular business. Men thus obtained are usually unfit for service and frequently desert. The Department has restricted the practice by prohibiting the reception of unnaturalized foreigners as substitutes, but the evils of the system are still very great, and further restrictions are necessary.

It would be well to authorize substitution only where the services of the principal are equally useful to the public, at home as in the field. Such is the case with experts in trades necessary for the prosecution of the war, with overseers in districts of country having few whites and large numbers of slaves, and generally in such callings as are essential to the public welfare. It is unwise to injure the public service for the benefit of individuals, and therefore no substitution founded merely on considerations of private interest should be tolerated.

In this connection I desire to call attention to what seems to be an omission in the Exemption Act. Millers, tanners, and salt-makers are essential to the prosecution of the war. Without them armies can neither be subsisted or properly clad. They are equally essential to the community at large, and the restriction of such callings to persons under eighteen and over thirty-five years of age inflict injury upon the army and upon the people. I recommend, therefore, that they be included in the Exemption Act.

The greatest defect in our present system is to be found in the rule of promotion established by the 10th Section of the Conscription Act, and by the Acts of the Provisional Congress, approved December 11th, 1861, and January 22nd, 1862. They require promotion to be by seniority. To this rule no valid objection could be made if provision were made for exceptional cases in which it becomes impracticable. In long established armies seniority implies experience, and the rule is applied to individuals who, by previous examination or other test, have been found qualified for their position. In our armies there is little or no difference in the experience of our officers, and no test is applied to ascertain their moral or intellectual fitness for a commission.

As the act provides that commissions shall be granted by the President, it was supposed that this was intended as a safeguard against the admission of unqualified persons to important public trusts.

Accordingly, by General Order No. 39, a copy of which is herewith returned, Boards of Enquiry were directed to be summoned in all cases of promotion or election where the fitness of the claimant was doubtful. This, however, only keeps out unfit persons, but makes no provisions for filling vacancies in case there be no unfit person in the corps, or in case all entitled to promotion decline it. Such cases occur, and they contribute an element of disorganization and inefficiency in the army.

I earnestly recommend, therefore, that in all cases where election or promotion by seniority fails to fill a vacancy with a qualified officer, such vacancy may be filled by appointment. It may be objected that this increases Executive patronage, and by the intervention of examining boards, that promotion by seniority and by election may be cut off. If the increase of Executive patronage be necessary to remove a great evil, its possible abuse is a poor argument against such increase. It is unwise to prefer certain evils to contingent abuses. Practically, it has been found difficult to get the examining boards to be rigid enough; they are too apt from indolence or good nature to scrutinize slightly the qualifications of brother officers, and would prove to be very unfit instruments for Executive usurpation.

In this connection another serious difficulty in filling vacancies will be mentioned. It is generally supposed that the rule prescribed in the 10th section of the Conscription Act applies only to corps organized under that Act; that the rule prescribed in the Act approved December 11th, 1861, applies only to re-organizations of re-enlisted corps, very few of which re-organizations actually took place, and that the Act approved January 22nd, 1862, applies only to troops raised under an Act approved May 8th, 1861. But troops were authorized to be raised by Acts approved May 11th, 1861, and August 8th, 1861, and questions arise as to what Act troops come under, and what rule of promotion is provided for

corps which come in under the Act last mentioned. It is said that troops mustered directly into Confederate States service received their laws of promotion from Congress, and that those raised by the Governors of States, under requisition on them by the President, are governed by the laws of their respective States. It is maintained that the latter class are militia, and that, under the Constitution, Congress cannot provide for filling vacancies occurring in the militia.

Great confusion, uncertainty, and inequality result from this state of things, and it is very important that a uniform rule should be applied to all. I know of no better rule than that already adopted, providing the power of appointment be given as recommended, and there be no constitutional impediments to its general application. A difficulty arises from the Act authorizing the appointment of general officers which should be removed. The 6th section of the Act approved March 6th, 1861, authorizes the President to organize brigades and divisions, and to appoint commanding officers for them, who are to hold office only while such brigades and divisions are in service. If the casualties of service destroy a brigade or a division, the commission of the general expires, and if separated from his command by ill health, wounds, or detached service, it is left without a head, there being no authority to appoint a successor without vacating the commission of the first appointee.

The army moreover requires the service of generals not attached to brigades and divisions. There are certain duties which can be better performed by general officers than by officers of lower grade, but the merit requisite for the discharge of these duties secures promotion in the line, and officers of the line are therefore unwilling to surrender their positions for staff appointments. Brigades and divisions are sometimes temporarily deprived of their commanders by the casualties of service, and it is desirable to assign general officers to such commands. It will be well, therefore, to increase the number of general officers to a definite excess above the whole number, not exceeding eight or ten per cent. for the purposes above mentioned.

Congress, at its last session, authorized the appointment of eighty artillery officers for ordnance duties, the addition of fifty engineers to the provisional corps, and the organization of a signal corps, and a nitre corps.

All of these Acts have been carried into execution. Eighty artillery officers for ordnance duty have been appointed, and their duties prescribed and systematized. General Orders No. 24 and 46, herewith returned, require that every army corps shall have an ordnance captain, every brigade one with the rank of first lieutenant, and every regiment an ordnance sergeant. These form a corps under the chief of ordnance at Richmond, to whom they are required to report. Their services are important for the proper distribution and preservation of arms. Ordnance officers are also required for arsenals. For the proper discharge of ordnance duties at arsenals and in the field, it will require a corps of at least 150.

I recommend, therefore, that application be made for the enlargement of the corps to that number, and that a limited number be authorized with the grade of major for service with army corps.

Most of the additional engineers have been appointed and the corps has done good service. The present law permits no higher grade than that of captain, while the other corps of the provisional army are organized in conformity with corresponding corps in the Confederate States army. This discrimination is unjust and impolitic. If men of talent and acquirement are needed in this corps, promotion should be offered equal to that attainable in other branches of the service.

Engineering talent is of a high order of endowment, and should be stimulated by proper rewards. I recommend, therefore, that the grade of the Provisional Engineer Corps should be made to conform to those of the same corps in the Confederate States Army.

A Signal Corps has been organized by general order No. 40, a copy of which is herewith returned. For the purpose of systematic instruction, a confidential pamphlet has been prepared by a member of the corps and printed with due precautions to avoid publicity. Should it, however, fall into the enemy's hands, no great harm would be done, as it contains the principles of the art merely, and does not disclose the key to any signal or cipher.

A Nitre Bureau has also been organized, and under its able and indefatigable head, Major J. M. St. John, is doing good service. General Order No. 41, herewith communicated, was issued to facilitate the operations of the Bureau. The production of Nitre is already one thousand pounds a day, and there is good reason to think that it will reach three thousand pounds a day, and supply our consumption.

A map of a reconnaissance, and Major St. John's report, are herewith returned. The Bureau has been directed to turn its attention to the mining of such material as are required for the army, and will do much to develop their production.

The act authorizing bands of partisan rangers has been carried into execution. Apprehending that the novelty of the organization, and the supposed freedom from control, would attract great numbers into the Partisan Corps, the Department adopted a rule requiring a recommendation from a general commanding a department, before granting authority to raise partisans. Notwithstanding this restriction, there is reason to fear that the number of Partisan Corps greatly exceed the requirements of the service, and that they seriously impede recruiting for regiments of the line.

The precaution has been taken to require their organization to conform in all respects to that of other troops, and it will be only necessary to brigade such of them as are not needed for partisan service, to make them, in fact, troops of the line, although nominally partisans. I recommend that this be authorized.

Since the adjournment of Congress, our stock of arms has been largely increased by importation and capture. Our small arms alone have increased from these sources not less than eighty thousand. Our supply of ammunition has also been increased by importation and manufacture; and, as already stated, we may expect at no distant day that the active and methodical operations of the nitre Corps will supply our demand and make us independent of foreign importation.

I deem it unnecessary to say anything of the operations of the army since the adjournment of Congress. The time has not arrived for their complete disclosure, but enough has appeared to show the ability of our generals and the courage and patience of our troops.

It is to be regretted that we cannot reward such services as the army has rendered; they are infinitely above all compensation, but something may be done to show our appreciation of them—courage and skill cannot always command promotion. Happily for us, they far exceed our means of reward, if confined to mere material benefits. It would, however, be doing our high-toned soldiers great injustice to suppose that

rank and pay are their only incentives to exertion. I think that medals conferred as rewards for good conduct in the field cultivate the spirit which distinguishes the patriot soldier from the mercenary, and afford means of reward without injuring the army by excessive promotion.

I recommend, therefore, that application be made for authority to confer medals upon such officers and men as distinguished themselves in battle.

A right to control the operations of our railroads to some extent is necessary to insure quick and safe transportation, and to maintain the roads in a proper state of efficiency. The regular transportation of the roads is so much deranged by the movements of troops and munitions of war, that a common head during the war is necessary. I recommend that application be made for authority to exercise such control as may be necessary to harmonize the operations of the roads, and to maintain their efficiency, and to appoint a superintendent who shall be charged with the supervision of railroad transportation.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. W. RANDOLPH.

Secretary of War

THE FEDERAL BLOCKADE OF BERMUDA.

The *Bermuda Gazette* of the 7th October, under the heading "The notorious Wilkes," publishes the following extraordinary statements:—

Admiral Wilkes, with his flagship and two gunboats, arrived off the Islands on Friday, the 26th ult., and on the following morning entered the harbour of St. George, with the Wachusett and the Tioga, the Sonoma being left outside cruising in the channel. The Admiral called on his Excellency the Governor on Saturday afternoon, having, as we are informed, received the usual official notification, as laid down in Her Majesty's proclamation (already published in our columns) that twenty-four hours only would be allowed for the stay of the vessels in his command. We understand that the object of his visit was to obtain coal, but as the ships were only four days from Hampton Roads his supplies could not have run out to any extent,—hardly, we think, to incapacitate his return to his nearest port. The coaling, under some pretext, did not commence until Monday afternoon, when a few tons were put on board the Wachusett. The Tioga did not commence coaling until Tuesday. The coaling of these vessels was completed on Tuesday night and Wednesday, and then an accident occurring to the machinery of the flag-ship again delayed the departure of the squadron. In the meantime the Sonoma was engaged in cruising about outside, and on Wednesday morning she came in to coal and repair a mishap which occurred to her machinery, how, when, or where we are not in a position to state. On the Wednesday morning the Tioga went out and relieved the Sonoma, following the same course of proceeding as her consort, cruising about in the channels, and anchoring near the checkered buoy at night, blocking up the entrance and preventing the ingress and egress of all vessels. The Wachusett left on Thursday morning, and in the afternoon the Sonoma went out; the Admiral bore away to the eastward, and was out of sight at night, the two gunboats being left cruising outside—a piece of recreation which they have since been indulging in up to the time of our going to press.

The ostensible object of obtaining coal is, we conceive, but a little scheme to see how far it might be possible for American pluck to drive through the rules of neutrality laid down by the British Government. The delaying from Monday to Thursday, the cruising within our waters, the anchoring in our channels, the landing of armed crews, the boarding of British vessels, the taking on board of unlimited coal, and the subsequent proceedings of the gunboats evidently prove that there must have been some peculiar and particularly private reasons which have given us the honour of this influx of United States' heroes.

The mail steamer was boarded this morning, and boats have been engaged in sounding the channels and reefs at the west end.

We are not anxious for a row, nor do we wish to come across the peculiarities of Americans in their present excited and perhaps exasperated and unreasoning condition; but we do submit whether these breeches, committed in the very teeth of the Royal instructions, in the face of justice, right, and national law, ought not to receive such a check as to put an end to the chance of that flag which is supposed to have braved a thousand years the battle and breeze being deliberately and grossly insulted.

The Royal mail steamer Merlin, Captain Sampson, when within three miles of the land yesterday morning, was fired at and brought to by one of these gunboats, and though the officer in charge of the boat, when he became aware of the true character of the vessel he had stopped, apologized, still such frequent and unprovoked insults will not be submitted to.

Her Majesty's steamer Steady, Captain Grant, arrived here from Halifax on Friday last to have her machinery perfected. She left Halifax on the 23rd ult., at which time there were in that port Her Majesty's ships Ariadne, Immortalité, Melphomene, Peterel, and Spitful.

Her Majesty's steamer Melphomene, 51, Captain Ewart, arrived at Halifax from Nassau, New Providence, on the 21st ult. She had had sixteen cases of yellow fever on board, five of which had proved fatal. The convalescing had been removed to the Pyramus receiving ship, lying off the Royal Naval Hospital.

Her Majesty's ship Spitful arrived at Halifax on the night of the 22nd ult., also from New Providence. Had had twenty-two cases of yellow fever, of which eight had proved fatal—viz., in the case of a midshipman, a master's mate, and six seamen. The Spitful was placed in quarantine.

Admiral Milne left Halifax on the 23rd ult., in the Nimble, accompanied by the Landrail, Plover, Cygnet, Medea, and Nile and Hero, on an experimental trip. All the vessels were to go to Ship Harbour, and the Admiral was to return to Halifax on the 26th. He would afterwards go to St. John, New Brunswick, in the Medea.

The steamship Askelon, from Liverpool, England, bound to the West Indies, arrived at Sydney, Cape Breton, on the 20th ult., for coal, and was to have proceeded on her voyage that night.

The British steamer Ovachita got under way in St. George's Harbour on Sunday, and proceeded to Grassy Bay, for the purpose of trying her engines, when one of the American gunboats chased her to the entrance of the north fide channel.

We understand that the Admiral, with a large force, is expected here from Halifax about the middle or end of next month. We are, however, disposed to think that recent occurrences will expedite the arrival of his squadron.

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY DEPARTMENT AND CONGRESS.

The subjoined proceedings in the Confederate Senate furnish many points of interest to the student of the great American revolution. Charges of incompetency have been brought against the Secretary of the Navy in the Lower House, a joint resolution was put to appoint a committee of inquiry. This resolution coming before the Senate, the following debate ensued:—

The resolution relative to the Navy Department was then taken up and reported. It led to a long and spirited discussion. This is the resolution as it stood after the blanks had been filled by the Senate:—

That a Joint Committee of five be appointed on the part of the Senate, and five on the part of the House, to investigate the management of the Navy Department under its present head; and that such committee be empowered to send for persons and papers.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, desired to say he should vote against the resolution. He had never known any good result from these committees. They, under the old Government, always resulted in white-washing resolutions. There was a method of reaching an officer of the Government, if he had failed in the discharge of his duty. Let some Senator come forward, and upon his own responsibility charge the Secretary of the Navy; let him be arraigned and tried. He desired no injustice to the Secretary of the Navy. But he favoured an open and fair trial and investigation, and not a star chamber process, as was practised under the old Government.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, should vote for the resolution. A member of the other branch of Congress had asserted that the iron steamer Mississippi might have been, but for mismanagement, completed in time to have defended New Orleans. He thought that, in justice to the Secretary of the Navy and to the President, an investigation should be had. He had received reports of the conduct of the Secretary of the Navy, which, if true, should subject him to the condemnation of the Senate, but he had not sufficient proof to make any charge.

Mr. Clay concurred with the senator from Kentucky; still he would vote for the resolution, hoping that the committee would bear in mind the fact that the secretary may be in the dilemma that he cannot justify his own conduct without exposing facts inexpedient now to be made public.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, submitted the following as an amendment to the resolution: "And said Joint Committee shall investigate all such charges as may be preferred in writing by any responsible person against the Secretary of the Navy, and a copy of such and every of such charges shall be furnished to the Secretary before the Investigating Committee begins its labours."

Mr. Wigfall explained that under the Constitution the House of Representatives alone could impeach an officer of the Government, and the Senate was the court by which such officer was to be tried.

If any member of the House knew of malfeasance in a Government officer, it was his duty to impeach him, instead of moving a resolution to appoint an itinerant committee to go roaming about the country in search of witnesses and papers. If any gentleman in the Senate knew of the malfeasance of the Secretary of the Navy, let him go to the member from his State in the other House, lay his facts before him, and let him impeach him. He should vote against the resolution, and all similar resolutions. He believed that the passage of any such investigating committee was unconstitutional. The House has the right to impeach and the Senate to try; further we could not go.

Mr. Preston would vote for the resolution. It was no question of impeachment; it was a question of inquiry. A question not of impeachment but of knowledge. An inquiry was necessary to satisfy the Congress and the people. There is no censure implied by the terms of the resolution. It proposes simply to investigate the management of the Navy Department. The habits and usages under the old Government are the things most to be avoided.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, said, we were told that we were to investigate the affairs of the Department. But where are we to begin? The Secretary has sent in his report, wherein he has stated all the affairs of his Department, except such as the public good requires shall be kept from the public, and this committee will hardly take the responsibility of dragging into public view these facts. It cannot be concealed that this resolution is the result of public clamour through the newspapers and heated denunciations in the other House. We all know how easy it was to raise a hue and cry against the commanders of armies and navies. Let our armies be unsuccessful, and we shall hear the same clamour against the generals. Let the mail boy fail on any route, and we hear denunciations of the Postmaster-General. The president is not an idiot. If the charges made against the secretary were well-founded, the President would not retain him in office. The President is cognizant of all the facts, and he knows that the denunciations of the Secretary are unfounded. But what is it proposed the Committee shall investigate? Where is it to begin? He was opposed to the resolution and should vote against it.

Mr. Barnwell should vote against the resolution. He was opposed to an investigation at this time, because he believed it inexpedient. He believed the head of that department had suffered in public opinion from his self-sacrifice. If he spoke only as the friend of the Secretary, he would desire an investigation, for it is impossible the facts would justify the amount of odium that has been heaped upon him. But regard for the character of the Secretary would not induce him to vote for a measure which would expose to our enemies schemes in the past and future, which should be kept from their knowledge. Another reason why he should vote against the resolution was that it might lead to impeachment, in which case the Senate, being the judge before whom the accused might come, should have nothing to do with the investigation.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, said the question involved a principle that the Senate should not investigate charges against an officer, because perchance the investigation might elicit something which would subject him to impeachment. If this was to be adopted as a principle, there was an end of all investigation.

Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, was opposed to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi, because it narrowed the field of inquiry. It was due to the character of the Secretary that the investigation should be full and unlimited. He favoured the resolution.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. Phelan, of Mississippi, offered as an amendment, that the words "under its present head" be struck out, which was rejected.

The joint resolution was then put to the vote, the yeas and noes having been called for, and was adopted—yeas 15, noes 7.

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vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
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World, and of our business men at home, and thus
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Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
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our enemies.

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and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
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By order of the Board of Directors,

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Amount of Premiums for the year end-

ing 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70

Amount of Profits for the year ending

28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74

Amount of Assets for the year ending

28th February, 1861..... \$86,420 98

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of

THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.

interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered

the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue

of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and

after the second Monday of May next.

Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable

on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.

R. P. JANYIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of

New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.

Amount of premiums for year ending

31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47

Amount of Profits for year ending 31st

December, 1861..... 282,908 38

Amount of Assets on 31st December,

1861..... 1,338,306 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of

FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.

interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved

to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on

and after 10th February next.

Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable

on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.

JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-

pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

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or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
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Amount of Premiums for ten months

ending 30th April, 1861..... \$81,876 14

Profits for ten months to 30th April,

1861..... 237,238 27

Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95

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The Index,

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social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of these
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
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sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
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Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
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and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
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this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
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While we have thus frankly explained one of the
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necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
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THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. II—No. 28.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 6, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The friends of the Lincolnites on this side the Atlantic must be patient and even rather fond of being befooled. It is almost affecting to see with what childlike credulity they accept the oracles of Washington and New York, and though their faith has been betrayed a hundred times, they are ready and willing to believe that two and two make five in the Southern States, if it shall please Mr. Lincoln or his Ministers, Messrs. Seward, Halleck, or Chase, to declare it so in an amended edition of "Cocker's Arithmetic." For these last few days we have been treated to some pretty essays upon the exhaustion of the South. First, because Southern journals admit the Confederate loss at Corinth to have been heavy, and the advantage of the fight to have been with the Federals. And we can quite understand that it must seem curious to Northerners to see their enemy frankly admitting a repulse, which was of such a nature that the Federals were not extremely jubilant; and still more extraordinary must appear the freedom with which Southern journals comment on public affairs. In the second place, we were admonished of the glorious victory of General Buell over General Bragg. The Confederate army had been whipped, routed, and scattered. Buell was the man to redeem the military reputation of the North. New York was not particularly elated, but in England the Northerners were in a delirium of triumph. The arrival of the City of New York puts an end to the rejoicing. We are informed that "General Buell has relinquished the pursuit of General Bragg, who has passed through Cumberland Gap into East Tennessee. The Confederates carried immense trains of provisions out of Kentucky." An army beaten and pursued does not carry "immense trains of provisions;" and, therefore, we now have a Northern admission that the Buell victory is to be classed with Pope's capture of "10,000 men," and with the Halleck version of the evacuation of Corinth. Nor is this all. The Washington Government is so discontented with "the victory" that General Buell has been removed from the command in Kentucky, and replaced by General Rosecrans. The "Buell victory" was fabricated for election purposes, but why the "dodge" should have been so soon and openly confessed is not so clear. Possibly the result of the elections, as known to the

Washington officials, makes them anxious about the consequences to themselves of continuing to so grossly deceive the people.

General McClellan has not advanced. "Reconnoissances from his army continue to be made," and that is all. It is reported that "General Burnside has been assigned to the command of the defences at Harper's Ferry," and that "the Confederates are massed in the Shenandoah Valley." There is a continual agitation kept up by the Republicans against General McClellan. They demand his removal. It is rumoured that there will be another convention of Governors to effect that object, as well as to urge the enforcement of the Confiscation Act. We can assure the Governors that Mr. Lincoln's Government will be extremely happy to enforce confiscation if they will show him how it is to be done.

The Federals are said to have evacuated Corinth and Bolivar, Mississippi. Nashville is entirely cut off from communication with the North.

A Confederate defeat in Arkansas is reported by the New York telegram. The announcement is suspiciously bare of details.

The results of the elections are, as far as possible, kept a secret; but this confirms the reported Democratic gains. At a Democratic meeting held at Brooklyn, Mr. Horatio Seymour declared that Democratic relationships to the Government had changed within the last few weeks, and that Democracy now commanded the situation. He said, referring to the deception and corruption of the Federal Government:—

There must be no more withholding of truths from the popular eye. The general term is used that we have been labouring under a "misapprehension." (Laughter.) How happened it that more than 200,000 young men have been laid in new-made graves, but for the fact that we had a "misapprehension" as to the power of our enemy? How came this "misapprehension"? We had been taught in schools, in our youth, concerning the resources of the South. The courage of Taylor and the Southern troops in the Mexican war was well known. Evidences of the riches and energy of the Southern people had long been seen in the commerce of the port of New York. Quite a "misapprehension" of the true strength of the South was studiously inculcated by evil-minded persons in the North. If the facts of Southern resources had been fully understood here, this war would never have taken place, and brothers' hands would not now be imbued in each other's blood. Conceal the facts of a depreciated currency, of intrigues in the army, of disasters by land and sea, conceal these facts if you will, but you cannot keep the truth from ultimately coming out, and the people from judging upon it. (Applause.) Put them in gaols if you will. That will not prevent them from speaking their mind. It is in vain that you place armies in the field, that you send out sons, brothers, and friends, if there is not a wise system of government to sustain them there. (Cheers.) What are the facts? I appeal to you, Radicals and Conservatives, and ask you if you ever find in the Republican journals the statements of notorious frauds, proved by Congressional examination? Our Republican friends love to talk about the nation's life being in danger, but they do not like to have you talk of what is the danger. (Laughter.) That Government whose frauds are concealed is on the road to destruction. A corrupt Government will destroy you as inevitably as invading armies. It will not only destroy the national authority, but disgrace the national character. I will allude to only one case—fraud No. 62—from a report made by Hon. Robert Dale Owens and Hon. Joseph Holt. Among the contracts for arms there was one made by an establishment which had been in the habit of furnishing muskets to European Governments for \$12½ a piece. They charge our Government \$25 a piece for the same arms. Another concern offered to furnish it for \$15 (it only cost \$7), and made a weapon equally good, perhaps superior. They could only get an order for 5000, while the other concern received an order for 30,000. The profit of that firm was over \$300,000. The committee also state that out of all the contracts made for guns only four contained the usual provision, excluding members of Congress from the contract, according to the law of the country. I beg of you to study your Congressional reports. Learn for yourself if fraud does not reek at the national capital. See if John Hale did not tell the truth when he said that the Government had more to fear from corruption in the departments than from the enemy in the field.

Resolutions were passed pledging Democracy to restore the Union as it was, and to maintain the

Constitution as it is, denouncing arbitrary arrests and interference with the freedom of the press. Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was declared unwise in policy and bad in principle, securing an united South, but making a disunited North.

On the other hand, Republican meetings have been held in Brooklyn, at which the emancipation proclamation was fully approved, and the "Union as it is" was denounced. It is worthy of observation that those who profess to be fighting for the restoration of the Union are openly condemning it.

The North seems to be doing as much as possible to get into a quarrel with Europe. The *New York Tribune* gives the following account of a transaction that would be incredible if we were not already acquainted with the lawlessness of Federal naval officers:—

On the 8th of the present month the merchant ship *Blanche*, Captain Smith, carrying the English flag, formerly engaged in the trade between New Orleans and Cuba, but sold, since the war, to an English house, was coming from Matamoras to Cuba, when she stopped at a small port called Mulata to take in coal. She then sailed for Havannah with a Spanish pilot on board. When near that place and off Marianao, she saw at a distance an American ship running toward her with all speed. The ship proved to be the gunboat *Montgomery*, Captain Hunter. Unfortunately, the captain of the *Blanche* became alarmed, and instead of waiting for her, attempted to escape. The *Montgomery* continued her pursuit, compelled her to wear round, and ran her ashore six miles north of Moro Castle. The sea Alcalde, who had watched her movements from the shore, took a boat, and with two or three other men went on board the *Blanche*, on which he hoisted the Spanish flag as a sign that she was under the protection of the Spanish Government. At the same time Captain Hunter, of the *Montgomery*, ordered two boats with armed men to go on board the *Blanche*, and to take forcible possession of the vessel. Once on board, the officer in command explained to Captain Smith and to the Alcalde what his mission was, and told them that he had received orders to carry the *Blanche* away, if possible; if not, to set fire to her and to burn her cargo. Captain Smith and the Spanish official having protested against such proceedings, a quarrel ensued, in which the officer of the *Montgomery* slapped the Alcalde in the face, and with the aid of his men drove him ashore, together with the three Spaniards who were with him. After this, they came back, set fire to the ship, and carried away the Cuban pilot who had been taken by Captain Smith at Marianao. When the Spanish Governor at Havannah received the account of the affair, orders were given to a Spanish frigate to sail forthwith, and to capture the perpetrator of the deed. But the *Montgomery* had disappeared, and at the latest date no trace of her had been discovered. At the same time despatches were sent to Mr. Tenara, the Spanish Minister at Washington, giving the details of the matter, which by this time must have been submitted to Mr. Seward.

This report seems confirmed by a later account in the *New York Tribune*, to the effect that "It is believed in Washington that if the circumstances of the sinking of the steamer *Blanche*, in Spanish waters, by the Federal steamer *Montgomery*, are as stated, the Federal Government will repudiate the action of the captain of the *Montgomery*." If the Federal Government should repudiate the act of its officer, it will only repeat a stratagem that it has often and successfully essayed—to bully the defenceless, and to cringe when threatened with retaliation. But possibly the Spanish Government may not be so patient as the English Government, and may not be satisfied with a verbal apology for a barbarous insult. In that case we doubt not the Federal Government will be ready to sacrifice their officer, as well as apologise.

At New Orleans General Butler has, to quote the *Times*, "been making a raid upon family spoons," and in such a manner as to insult the Prussian Government by a gross violation of the law of nations. It appears that the Prussian ship *Essex* arrived at New Orleans on the 24th of August last with a cargo of salt, which was duly discharged on the 2nd of September. She then, having obtained the requisite authority, commenced loading with a cargo for Liverpool, a Custom-house officer being stationed on board to supervise the entire operation. Everything being completed, application was made

to the Custom-house, on the 15th of September, for a clearance. But this, without assigning any reason, the Collector of Customs positively refused. An application from the Prussian Consul, however, brought forth a verbal answer that the ship would not be allowed to proceed unless the following five items of her cargo were taken out:—

Shipped by Robert Clark, silver ware, one package valued at \$3000, and one valued at \$500, consigned to George Green, Sons, and Co., Liverpool.

Shipped by Houghton, Rankin, and Co., three cases containing family plated ware, and silver plate in use, valued at \$8000 dollars, consigned to Rankin, Gilmore, and Co., Liverpool.

Shipped by T. B. Ehlers, two boxes of old silver ware, valued at \$6000, sealed and consigned to Messrs. A. Duranty and Co., Liverpool, as British property.

Shipped by Francis Olroyd, two boxes containing bullion, value \$4205, consigned to James Harris, Sun Life Insurance Office, London, care of Bahr, Behrens, and Co., Liverpool.

Shipped by Cramer and Co., as Hamburg property, one box said to contain in gold \$4745, in silver \$520, consigned to order.

The Prussian Consul appealed to General Butler, and on the 20th the General sent an officer on board the Essex with the above list of articles, of which he demanded the surrender. The captain refused compliance, unless the bills of lading he had given for them were returned to him by the shippers, and at the same time he made a formal protest, holding General Butler responsible for damages at the rate of \$500 a day. Not to speak of the breach of law, the affair deserves notice from the paltry conduct of the Federal commander.

The New York Chamber of Commerce is almost amusing in its petulant anger at the doings of the Confederate war vessel Alabama, which we need not inform our readers is as regularly commissioned as any vessel in the Federal navy. Did the merchants of New York think they were never to know the dangers and devastations of war? Did they think they were for ever to encourage the destruction of Southern towns, without retaliation? Their remonstrance, which we append, is puerile, in the extreme. England will not, to oblige them, capture the Alabama, or refuse to sell ships to the Confederates while she sells warlike stores to the Federals.

That the Chamber has heard with profound emotion the graphic account given by Captain Hagar of the burning of the ship Brilliant, on the 3rd of October, a portion of which is in the following words: [Then follows a description of the burning of the ship, of which particulars have already been published.]

That, in view of this atrocity, it is the duty of this Chamber to announce, for the information of all who are interested in the safety of human life, the life of shipwrecked passengers and crews, that henceforth the light of a burning ship at sea will become to the American sailor the signal that lures to destruction, and will not be, as in times past, the beacon to guide the generous and intrepid mariner to the rescue of the unfortunate.

That henceforth self-preservation will be the first dictate of prudence as it is the first law of nature, and consequently the destruction of the Brilliant can only be characterized as a crime against humanity, and all who have knowingly and willingly aided and abetted must be considered as perpetrators in the crime.

That this Chamber has not failed to notice a rapid change in British sentiment, transferring a friendly nation into a self-styled neutral Power, the nature of which neutrality is shown in permitting ships to go forth with men, and in permitting an armament to follow them for the detestable work of plundering and destroying American ships, thus encouraging upon the high seas an offence against neutral rights, on plea of which, in the case of the Trent, the British Government threatened to plunge this Government into war.

That the outrage of consigning to destruction by fire, without adjudication British and American property together, is an aggravation of the offence against the rights of neutrals, and ought to be denounced as a crime by the civilized nations of the world.

That the Chamber has heard with amazement that other vessels are fitting out in the ports of Great Britain to continue the work of destruction begun by the Alabama,—an enormity that cannot be committed on the high seas without jeopardizing the commerce and peace of nations.

That it is the duty of the Chamber to warn the merchants of Great Britain that a repetition of such acts as the burning of the Brilliant by vessels fitted out in Great Britain, and manned by British seamen, cannot fail to produce the most widespread exasperation in this country, and hence they invoke the influence of all men who value peace and good-will among the nations, to prevent the departure of other vessels of the character referred to from their ports, and so to avert the calamity of war.

That it is the desire as it is the interest of all its members to cherish sentiments of amity with the people of Great Britain, to maintain those cordial relations which have led to profitable intercourse, and to strengthen the ties that knit them together in mutual courtesy and respect.

That copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be sent to the Hon. Secretary of State, and the Hon. Secretary of the Navy of the United States, and to the Board of Trade of London and Liverpool, and that the Secretary of State be requested to transmit copies of the same to the diplomatic agents of the United States for distribution in other commercial countries.

The Washington Government is not more seemly in its anger. It is reported in New York that "Semi-official despatches from Washington say that the Federal Government would give half-a-million dollars for the capture of the Confederate steamer Alabama, or \$300,000 for her destruction." Are we to understand that Federal navy officers are so remiss in their duty that they need the stimulus of a

reward? Or does the Federal Government think it necessary to bid for piratical or foreign aid?

Thirty Federal machine workers at Portsmouth, Virginia, have gone over to the Confederates.

It is rumoured that the superintendent of a plantation near New Orleans had been killed by negroes, and that the negroes afterwards revolted, and several of them were shot. No details of the affair and no authority for the statement are given.

The *Morning Herald* (Nov. 5) says:—

The Emperor of the French either has made, or is on the point of making, a proposal to Her Majesty's Government that France, England, and Russia shall jointly recommend to the belligerents a suspension of hostilities.

General Scott has published a lengthy document, detailing the plan he proposed to "stop" Secession. Even now he seems to think the strengthening of a few Southern forts would have been sufficient. This might have been excusable so long as the General could persuade himself Secession was the conspiracy of a few, but now that he knows it was the determination of the entire Southern people to secede, his opinion shows wonderful weakness of judgment. The following is the first clause in General Scott's memorandum, and it is also a summary of his scheme:—

October 30, 1860.—I emphatically call the attention of the President to the necessity of strong garrisons in all the forts below the principal commercial cities of the Southern States, including, by name, the forts in Pensacola harbour. October 31, I suggested to the Secretary of War that a circular should be sent at once to such of those forts as had garrisons to be on the alert against surprises and sudden assaults. (See my *Views*, since printed.) After a long confinement to my bed in New York, I came to this city (Washington) December 12. Next day I personally urged upon the Secretary of War the same views—viz., strong garrisons in the Southern forts—those of Charleston and Pensacola harbours, at once; those on Mobile Bay and the Mississippi, below New Orleans, next, &c. I again pointed out the organized companies and the recruits at the principal depots available for the purpose. The Secretary did not concur in any of my views, when I begged him to procure for me an early interview with the President, that I might make one effort more to save the forts and the Union. By appointment, the Secretary accompanied me to the President, December 15, when the same topics—secessionism, &c.—were again pretty fully discussed. There being at the moment (in the opinion of the President) no danger of an early secession beyond South Carolina, the President, in reply to my arguments for immediately reinforcing Fort Moultrie and sending a garrison to Fort Sumter, said,—

"The time has not arrived for doing so; that he should wait the action of the Convention of South Carolina, in the expectation that a commission would be appointed and sent to negotiate with him and Congress respecting the secession of the State, and the property of the United States held within its limits; and that if Congress should decide against the secession, then he would send a reinforcement, and telegraph the commanding officer (Major Anderson) of Fort Moultrie to hold the forts (Moultrie and Sumter) against attack."

The observations of Mr. Lincoln prove, though further proof is needless, that at the time of his assuming office he did not profess to regard Secession as rebellion, but was expecting to negotiate about the property of the United States in a seceded State.

In New York there was, when the mail left, a scarcity of labouring men, and the Chamber of Commerce recommended the promotion of immigration. Would not the circulation of the Federal Conscription Act, the statistical history of the war as to the numbers who died from fatigue and wounds, and the rigid way in which the draft is enforced, be likely means to attract emigrants to the United States? It will be found easier to procure powder from Europe than "food for powder."

Among the Pennsylvanian miners there "has been organized resistance to the draft," but it is said "affairs have been adjusted." Weak indeed must be a Government that has to "adjust affairs" with men who form an association to resist its decrees.

ENGLAND.

The General Relief Committee held its meeting at Manchester on Monday last, to receive the Report of the Executive Committee. Mr. Cobden's name was added to the list of the former Committee. The Report stated that the Executive had received £150,000, and that a further sum of £30,000, collected by other associations, was likely to be placed in their hands. They had it in their power to distribute £25,000 per month for five months to come. The Local Committees had raised a further sum of £100,000. But the number of paupers in the district was nearly 209,000, against 45,000 in October 1861, and further, 143,000 persons not receiving parochial aid, were assisted by the Local Relief Committees. The number of operatives employed and unemployed was:—

In full work	58,638
Working short time	119,712
Out of work	182,401
Total	360,751

To assist the sufferers, the Executive Committee have organized a complete system of relief in money and clothing throughout the distressed districts,

under the superintendence of Local Boards, composed of the gentlemen resident in each of the suffering townships.

Large sums have been received from various distant quarters. Australia has sent nearly £25,000; subscriptions have been received from English residents in Egypt, Buenos Ayres, and Bangalore; many dioceses have instituted church collections; and subscriptions have been received from the army and navy, from the employés of various companies, and the workmen in prosperous trades. Supplies of blankets and clothing have been received, and many railway and steamboat companies have agreed to carry such packages free of charge.

The following is Mr. Farnall's Report to the Executive:—

Manchester, Nov. 3.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report, on twenty-four unions in the cotton manufacturing districts, will show you that, on the 25th ult., there were 208,621 persons receiving relief, and that in the corresponding week of last year there were 45,437 persons so relieved. There is, therefore, an increase of 163,184 paupers, or 359.1 per cent.

The unions referred to are:—Ashton-under-Lyne, Barton-upon-Irwell, Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Chorley, Chorlton, Clitheroe, Glossop, Haslingden, Lancaster, Leigh, Macclesfield, Manchester, Oldham, Preston, Prestwich, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Todmorden, Warrington and Wigan.

It will be remembered that in my first report to you, which was for the last week in last August, I stated that the number of persons then receiving parochial relief in these unions was 149,165; but on the 25th ult., there were 208,621 persons so relieved; therefore, in eight weeks 58,456 persons have become paupers in the unions adverted to.

This increase has taken place almost wholly in the following twelve unions:—In Ashton-under-Lyne the increase is 11,358; in Blackburn, 6068; in Burnley, 2979; in Bury, 3734; in Chorlton, 3568; in Haslingden, 5272; in Oldham, 4022; in Manchester, 10,343; in Preston, 5837; in Rochdale, 2386; in Todmorden, 2083; in Stockport, 2438; making a total increase of 60,088 paupers.

The average percentage of pauperism on population in the above 24 unions is now 10.8 per cent.; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.4; but, while 10.8 is the average percentage, the percentage in the union of Ashton-under-Lyne is 20.7; in that of Preston, 17.8; in that of Blackburn, 17.1; in Manchester, 15.6; in Glossop, 14.3; in Haslingden, 13.1; in Todmorden, 12.8; in Stockport, 11.5; in Rochdale, 11.2; and in Burnley, 11.1.

The total weekly cost of out-door relief in the 24 unions is now £13,158 19s. 8d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2288 11s. 3d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £10,868 8s. 5d., or 475.0 per cent.; but this increase has taken place almost wholly in the following 14 unions:—The increase in Ashton-under-Lyne is £1606 per week; in Blackburn, £55; in Burnley, £533; in Bury, £501; in Chorlton, £467; in Glossop, £233; in Haslingden, £622; in Manchester, £1632; in Preston, £1266; in Rochdale, £639; in Oldham, £431; in Stockport, £657; in Todmorden, £222; and in Salford, £442; making a total weekly increase of £9106.

The total weekly cost of in-door and out-door relief alone in the last-named 14 unions is £12,937, or at the rate of 3s. 7½d. in the pound on the net rateable value of £3,702,005 per annum; but it is to be remembered that this is the cost of relief alone, and does not include any other charge for which the poor-rates are liable; it is also to be remembered that fully one-third of the poor-rates cannot now be collected in the chief towns of these unions, and that therefore the pressure on the solvent ratepayers of those towns is heavier than that on the ratepayers of the unions generally.

I take the liberty of adding that the boards of guardians are, as it seems to me, meeting this crisis with prudence and humanity, and that the scheme of your Committee for aiding the unemployed workpeople through your own watchfulness and authority and through the medium of resident local committees, is the best and most benevolent means for mitigating the trying calamity.—I am, my lords and gentlemen, your obedient servant,

H. B. FARNALL,
Special Commissioner for Government.

Mr. Cobden addressed the meeting. He remarked that the loss of wages was stated at £7,000,000 a year. But there could be little doubt that it would reach at least £10,000,000 a year. The relief granted by the Committee, of £25,000 a month, was only 3 per cent. on the latter amount. But the loss of wages to the factory operatives was not all. The loss of the manufacturers was also enormous—perhaps nearly as great. The increase in the rates was £500,000 a year, and would be more. A large number of the ratepayers were unable to pay their rates; he had himself seen a case in which a poor shopkeeper, after paying her rate, had to ask for relief. Mr. Farnall had estimated the proportion of rateable property unable to pay the rates, at one-third. But Mr. Cobden thought it would be much larger. The default of the poorer ratepayers compelled the exaction of a higher rate, and this again increased the number of defaulters. The relief given was wretchedly insufficient. It was as low as a shilling a-head; sometimes it reached 1s. 5d.; in hardly any case did it amount to 2s. In prosperous times the parish allowance was eked out by neighbourly kindness; now, all were overwhelmed by a common ruin, and no working-man, however willing, was able to help his neighbour. The health of the people was in danger. Something more must be done. The Committee should become not a Lancashire but a National Committee, and should invite all men of leading official position—lords lieutenant, mayors, and so forth—to become members. Let a Relief Committee to collect subscriptions and diffuse information, be organized in every borough in the kingdom. It was important to dispel

the false impressions which existed concerning the conduct of the propertied classes of Lancashire. Those classes had behaved well. They knew the importance of preventing the emigration or dispersion of the workpeople. Without the Lancashire operatives, the wealth of Lancashire would lose all its value, now suspended through what, Mr. Cobden hoped, would be the merely temporary suspension of the cotton supply. A national subscription of a million ought to be collected before the meeting of Parliament.

The Mansion-house Committee has received upwards of £100,000, besides parcels of clothing, blankets, &c.

This makes a total of £350,000, as follows:—

Central Relief Committee . . .	£150,000
Mansion-house Committee . . .	100,000
Local Relief Committee . . .	100,000

The increase of pauperism is over 12,500, as follows:—

Paupers.	Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne 2,320	Manchester . . . 1960
Blackburn . . . 890	Preston . . . 1110
Bolton . . . 400	Rochdale . . . 580
Burnley . . . 450	Salford . . . 410
Bury . . . 1080	Stockport . . . 230
Chorley . . . 150	Todmorden . . . 380
Chorlton . . . 620	Warrington . . . 30
Glossop . . . 160	Wigan . . . 70
Haslingden . . . 1590	
Liverpool . . . 140	Total . . . 12,650
Macclesfield . . . 80	

A meeting was held at Leeds, under the presidency of the Mayor, to consider the case of the distressed districts. Mr. Beckett, ex-M.P., read the following passage from a letter in reference to the conduct of the millowners, written by a large landowner and active member of the Central Relief Committee.

The answer to your question as to whether the Lancashire manufacturers have done all that might be expected towards the relief of their distressed population is rather difficult. There is no doubt that the names of the principal large manufacturers do not appear in the subscription lists, and there are a few who have not done what they ought; but the impression on my mind, from all I hear and see at our Manchester meetings, is that, on the whole, they are behaving very liberally. In most cases where they have not subscribed they have either kept their mills open for two or three days a week or, have given wages and food to their workmen to keep them off the rates. This, of course, can only be done by those who have capital, and the great distress is where mills have been recently erected in the villages up towards Yorkshire on borrowed capital, and hands attracted there by the work offered who are now quite destitute. The masters having to pay interest are nearly as badly off as their men.

He also stated that Preston would soon be paying a rate of six shillings in the pound. Mr. E. Baines, M.P., delivered a statistical speech, showing that a rate of over nine shillings in the pound would be required to feed the sufferers of the afflicted districts [He might have added that this would mean a rate of twenty shillings in the pound on the solvent rate-payers]. £4000 was subscribed before the meeting broke up.

The Earl of Derby, Chancellor of the Oxford University, has addressed the following letter to the Vice-Chancellor:—

Dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,—I am very glad to learn that the University of Oxford, as a body, is about to contribute to the relief of the fearful distress which prevails, and is weekly increasing, in the cotton districts; and that the aid to be granted, as I hope, by Convocation, will be supplemented by contributions from individual members of the University. In answer to your inquiries as to the extent of the distress, I have desired our secretary in Manchester to send you the latest information that we possess, which I hope he will have done. There is also a weekly report made to us by Mr. Farnell, the Poor Law Commissioner attached to our Committee by the Government, which contains the clearest summary of the state of pauperism; this is published in the *Times* of Tuesday in each week; and you will, therefore, by the time the Convocation meets, be in possession of later dates than I can now give you. I shall be greatly surprised if the next week does not exhibit a very large increase of pauperism. In the last two weeks the numbers have increased above 17,000; and we expect a further addition of 10,000 or 12,000 next week. The totals in twenty-four unions, as you will see, are now 186,000, against 43,000 last year; and we fear they may reach 250,000 before Christmas. And it is to be observed that this represents those only who are recipients of parochial relief, and is exclusive of a very large number who, after parting with the earnings of years in the struggle to maintain their independence, are still kept off the rate-books by the receipt of private charity, reluctantly received, to raise their means just above starvation point. Of the number of these persons I can give you no estimate, nor of the amount which is contributed locally for their relief. Their case is the special object of the "Bridgewater House Fund," which contributes at the rate of £8000 a month, being a portion of £25,000 a month which the Manchester Committee will be able to expend for four or five months now with their present means. All the funds, however, at present raised, including that which is liberally dispensed by the Lord Mayor's Committee in London, fall very short of the exigency of the case, and the vast numbers who are now dependent on one species or another of charity do not receive, and cannot receive more than 1s. 6d. weekly for the maintenance of each individual. You are at liberty to make any use of this letter that you think may be serviceable to the object you have in view. The statements in it are all, as you will find corroborated by public and official documents, and I feel that they represent a state of things, especially bearing in mind the admirable conduct of the population under sufferings arising from causes wholly beyond their own control, which cannot fail to

command the sympathy, and, I hope, call forth a liberal response, both from the University as a body and its members in their individual capacity.

I am, dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor, yours faithfully,

DERBY.

The Rev. the Vice-Chancellor.

Mr. Disraeli has found an opportunity of uttering his views on the present and the future of the Established Church, at a meeting in aid of the Society for the Augmentation of Small Benefices in the Diocese of Oxford. He dwelt on the fact that the clergy—even the beneficed clergy—are as a body poor, because the Church has been despoiled. He noted the bitter and concerted attacks made on her by the Dissenters; and pointed out that the demand for her separation from the State virtually involved a demand for the total confiscation of her property. He admitted, what the late Primate had asserted, that the nation had outgrown the Church; there were millions who were not Churchmen, but who were not Dissenters either, and whom the Church might yet reclaim. In reclaiming them, she would vindicate her title to nationality; to do so, she must educate the people, she must enlarge her means of action, her clerical machinery, and she must admit a larger development of the lay element in all departments not purely spiritual.

Mr. G. W. Bentinck, M.P. for West Norfolk, has addressed his constituents at King's Lynn upon American affairs. He denounced slavery; but declared that slavery had nothing to do with the quarrel. The North were in favour of slavery as long as they could make profit out of it; now, by the emancipation edict they showed themselves disposed to make political capital out of it, wholly regardless of the consequences of their act, and of the common feelings of humanity. The South was fighting for independence—the North, not for empire but for dollars.

Why is it (he said) that wherever one goes in all parts of England one always finds—thoroughly as I believe that the institution of slavery is detested in this country—every man sympathizing strongly with the Southerners, and wishing them all success? We do so for these reasons—First, they have fought—to do them justice—with a degree of gallantry almost unexampled, under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, under every description of privation; they have fought like heroes for their homes, their wives, and their children. That alone is enough to enlist the sympathies of Englishmen, and I trust in God the time will never come when it will not enlist their sympathies. But there is a still stronger feeling. The turn of events has resolved into this—Englishmen love liberty, and the Southerner is fighting, not only for his life, but for that which is dearer than life, his liberty. He is fighting for his home, for his liberty; he is fighting against one of the most grinding, one of the most galling, one of the most irritating attempts to establish tyrannical Government that ever disgraced the history of the world.

He trusted that the events of this war would silence the eulogists of American institutions, and concluded as follows:—

What is to be done? I have ventured to think that there is but one rational, one just, one beneficial course for this country to pursue, and that is at once to recognize publicly and officially the independence of the Southern States. I am not speaking now under the impression of the events of the moment, because, however unimportant the fact may be (and I do not ask you to lay any stress upon that), I ventured to urge in the House of Commons the opinion which I am now venturing to put before you. I urged it to the best of my ability, and, like many other good intentions, it failed in its effect, and produced no result whatever. But I then held, as I now hold the opinion that the attempts of the North to reconquer the South must be futile and hopeless; and all I ask you to consider is this, whether, if I was justified in holding that opinion, which I held and expressed in March last, the present position of affairs in the Northern States does not at least confirm that opinion tenfold? It appears now to be perfectly hopeless that the North should ever conquer the South. There is no prospect of a termination of this horrible sacrifice of human life except by the recognition of the Southern States by this country and by France; and, therefore, upon that ground alone I venture to urge it. The only argument I have ever heard against it is this:—We are told by learned men that it would be an outrage upon what they are pleased to term international law. That is a subject much too abstruse to enter upon. I do not understand it; I am not equal to it; but all I know is this, that as far as international law is concerned there is ample precedent for the recognition at the present moment, and even at a much earlier period of the war, of the independence of the Southern States by the Government of this country. Recollect what we did with respect to Belgium, recollect what we did with respect to Greece. Those in themselves are precedents perfectly sufficient to satisfy, in my humble opinion, all those who choose to argue the question upon the point of international law. But there is a much more serious view of the question than that. What has been the effect of this war in America upon an immense portion of the population of this country? What is the amount of distress which is now being endured, and that with an amount of patience, forbearance, sound judgment, and good feeling, which I say reflects honour upon the people of this country generally—what is the amount of distress which is being endured, and which can be attributed solely to the effect of this war? Why it is incalculable. We are told day after day that the numbers of those who are suffering are increasing. There seems to be no limit to the extent of it. We are told that if cotton were once introduced that distress would cease. I say again, with precedent in our favour, with the existence of enormous distress in this country—and putting aside as I do as a mere piece of hypocrisy and absurdity the introduction of the element of slavery into the discussion, I say without reference to party, without reference to anything but what I believe to be indispensable to the welfare and character of this country, that we are bound at once to recognize the independence of the Southern States of America.

A person named Jewett, from the Colorado Territory, who has undertaken the task of reconciling the American belligerents and restoring the Union, has elicited the following characteristic letter from the Member for Birmingham:—

Sir,—From your published views but little good can come from an interview. If you are for union, and think it can be procured by conciliating the South, I confess I am amazed. They have made war upon you because they suspected that you would yield nothing more to them. Are you to yield more under compulsion of the war, or because you can neither conquer the South nor yet subside as an independent State without her? If you love slavery and wish to continue it, and if you think you can build up with honour a restored and united republic by humbling yourself to the South, I can only express my surprise at the dream. You may separate, or you may fight out this contest and win; but to leave the slave still a slave will expose you to the contempt of the civilized world. I applaud the proclamation of the President—as does every man in Europe who is not a foe to freedom or moved by a base hostility to the American republic, because it is a republic, and because it is powerful. When in town will see you.

I am, respectfully yours,
JOHN BRIGHT.

Mr. Bright happens to be wholly ignorant of American history, or he would know that the North never yielded anything to the South. Every "compromise" was a concession by the South of some part of its strict constitutional rights to secure the remainder. The Fugitive Slave Law was merely a formal and effective re-enactment of a clause in the Constitution, without which the Union never could have been established; the Dred Scott case only the decision of the Supreme Court, that Congress could not deprive any State, or class of States, of its equal rights in the common territory. Nor did the South make war on the North; she merely defended her own soil against Northern invasion. Secession accomplished, the Confederate States sent Commissioners to Washington to negotiate a peaceable separation. The Government pledged itself that no hostile movement should be made without notice given to these Commissioners. A fleet was secretly prepared at New York; it sailed with sealed orders; and when it ought to have reached its destination notice was given that the President intended to reinforce Fort Sumter. The hand of Heaven defeated the infamous stratagem. A storm delayed the fleet; Charleston received warning in time; and when the enemy reached the harbour, the United States' flag had disappeared from Fort Sumter. Thus the war was begun by the North, and begun by an act of nefarious treachery. Mr. Bright's approval of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation surprises no one; we doubt not that he also warmly admires that of General Butler. His denunciation of all who differ with him as foes to freedom is in his usual style, as meaningless and invariable as the stereotyped epithets of his example, O'Connell, who thought to crush his adversaries by denouncing them as "base, bloody, and brutal." Every organ of a considerable party, nearly every man and newspaper that does not belong to the narrow and despised school of Messrs. Bright and Cobden, has pronounced the edicts both of Lincoln and of Butler to be "infamous." It is well known that Mr. Bright has no conception of what Englishmen generally call freedom. When he speaks of liberty he means equality; and his *beautiful* ideal of government is the absence of an aristocracy. A despotism based on universal suffrage, reducing all to an equal servitude, seems to realize his idea of liberty—and the Northern States are still in his eyes the one free country of the world. He means what he says, therefore, when he says that all who condemn the emancipation ukase are foes to freedom; but then the category of foes to freedom embraces every educated and nearly every uneducated Englishman.

EUROPE.

ITALY.—A consultation has been held on Garibaldi's case, and the doctors have come to the conclusion that the ball is still in the wound, but that it will be possible to extract it. Their report of the General's health is on the whole a favourable one.

Everything else is in *statu quo*. The French are not going to quit Rome; brigandage is not suppressed; Parliament has not met; and the Rattazzi Ministry has not resigned. The French have, however, arrested a few banditti in the Roman States. It is much to be wished that they should persevere in this laudable practice; and if they would hang or shoot these gentry as soon as they arrest them, it would be better still.

We give the following exactly as it is given by the daily papers, without pretending to explain it:—

Turin, November 3, evening.

The *Discussion* of to-day says:—On the 1st inst. an encounter took place on the right bank of the Po, upon the Austrian frontier, between a body of Italian Carabiniere and some Austrian soldiers. The Italians fired upon the Austrians, and after a few shots the two parties engaged in a hand-to-hand contest, without regarding the boundaries. The Austrian armed Customs' guards were repulsed from Italian territory. The Austrians were finally compelled to take to flight.

GREECE.—The ex-King has arrived at Munich. A few details relative to the revolution have reached us. It appears that the insurrection was preconcerted for some time beforehand; that no resistance was made, and no mischief done; that Otho, by the advice of the Foreign Ministers, resigned himself to his fate, and allowed the Provisional Government to take his place without a struggle. They have issued a proclamation accusing Otho of "trampling under foot the respect due to the laws of the State, and the conscience of the citizens," declaring his deposition and the downfall of the Regency of the Queen (provided by law in the event of the death or absence of the King); promising to fulfil the national obligations towards the protecting Powers, to keep the peace towards other States, and to resign their authority into the hands of the national assembly on its meeting. The ex-King has also issued a manifesto, saying that he has deemed it best to leave Greece "for the moment," and invoking upon her the Divine blessing. At least, he has himself now conferred upon herself the only benefit she ever received at his hands. The one beneficent act of his reign is his abdication.

CHINA.—There has been a Mahomedan insurrection in the Province of Shensi, in the north of the Celestial Empire, which appears to have been very successful, and to have assumed most formidable proportions. A conspiracy, supposed to be connected with the Taeping rebellion, has been detected and frustrated at Canton. We have no details; and neither movement is at present intelligible.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, November 5.

Our last report left the market dull and lifeless, with a drooping tendency. On Thursday, with sales of 2000 bales, lower prices were accepted. Middling Orleans was done at 22½, and Fair Dhollerahs at 15d. On Friday the great decline in American and Egyptian cotton reaching in some cases 8d. to 10d., induced speculation, and a good business was done at 1d. advance on the depressed sales of the previous day for longstaples; the sales reached 4000 bales, and of these 2000 were to the trade. The week's returns likewise showed the spinners had taken two-thirds of the total sales, so that there seemed grounds for expecting a larger and healthier demand from the trade than for weeks past.

On Saturday the market was very strong, at a further general advance; the sales reached 7000 bales, and of these 3000 were taken by the trade.

On Monday we again opened very strong, with a large attendance of spinners; and as the day advanced, the market became almost excited, the sales summing up 10,000—4000 to the trade; and prices closed at 16½ for Fair Dhollerahs, and 25 for Middling Orleans, showing an advance of a full 1d. in Sarat, and 2d. to 3d. in longstaples, from the depressed sales of Thursday.

On Tuesday the market was steady, with sales of 5000 bales.

The report from Manchester was looked forward to with interest, as it was apparent that the immediate future of our market would be regulated by the nature of the response there to our advance. The state of the market there yesterday was far from satisfactory; though firmer in tone, no general advance was obtainable, and the business was only to a limited extent. Our upward movement, accordingly, has been checked; spinners have withdrawn again from the market, and a dull, stagnant tone prevails. The sales only reach 1500 bales, with a little easing-off in the prices; the following quotations may be given:—21½ for Middling Orleans, 17½ for Fair Broach, 16½ for Fair Omrawuttie, and 15 for Fair Dhollerah.

It seemed, at the close of last week, that the trade were inclined to buy pretty freely, and on the basis of 15d. for Fair Dhollerahs. It is probable that a good and increasing trade demand would have set in, but as prices were forced up whenever they entered the market, they have been obliged again to stand aloof, and will likely do so unless they can obtain a considerable advance in Manchester until prices here have again reached the lowest point recently touched.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday November 4.

Since Thursday last, the tone of our market has changed for the better, and altogether there has been a much more cheerful feeling displayed than has been experienced during the two previous months.

The heavy arrivals of cotton at Liverpool during the past few weeks, and the small quantity taken by the trade, has had the effect of bringing the prices down to a moderately low figure, so much so, in fact, that some of our spinners could see their way to producing certain yarns without loss, and left here with the intention of putting a portion of their spindles in work; but the sudden rise in the price of cotton since then has been so great, that they have been deterred from carrying their intentions into effect. As Liverpool market so much depends, at the present time, upon the Manchester market for estimates, it is not to be expected that a rise of from 2d. to 3d. per lb. in the course of two or three days will be readily resorted to by buyers here.

On Friday, there was some trade inquiry for yarns suitable

for the home trade, especially 32's and 40's twist cops, for which an advance of ½d. per lb. on Tuesday's quotations were realised. Printing cloths were also in moderate request.

To-day our market opened very firm, and a moderate business has been done in cloth and yarn, especially the latter. Yarns suitable for the home trade, from 32's to 50's, have sold at an advance of 1d. to 1½d. per lb., and 60's twist cops at 2d. per lb. upon Tuesday's rates. There have also been some inquiries for 15's to 21's water in bundles for which an extra 11 per lb. has been obtained, and the same can be said of 40's, 50's, and 60's double.

Seven lb. and 8 lb. India shirtings are 3d. per piece higher; 35 in. 17 by 17 printers are much looked after, but there is a difference of 6d. per piece between buyer and seller. Madapolams longcloths and T cloths are very firm in price, but there is not much doing in them.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The *Mobile Tribune* says that large supplies for the army have been made in and shipped from Atlanta within a short time. The following is a part of them:—30,000 garments to General Tilghman, 5000 to the army of Western Virginia, 7000 to the army of Arkansas, 3000 to Texas Rangers, and 17,000 to Bragg's army.

In reference to the quantity of land in the South respectively under cotton and general cultivation, the tax book of Stewart county, Georgia, shows—that General Tombs has in the ground 560 acres of cotton and 800 of corn. John Fontaine, a wealthy planter of the same county, has in the field 894 acres of cotton, 1,285 of corn and 450 of smaller grains.

The Southern papers state that the 3rd Alabama Regiment was the first to put foot on the soil of Maryland.

NASHVILLE.

The following interesting letter is taken from the correspondence of the *Montreal Commercial Advertiser*:—

If you have never lived in a beleaguered town, it may probably interest you to learn something of the condition of the inhabitants of this city at the present moment. I will, accordingly, furnish you with a few items culled partly from observation and partly from experience. We are at present under Federal rule. There are from 10 to 13,000 Federal soldiers domiciled in the city or encamped within its limits. At least 6000 of these are in hospitals or convalescent camps, leaving about 6000 or 7000 effective fighting men for the defence of the city. But when I say the "city" pray do not confound the *urbs* with the *civitas*, the city with the citizens, for the protection which the latter receive from the Federal army is very much akin to that which the wolf vouchsafes to the lamb. The condition of this army has for some weeks past been of a very unpleasant character. This you will readily understand when, bearing in mind how in the affections of a Yankee soldier *pay* and *rations* take precedence even of patriotism itself, I state that for five or six weeks past the prospect of his getting much either of the one or the other has been constantly diminishing, becoming "small by degrees and beautifully less." All communication with the North has been so effectually cut off that even the paymaster of the forces has to confess to the efficiency of the blockade which the "rebels" have established. So complete is the isolation to which this band of heroes has been subjected, that they are compelled to do business entirely on their *own hook*. His Excellency President Lincoln and the chiefs of the War Department no longer control the railroad and the telegraph lines, and have consequently no means of conveying their behests to this helotry. In like manner they are prevented from sending them supplies, till at last they have had to be put on *quarter rations*. There is, indeed, in the immediate neighbourhood everything necessary for the sustenance of man and beast; but the Yankees can't get it. Squads of Confederate cavalry have to be encountered whenever they make the attempt, and in whatever direction. So disastrous has been their experience in this way that now whenever they venture on a foraging expedition they take out with them a considerable cavalry force, 4 or 5 pieces of artillery and about 1500 infantry. With this force they have on two or three recent occasions succeeded in bringing in from 150 to 200 loaded wagons. But they are likely to be quickly blocked out at this game. Several misadventures have befallen them, showing that with all the appliances of men and artillery at their command this is a hazardous enterprise. All their wagons and a large part of their force have again and again been captured. Yesterday a good part of a cavalry force detailed on this kind of service was taken by the "rebels." The Federal lines do not now extend more than three miles in any direction from the city. Farmers and market gardeners living beyond that line are now averse to come to town in consequence of the annoyances and delays to which they are subjected before they can get out again. They must have a "pass" in order to return, and before they can get this they have to be catagorised touching their loyalty, and—unless they have the good fortune to be aliens—to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States. Rather than submit to all this they stay at home resolved to garner up their stores for more propitious times. Too often, I regret to say, they express themselves somewhat profanely, and say they will see Lincoln and the United States Government—well, subjected to damages severe and irreparable, before they will take the oath of allegiance to sustain one or the other. This state of things, as you will understand places the citizens in a very disagreeable fix. Every article of consumption for food, except meat, flour, and corn meal—and Heaven be thanked that these are excepted—is run up to famine prices. This results naturally from the operation of the causes just referred to, necessarily restricting the supply to a point much below the demand. But besides the hardship thence ensuing there is another resulting from what seems to be a sort of tacit prohibition given by the military authorities to the soldiers, to buy the citizens under contribution for the supply of any food they experience in the quantity and quality of their daily rations. Accordingly the robbing of hen roosts and the slaughtering of cattle are things of daily, or rather nightly occurrence. If complaint be made at head

quarters it is sure to be unavailing. But while the people thus suffer, they bear it willingly and even cheerfully, for this condition of things they see clearly results from the embarrassed and helpless condition to which the Federals are now reduced. At the same time the soldiery are almost maddened by the ignominy of their position. They eagerly seize on every opportunity for avenging themselves on those who have been the instruments of their humiliation. An instance of this occurred only a few days ago. Lieutenant-Colonel Bass, of the Confederate army, recently paid a visit to his family, who were staying with his father-in-law in their country, not more than five or six miles from Nashville. The fact came to the knowledge of the authorities here, probably through the malicious interference of some traitorous neighbours, and they sent a posse of men to arrest him. These arrived at the dwelling at early dawn before the family were up. They knocked at the door and Colonel Bass himself came down to let them in and enquire their business, having only his night dress and drawers on. The ruffians had no sooner learned that he was the party than one of them fired his piece at him, sending a bullet through his head and killing him instantly. This spirit of ferocity towards their enemies, moreover, is not redeemed by the considerate forbearance which they are accustomed to exercise towards their friends. It is true they have no provocation for those wanton cruelties with which they delight to visit men of Southern principles. But when they are in search of plunder they know no difference between friend and foe, in this respect resembling those marauding borderers of a former age—

"Who sought the beeves that made them broth,
In England and in Scotland both."

It is as clear as day that this state of things cannot long continue were it practicable by exhausting all the resources of the citizens, with the addition of which chance luck might bring them from the limited district of country to which they have access, to sustain themselves a few weeks longer, the case is very different as regards their horses and mules. There is not enough fodder in the city, exclusive of that belonging to the Government, to last them a single day. I am happy to believe, however, that a very few days will settle their fate. I think it is now put beyond question that Breckinridge's force is advancing with rapidity towards Nashville. There is good reason for believing that his advance guard is within fifteen miles of us, and that the bulk of his division is rendezvousing at Murfreesboro, a city only thirty miles distant, connected with us by rail. There is every indication that within less than a week there will have been a great battle fought in this city or immediate neighbourhood, and one more added to the brilliant victories already achieved by the Confederate arms; or what, perhaps, is more probable, that the Federals will, when the demand is made, surrender themselves unconditionally into the hands of the Confederates. I have no doubt, but the latter will be able to invest the city with an army of at least 50,000 men. For the Yankees to attempt to fight against such odds would be little short of madness. Their defeat would be inevitable, even granting what they claim, that their defences here give them advantages in fighting equal to an army of 10,000 men.

The entrance of a Confederate army into this city would be hailed by the people with the utmost enthusiasm. The tyranny under which they have been suffering for the last eight months is becoming to them intolerable. Free speech and a free press are things of the past. Everything connected with the Government whether general or local; Federal, state or municipal, all is moulded after the most approved despotic models. If two or three persons meet and converse, they speak in an under tone and look around to see whether any person is sufficiently near to overhear them. They are in constant dread of spies and informers, a class of persons whose services the Government not only avails themselves of, but liberally reward. Moreover, these creatures make use of the power they obtain to gratify their spleen, and vent their spite on individuals to whom they owe a grudge. Cases of this kind are occurring daily. Add to these things the stagnation of business, the scarcity and high price of provisions, our state of isolation from the outside world occasioned by the cessation of all postal communication whatever, and you will be at no loss to account for the impatience with which the people await the advance of the Confederate army into this city.

It is amusing to observe the expedients which are resorted to avoid the necessity of taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. As the taking of this oath is indispensable to the procuring a *pass* from the military authorities for permission even to cross the river to Edgefield, a suburban village where almost half our merchants reside, or to go to any point beyond the city limits, this is obviously a matter that comes home to almost every man's business and bosom. A large number of people who had never been suspected of being of foreign origin have very suddenly been transformed into *Britishers*. In other cases where this metamorphosis seemed scarcely practicable, the contumacious "rebel," or "rebel sympathizer," as the case may be, will borrow the Englishman's pass; and as the Yankee pickets don't know Smith from Jones, Brown, or Robinson, this expedient succeeds to admiration. I have known of instances where a man in this way has travelled over hundreds of miles of territory to which he could have obtained access in no other way.

I sent you a letter about three weeks ago, also one dated, I think, August 13, whether you have received them I suppose I shall have no means of knowing until the war is over, and a Royal mail steamer be running from Montreal to Baltimore or some other port in the Confederate States. I send this by a friend, who expects to make his way from this to Louisville driving his own horse and buggy the whole distance and then back.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 24.

The quotations for gold and exchange are still very variable; so much excitement prevails in Wall-street that values change every hour. The tendency for all articles is upward, while Government Securities, as they are called, remain *stationary*, for such they are, as they represent only pens, ink, and paper. Mr. Chase is ill and the Federal Treasury is idle; there is some hopes for the recovery of the former but not for the latter. The Federal Government is broke; it pays nobody just now, but the most pressing creditors.

Political affairs are very bright for the Democrats. Their successes in the Northern Border States will assist in the election of Seymour, the moral effect of which, coupled with the break down in finances, will, it is thought, bring hostilities to a close. The emancipation proclamation, having been received so coldly in Europe, has given quite a chill to Mr. Lincoln, and has set him shaking in his shoes. He will no longer be able to "put his foot down."

PARIS, November 4.

The Court has left St. Cloud for Compiègne, where their Majesties intend spending the remainder of the month. The political opinions of the guests are a subject of interest to us Parisians, who have nothing to do but watch the political weathercock and throw up straws to see which way the wind blows. The persons who are to share the hospitalities of Chantilly, are, on this occasion, enthusiastic supporters of the Pope, but nevertheless, it seems drawing inferences a little too fine to argue that it is all up with Italian unity because M. Heckeren or M. de la Guéronnière have been enjoying themselves shooting pheasants on the Imperial preserves.

On Thursday, the Emperor and Empress honoured with their presence, a banquet given by M. de Persigny at his chateau of Chambrande, a pleasant country residence, which he owes to the munificence of his Imperial master. The only remarkable feature at this symposium, in a political point of view, was the presence of Lord Malmesbury—it has given rise to a report that in the event of a change in the Government, the French Cabinet would agree much better with the next, than they do with the present occupant of the Foreign office.

Mr. Slidell had the honour of an interview with the Emperor at St. Cloud last Tuesday.

It is generally believed here that the relations between the English and French Cabinets are by no means on a satisfactory footing, and judging from appearances, that belief is founded on something more solid than mere rumour. It has been observed with surprise that during the last stay of Prince Napoleon in England, not a single member of the English Government thought fit to pay his respects to the Emperor's cousin. Had the visit of the Prince been *incognito*, one might understand Cabinet Ministers' ignoring his presence in London, but the Prince travelled under his own name—he dined officially at the French and Italian legations, and paid daily visits to the Exhibition. And yet not even Earl Granville once came near his Imperial Highness. What, ask people here, can be the meaning of this? It is impossible to account for it, as whatever may be the differences between England and France, no one supposes them to be such as to involve so complete a dereliction from the usages of common courtesy.

A certain impression has been caused here by the studied neglect of all the duties of hospitality in the case of Prince Napoleon, and you may be sure that whatever the feeling may be between two courts it has caused much dissatisfaction in high quarters here.

It is worthy of notice that on all the great questions of the day the French and English Governments seem to be totally at variance. On the question of Italy, it is well known that the two Cabinets entertain diametrically opposite views, and that they are engaged in an as yet unicable contests for influence in the peninsula, which sheds a tone of acerbity over all their relations. In the Mexican affair the French think, and not without reason, that they have not been fairly dealt with by England; and with regard to America, England seems to oppose as determined a *non possumus* as the Pope himself, to all the proposals of the French Emperor to join him in an attempt to put an end to the barren conflict between North and South. The Emperor has arrived at the conclusion that the Southern States have fully established their claim to be considered an independent nation, a conclusion which is that of all Englishmen, save perhaps two, or at the utmost, three members of the Cabinet. This entire absence of a good understanding is fraught with serious consequences for Europe. There are, however, symptoms in abundance, which lead one to suppose that early in the coming session a change will take place in the councils of the British Government, and then, I think, we may look forward to a recognition of the South by England and France combined, unless, indeed, the arrogance of the North forces England into a war, or Southern victories bring about total collapse of the Federal Government before that time.

The *Constitutionnel* to-day publishes an able article setting forth the atrocities perpetrated at New Orleans by the miscreant Butler, a name that shall be handed down to the execration with those of the blood-thirsty buffoons of the French Revolution:—

The reign of terror in France (says the writer, M. Craver) never carried to such a point the ingenuity of cruelty as the

trade of *espionnage*. It did not inspire revolutionary fury with byzantine cowardice. At New Orleans, by degrees, under one form or another, proscription slowly fastens not upon declared enemies alone, but also upon persons that are merely compromised or suspected; the innocent, those who have emigrated, or who are merely absent, do not escape. Will it be credited? These rigorous measures are not sufficient to reassure General Butler, or appear to him too mild a punishment, and the citizens of New Orleans are not only individually subject to confiscation, hard labour, and judicial assassination, but they are, moreover, collectively and hourly threatened with a general massacre. The executioners are already designated; they are ready and at their post: there are 5000 slaves garrisoned at Toms Asylum, two miles below the city, and as many at Carolton, five miles above. The negroes are armed and drilled; care has been taken to excite their vindictive passions, and their most perverse instincts; they await from day to day the order which is to let them loose in the whites, and that New Orleans should not be in ignorance of the fate in store for it, General Butler instructs his papers to print and repeat that, "If the forces of the United States are compelled to abandon New Orleans, no living creature will be left there save the crocodile and the mosquito."

That is an unequivocal sentence of death. There is no mistake about it. The North will not abandon one particle of its pride, its hatred, or its ambition, and will carry out its threats. Thus New Orleans is in a state of agony whenever the news comes of any Confederate success. All who can succeed in eluding the vigilance of the police, and of the bands that surround the town, sacrifice their property and escape into exile. Those who are condemned to remain are prepared for the worst. They have but one hope—that the indignation of Europe will be roused by the narrative of their sufferings, and that she will avenge them one day.

Endeavour (writes a correspondent) to make our cry of anguish heard by civilized nations. Describe the servitude ignominy to which we are reduced, we who were once so proud of our freedom. If it be too late to protect and save us, call down upon our murderers the malediction of the universe; the curse of the present and future test upon them!

(From our own Correspondent.)

BERLIN, November 3.

It would be hazardous to foretell that the King and his Ministers are about to retrace the false steps of the last month, but symptoms are not wanting from which a good augury may be drawn. It is true that in his answers to the loyal deputation which fast and furious tread on each other's heels, the King continues to protest that he sees in the rejection of the Budget only the determination to thwart his patriotic intentions. He asks how the safety of the country can be secured when 180 battalions and 44 squadrons are deducted from the forces which he considers necessary for its defence. But on the other hand, I hear that every effort is being made to reduce the expenditure within the limits of the ordinary Budget, so that the Chambers, on their reassembling in January, will only be asked to provide for the extra outlay already incurred at the time of the prorogation. There are even appearances of yielding in regard to the length of military service, as the soldiers of the third year are receiving furloughs, which is, in fact, conceding the point in dispute regarding the army. In this way we may hope that a compromise may be effected, and the dignity of the Crown saved, while the rights of the nation are asserted. The Prussian people are so sincerely attached to the throne, and appreciate too well the blessing of an orderly Government, not to accept with enthusiasm the termination of a difference which is all in their favour. Meantime they remain on the defensive. A national fund has been organized to supply the deficits in the private budgets of the gentlemen whom the Executive was so hasty in punishing for their votes. Contributions are coming in from other States besides Prussia, so that they will not be even monetary losers by their disgrace, while they have gained by it the honours of an easy martyrdom, and the popular sympathy which attends it. Dr. Oppermann, the dismissed Advocate-General, is invited to become second Burgo-master of Dantzig, and there was a report generally current yesterday that Herr Borkum-Dolffs, instead of an obscure exile in Gumbinnen, would only leave Gumbinnen to be elected Burgo-master of Cologne. This manifestation of public opinion has had its effect on the Government, and we hear of no further persecution of the office-holders who voted against the Budget.

Germany, even more than England, is the country of associations or leagues. Here we have scientific leagues, and leagues juristical gymnastical, political, musical, economical, and whatever other epithets the dictionary of private and public life affords. The Feudal or Junker party has just established a new one here, in aid of the hapelid monarchy, under the appropriate designation of the People's League. At Frankfurt the Reform League has been inaugurated to represent the Gross-Deutsch theory of a perfect Confederation under Austrian patronage, as opposed to the National League with Prussian tendencies, which holds its sittings at Cologne. The two associations are based upon the recog-

nition of the present unsatisfactory relations of the thirty-five States into which Germany is divided; and a few words will explain the necessity of the movement which both are intended to promote, although it would be more difficult to give any clear idea of the measures which they severally advocate. It is often easier to see an object than to distinguish the road which leads to it; and the members of these leagues are far from being united among themselves on more than the broad proposition that all is not as it should be. A German thinks for himself; he has, therefore, an individual opinion, and this tendency is unfavourable to party organization. He is also a conscientious thinker, and gives such fair weight to his adversary's reasons that he generally ends by having not only one but two opinions, and this is adverse to any effective action. I shall therefore content myself with stating the case as it is allowed on all hands, leaving events to determine the consequences it involves.

Germany, in its present condition, represents an *idée Napoléonienne*—that is to say, an idea of bygone times and an effete society, for Napoleon was the last great man of the Old World. When the conqueror deprived Francis II. of the title which alone remained as the symbol of the feudal agglomeration called the German or Holy Roman Empire, he declared the larger States independent, giving the Royal title to four of them. The smaller ones he formed into the Confederation of the Rhine, a loosely constituted body, intended not for German purposes, but as a sort of earth-work to cover the eastern frontier of France. He had buried, not killed the old empire, which was dead and corrupt long before his time, and on his fall it was not even attempted to resuscitate it. But while the sovereigns would have been well pleased to leave things as they were, German patriotism demanded some guarantee against the recurrence of times when Germans were armed against each other at the bidding of a stranger, and to satisfy this desire by a fancied reconstruction of a common Fatherland, the Confederacy was reconstituted on an extended scale, including all the countries and provinces which had formed parts of the empire. The ineffectiveness of this clumsy contrivance—an embarrassment to all, a defence to none, and at best an instrument of tyranny to the subjects of the smaller States—soon made itself felt. The events of 1848 aroused in Germany the spirit which had led to victory in '13, and the Diet at once sunk into insignificance before the unanimous outcry of the people. A national Parliament, with a directing Executive took its place at Frankfurt, and the fears of the princes, threatened by their own subjects in their capitals, gave it legitimacy and authority. But this short-lived attempt at unity fell before the traditional hesitations of the Brandenburg, "who would rather hold the exar and basin at the coronation than be crowned himself without the election of his peers"; and the speculative dualism of the German mind. Again, in 1859, these aspirations after unity became predominant, favoured as they were by the war in Italy, the Regency in Prussia, and the humiliation of Austria. A war with France seemed imminent, and on reviewing their forces, the blindest admirers of the *status quo* were forced to recognize their inadequacy to cope with such a foe. The Peace of Villafranca alone saved Germany from the disasters of defeat. The Diet had had time to prove its inefficiency in the hour of danger; and the military organization of the Federal army, without a common leader or a common discipline, was equally found wanting. All parties joined in the cry for reform. The *Nationalverein*, or National League, was the first in the field; but the immediate danger had already passed, and instead of including Germans of all parties, it was joined only by one class of politicians. These advocate the unification of the army, the establishment of a Reichsrath, or national representation, with an Executive headed by Prussia, to which Power the command of the army and the direction of the foreign policy of the country should be confided. In such a Constitution, Austria would be reduced to an inferior rank, as its German provinces form the smallest part of the Empire. This was, therefore, equivalent to the exclusion of Austria from the German Empire, and hence the nick-name of Klein Deutschland, or Little Germany.

Whatever may be the final results of its agitation, the National League deserves credit for preventing the public opinion of Germany from again sinking into indifference to the Constitution of the Confederation. The Feudal party, whose still existing privileges it speedily attacked, but who cannot deny the necessity for some change, endeavours to turn the movement to its own advantage by a counter agitation, in which they are joined by several of the Liberals of Southern Germany, to whom Prussian selfishness is odious. In furtherance of this, Austria presented to the Diet last year, a plan of Federal re-

form, including a national representation, composed of members elected by the Chamber of each State. This is called *Gross Deutschland*, and is represented by the Reform League, which has just held its first meeting at Frankfurt. Its members found it difficult to agree on matters of detail, and contented themselves with taking as their programme, the integrity of Germany, and opposition to all proposals which should exclude any portion of the race.

While in Prussia the King still speaks of the machinations of the majority of the Lower House, we hear from Cassel of the opening of the Chambers with a speech which is greatly to the credit of the Elector and his advisers. The Hessian difficulty had for ten years kept Germany in constant agitation, and not long ago threatened to be the spark which would set it on fire. An ultra-liberal modification of the Constitution of 1831 had been forced upon the Elector in 1848, and this, when the period of reaction came round, was abolished by the reassembled Diet, and the forces of Austria and Prussia. Since then the Elector has been at feud with his subjects, who refused to accept the ultra-conservative Constitution which he bestowed upon them. Each time that he has called his new Chambers together, they have protested against the illegality of their own elections, and have been dissolved. Unvoted taxes were levied by military force, the judges who pronounced them illegal were exiled or imprisoned, and the Diet received yearly appeals against the Sovereign. The Elector was obstinate, but so also were his people. Again and again the Diet interfered with recommendations, until at last, multiplying its previous acts, it this year enjoined upon the Elector to restore the Constitution of 1831, with some modifications to bring it into harmony with the Federal laws. In case of refusal on his part, the military execution of the decision was entrusted to Prussia, which showed itself eager to interfere, and at once assembled troops on the frontier. At the same time the King sent a warning letter to the Elector, treating of the sacredness of popular Constitutions, but his messenger was ill-received, and the letter irreverently thrown unopened on the table. The Elector, however, yielded, and if he did so with a bad grace—for he also has his version of God and Fatherland—he has accepted the consequences frankly, and in the Chamber elected by the old law, he has declared that so soon as the electoral law, in conformity with the Constitution of 1831, has been voted, as required by his people, he will dismiss them for re-election. Having fewer troops at his disposal than His Majesty of Prussia, His Royal Highness has abstained from the very obvious *Tu quoque* which present circumstances must have suggested to him.

I have little gossip to send you. The merrier of the Old Saints are still held in some sort of honour here, and as to-day is the feast of St. Hubert, patron of sportsmen, the King has a grand hunting party, with red coats and white ties, at Grunenwald, to be followed by others during the remainder of the week at another royal chateau. Count Bernstorff's nomination as Ambassador in London, is only remarkable as being the first resident Ambassador named by Prussia in later times. For many years Russia and Prussia have only been represented abroad by Ministers. The papers report that the Queen of Naples is in very delicate health, and give this as the reason for her refusal to accompany Cardinal Grassellini, who has returned to Rome alone. It is added that she has consented to join her husband in the spring. A judgment of the Upper Tribunal is worth mentioning as a specimen of the pretensions of the Feudal party in Prussia in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1848, a Count S— married the daughter of a sub-officer. The legitimacy of her son was called in question as being the offspring of a *mesalliance*. The *Kammer-gericht* before which the case came in the first instance, decided in favour of the validity of the marriage, on the ground of a rescript of 1746, by which sub-officers were ranked with the higher middle class, or, as the French would say (for I can express so foreign an idea only in a foreign language), with the *bonne roture*. On appeal, the higher tribunal at once rejected the grounds of this decision, on which the son pleaded that his mother was not only the daughter of a sub-officer, but also a ballet dancer, and that as such having danced *petits sautés*, she was an artist, and therefore of *bonne roture*. The appellant rejoined by a prayer that the Court would inquire whether her manners were those of the station alleged, and the Court has directed information to be taken as to whether she was really a good enough dancer to be the mother of a count, and whether she behaved herself as such. The Marriage Bill of 1860, rejected by the Upper House, would have prevented this question, as it did away with distinctions of birth as causes of nullity. The King exerted all his influence to get it passed, but

the defenders of the Crown only respect it so long as what they think their own interests are served by it.

(From our own Correspondent.)

HAVANNAH, October 6.

With this letter you will receive a file of Southern papers to the 29th ult. The Confederate army has achieved victory after victory in such rapid succession, and so momentous in their effect upon the great issue of national existence, North or South, as the Northerners would have it, for they at one time assumed to introduce their principle of "irrepressible conflict" into the result of the war; but now stand amazed, each asking his neighbour, "Upon what portion of our devoted army will 'Stonewall' Jackson next hurl his victorious columns? Will Lee invade Pennsylvania? Will General Smith penetrate the State of Ohio? Will Bragg go into Indiana? Will the North-West, disgusted at the management of the war, secede and leave us to pay or repudiate our mammoth debt? Shall we accept a military dictator, or force Mr. Lincoln to acknowledge the independence of the South?" While the mass of the people are panic-stricken, a few army contractors and paid journals continue to support the war, and have the mendacity even to claim a victory at Sharpsburg. General Lee admits this to have been "a severe engagement," and writes to President Davis, "The shock of battle was tremendous, and damaged the Federals more than any other engagement of the war. He further says, "Our army encamped upon the battle-field on the second night, and was ready to renew the fight in the morning, but the enemy had retired." He estimates his own loss in killed, wounded, and missing, at 5000, and that of the enemy at 20,000. Why he returned to Virginia is not stated; but as he estimates the number of arms captured at Harper's Ferry, in the fight between Jackson and Burnside, and the battles in Maryland, as sufficient to equip an army of 50,000 men, together with large quantities of munitions of war and commissary stores, we are naturally led to the conclusion that he could not march or fight encumbered with so much valuable property, and returned to place it in security.

The news from the South West is equally important and gratifying. Kentucky was thoroughly aroused; 23,000 volunteers from the "dark and bloody ground" had already enrolled themselves in the Confederate army, and others were reporting themselves faster than our generals could organize them into companies and regiments. The ladies hailed our victorious army as their especial deliverers from Yankee insult and oppression, and strewed their path with flowers. Old Kentucky! the land of brave men and beautiful women, has wheeled into the line of the Confederacy, and her war cry will be heard above the roar and din of battle. Missouri literally swarms with Partisan Rangers ready to co-operate with General Price in redeeming this younger sister from Northern thralldom. The Confederacy, after eighteen months' struggle with her vain-glorious invaders, under disadvantages which would have appalled any nation not sustained by manly patriotism and a holy cause, is now stronger in national resources and effective materials of war than her enemy. Mr. Randolph, our Secretary at War, on August 12, reported to Congress as follows:—

Since the adjournment of Congress, our stock of arms has been largely increased by importation and capture. Our small arms alone have increased from these sources no less than 80,000. Our supply of ammunition has also been increased by importation and manufacture; and, as already stated, we may expect at no distant day that the active and methodical operations of the Nitre Corps will supply our demand, and make us independent of foreign importation.

The operations of the army since that date, without taking into the account, large importations, has added to the stock of small arms, certainly 60,000 more, to say nothing of even 100 pieces of artillery captured with them; while the Governor of Pennsylvania calls imploringly for volunteers to defend Philadelphia, and asks them to bring their short guns and family rifles, as the Government has no arms to give them. And yet, European Governments still hesitate to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States. Why? It is whispered that Lord Lyons, as the price of the Northern surrender of their principle of the *right of visitation and search*, of their vessels upon the high seas, promised Mr. Seward that England would never interfere in the American question to the prejudice of the Federal Government. If this pledge was made (I merely give it as a rumour), it is not binding on the English Government or people; yet it may be secretly operating to our great injury. A brief review of the history of the slave trade, will show the monstrous injustice of giving to the Federals an advantage over

the Confederate Government for a concession which the Northerners never would have made in prosperity and which never could have been forced from the Confederates in adversity, though their hearty co-operation in the suppression of the slave trade is fully guaranteed by their past history.

The African slave-trade was first prohibited by South Carolina in 1786, acting in her capacity as a State sovereignty; in the following year, on the motion of the delegates from Virginia, in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, a clause was inserted, after modification, authorizing Congress to prohibit the importation of African Negroes into the United States after the year 1808. This provision was resisted by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other New England States, and history tells us that, that Constitution would have been defeated by New England opposition, had not Virginia yielded her consent to an extension of the time at which the African slave trade was to be prohibited—the year 1808 being a compromise between the Southern opponents of the African slave trade, and its Northern advocates. Texas, now one of the Confederate States, was originally settled by emigration from the Southern States, and in 1840, soon after the recognition of her independence as a republic, she entered into a treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, and for that purpose yielded the "right of search," and in the Constitution adopted by the Confederate States, the African slave trade is for ever prohibited. Would the Northerners have entered into the Seward-Lyons treaty but for the existence of this war? I answer, emphatically, No! In 1858 the Yankee press, without exception, thundered forth their threats and maledictions against England, because of the visitation by her cruisers of American ships on the coast of Cuba, suspected as slavers, and President Buchanan, as late as 1860, referring to this subject, in his annual Message to Congress, says,—"The American people hailed with general acclaim the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, to our naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, to protect all vessels of the United States, on the high seas, from search or detention by the vessels of war of any other nation." Who has kept alive the African slave trade? The reports of your venerable, able, and faithful Consul-General for Cuba, on file in the Foreign Office at London, will doubtless inform you that Northern capital, Northern ships, and Northern seamen are responsible for the continuance of the traffic; and that the people of the Southern States of America have been faithful to their constitutional obligations and treaty stipulations, while the *Puritans* of New England and of New York have united in this traffic.

A CONFEDERATE PRISONER'S EXPERIENCE IN ST. LOUIS.

From the *Mobile Register*.

Vicksburg, September 23, 1862.

In narrating what matters of public interest I may be supposed to have picked up until the 8th of September, by over nine weeks' confinement as a prisoner of war at St. Louis, I would state first that the daily newspapers were always obtainable at the Gratiot-street prison (late McDowell Medical College), except in two or three instances, where a more than usually brutal Dutch lieutenant of the guard blockaded them. Secondly, there was a daily influx of St. Louis citizens, charged with "disloyalty," and a frequent importation of citizens from the rural districts—mainly Missourians, with a sprinkling of Illinoisans, Iowans, Kentuckians, Arkansians, and Tennesseans. Since the unfortunate evacuation of Missouri by General Price and Governor Jackson, Missourians arrested outside of St. Louis have been, with scarcely any exception, considered hushwackers by Federal authority. This rule applies to all Arkansians (not sick), yet imprisoned within the jurisdiction of the Provost Marshal General of Missouri, whose authority, by the by, has recently been extended into portions of Iowa and Illinois. In the latter State this fresh violation of State rights created quite a fuss the other day—even its Governor, Yates, for a while, at least, refusing to deliver up some muskets claimed by the United States authority. But to return to the prisoners (not in hospital) yet remaining in aforesaid Provost District; deducting the very few bogus ones employed as spies, and some who vainly imagined that a neutrality could save them from arrest, the remainder are true Southern men—a number being as regularly enrolled Confederate soldiers as myself, yet their companies having, from one cause or another, been unable to join regimental organization, they are refused the privilege of exchange. I need not give the definition of "hushwackers" or "guerilla."

In July last the Military Governor of Missouri, Gamble, ordered out the entire militia of the State. This had the effect of obliging every able-bodied male between the ages of 18 and 45 who refused to join, (under penalty of property confiscated) to leave the State, hide in the bush, turn guerilla, or go to gaol. Lincoln's subsequent draft has not eased matters. Happening to be in St. Louis at the time, it needed no personal liberty about the town to observe the effects. Guerilla raids largely increased; such Southern leaders as Porter, Quantrel, Poindexter scouring the State, and greatly augmenting their forces through the militia draft. Although they had numerous skirmishes, the guerilla policy this time appears wisely to have been that of retiring gradually towards Arkansas, where they can reorganize according to the rules of military discipline, for it is evident that guerilla fighting should be looked upon as a means, not an evil. No language can describe the horrible condition of Missouri this past summer.

In St. Louis Federal police improve upon their Austrian

brethren in Italy. Do charitable ladies open a fair, it is not enough that they do not display the supposed Confederate colors of red, white and red; they must show on their stalls the red and blue, or as in the case of Mrs. Coons, be given a choice between loathsome lodgings in Gratiot-street prison, or a ticket to the Southern lines, and the utter separation from husband and children. If a child be seen in public dressed in white with trimmings and scarlet socks, something blue about its head gear can alone save its parents a summons to the Provost Marshal. In short, for such trivial remissness, have several of the most respectable ladies of the city, been arrested and banished. The tenant also will frequently question his landlord's loyalty, and force the latter to dance attendance upon the Provost Marshal before rent can be collected. For some days the brother of General Joe Johnston, along with his wife, were confined in a prison ward adjoining mine. They were released as mysteriously as arrested. In instances where, after the citizen's arrest, a petition has been forwarded by his Union friends, said document, in official parlance invariably gets mislaid amongst the enormous accumulation of "you know" similar papers at the Provost's office, and official lacqueys have finally to be lickspittled and bribed into pressing a duplicate upon the great man's attention. According to city papers, in St. Louis country many wealthy planters have recently been assessed in a special tax from supposed Southern sympathy.

As to the treatment of prisoners in the Missouri Provost district, personally I can only give my St. Louis experience, never having been sent to Alton. Yet the statements I have gathered from my fellow-passengers (prisoners exchanged from the latter prison) generally corroborated one another. In quantity our food was sufficient, yet at St. Louis it was filthily served up to well prisoners. And just fancy seven hundred and fifty men gasping for air in the lower rooms of the Gratiot-street jail for an entire week? Its hospital being on the uppermost story receives some good air, while its diet and attendance are pretty good.

But the crowning abomination to every exchanged Confederate is the Western Dutch of the present day, as represented at least in the Federal uniform. In my previous Western travels Hans was a different animal. He seems now to bear no blood relation to German settlers in the cotton sections, or anybody in Fatherland. I saw at Shiloh how nobly Confederate Germans can fight, but these Western fellows have become completely metamorphosed through their Black Republican orators. Where once civil they are now insolent; where once humane, most cruel. I have seen no exception among them from the day I was taken prisoner after the Corinth evacuation. It seems to make no difference whether they have seen hard military service or not. In the Missouri district the authorities appear to prefer them for prison guards, as being less goodnatured than the most rabid native born Abolitionists. When not shooting out an offensive prisoner's brains, as in the recent case of one Morrow, at Alton (said to be a Memphis carpenter), they daily amuse themselves with such gambols as stabbing (a notoriously crazy but harmless Irishman once, in my presence) and knocking down aged decrepid men with the butts of their guns. Yet I try to be a reasonable rebel, expect and even desire some discipline in any prison.

However to all this there is occasionally a laughable feature. Long as I have been forced to make this letter, I cannot refrain from relating one recent affair: as the gunboat Essex, bound down, was approaching St. Louis, a Dutch clerk at a sawmill on the bank, in the fervency of patriotism, rushed to the safe, and untying a package marked "Flag Steamboat Von Phul," displayed to the Essex crew what he supposed to be the Stars and Stripes. Greatly to his own surprise and much more to the astonishment of workmen busier than he at the mill, a squad of armed gunboatmen came to arrest and convey them all to Gratiot-street prison. The clerk had unwittingly waved the Stars and Bars. His employer happened to be the owner of the aforesaid steamboat, and after the discontinuance of her trips South, owing to the blockade, this flag, which prudence had dictated to be displayed in Secesh waters, was packed up and deposited at the mill. Although they only remained two days imprisoned, how long they would have probably remained there but for being Dutch, may be perhaps judged by the preceding remarks.

THE SOUTH AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

(From the Morning Herald.)

It does not surprise us that one or two of our contemporaries, driven to their wits' ends for arguments, should accuse the South of wishing to reopen the slave trade. Politicians who regard history as a collection of old almanacks are naturally ignorant, not only of the past, but of the present; and if any of their readers are as ill-informed as themselves, writers of this school may possibly delude some simple persons into the belief that those who advocate the recognition of Southern independence are advocates, or at least, are not resolute opponents, of the revival of that infamous traffic. For our own part—and we have been throughout this struggle, the first to advise, and the most strenuous in urging the recognition of the Confederate States—we do not think it necessary to deny that we have any tenderness or toleration for the most loathsome of the crimes to which unscrupulous avarice or mistaken philanthropy ever contributed. Not being disciples of Mr. Cobden, or Mr. Gladstone, and never having preached the doctrine of free trade according to the Manchester school, we have no hesitation in declaring our intense abhorrence of free trade in human flesh, and our satisfaction at the inconsistency which gives us, on this topic, the support of so eminent a Free-trader as Mr. Bright. If we had not taken the trouble first to remember that the South could not reopen the African slave trade if she wished it ever so much, and, secondly, to ascertain that if she could do it she would not, we should hardly have been disposed to urge her claims upon the sympathy of Englishmen and the alliance of England. But we are a little surprised that the few educated and intelligent men who have adopted the Northern cause have been content to repeat without correction, qualification, or doubt, the palpable falsehoods on this subject which have been circulated by Northern Abolitionists. It is very difficult to understand how such a man as Mr. John Stuart Mill has contrived to live in ignorance that the statements on this subject to which he has given the sanction of his authority are wholly without foundation—utterly contrary to every fact in the past history of the Southern States, and at variance with every declaration of their statesmen, every indication afforded by their constitution, and every expression of the popular sentiment. He is above the vulgar error—which no man who ever read history can make—of confounding together slavery and the slave trade. Why did he, without evidence, assert that because the South unhappily cherishes the former, therefore she must wish to revive the latter? How did he contrive to remain ignorant, of the

evidence which conclusively establishes the fact that the Southern Slave States abhor the slave trade, and always have abhorred it; that so far from desiring its revival, they have done all that can be done by any single generation to make its reopening utterly and for ever impossible? Mr. Mill may have avoided American history as too insignificant to be worth his study; but unless he has steadily eschewed all Southern and all neutral writings, he must have seen, since the war broke out, abundance of proof that the Confederates never were, and that the Northerners always have been, slave-traders; that the former have always denounced, the latter habitually carried on the trade; that the South has in no way defiled her conscience with the abomination; and that she has not the slightest intention ever, or under any circumstances, to allow the renewal of a system which she considered not less impolitic than inhuman.

"It is hard," a Southerner lately said to us, "that we, who are entirely innocent of it, should be for ever taunted with the slave trade by the two countries most guilty in regard thereto—by England, which grew rich by it, and forced it upon us; and by Massachusetts, which to the last upheld and carried it on."

We would remind our Americanising contemporaries that Great Britain not merely introduced slavery into her American possessions, but compelled them in their own despite to submit to a continual importation of negroes from Africa. Jamaica protested more than once; South Carolina resisted and protested up to the severance of her connection with the mother country, and up to 1804 prohibited the trade even under the Union. Between 1804 and 1808 she found herself compelled to permit it; but as soon as Congress was able to put an end to it, the several Southern States, with South Carolina at their head, passed State enactments to the same effect; and since that time not one hundred negroes have been landed at any Southern port. And yet the Palmetto State, above all, is taunted with a desire to reopen the traffic! The slave trade has flourished under the American flag; but the slavers have not sailed from Charleston and New Orleans, but from Boston and New York; they have been manned and commanded by Yankees; they have been owned by Northern merchants and fitted out with Northern money. The South has not even been their market; she has not even borne a passive part in their crime. Cuba was their market; the Stars and Stripes were their protection. And yet it is the establishment of Southern independence—the reduction of the slave-trading North to insignificance—that is to bring about a revival of the slave trade! But, again, the Southern people detest the slave trade. The planters know that it would reduce by two thirds the value of their property, degrade their favourite institution, brutalize Southern society, and render the negroes discontented and dangerous. The white labourers that it would depreciate enormously the value of their labour. The educated people of the South abhor it from interest, from humanity, from motives of social and political prudence; the uneducated detest it from prejudice, as a Northern practice, anti-pathetic to Southern manners and Southern feelings. To advocate it would be the ruin of any Southern politician, and there is no Southern newspaper which dare now undertake its defence. And, whereas the constitution of the United States merely gave to Congress power after twenty years to enact a prohibitory law, which might at any moment be repealed, and thus rendered its existence for twenty years, and makes its repeal always easy, the Confederate constitution abolishes it at once and for ever, by an express clause, which there would be great legal difficulty in repealing. And yet we are warned not to recognize the Confederacy for fear of reviving the slave trade! Can hypocrisy more gross and more extravagant be conceived?

But, it is asked, will the South bind herself by treaty never to reopen the slave trade? Will she accept, as binding on her, the treaties formerly concluded by the United States? We have no doubt that she will do all that we have a right to ask, and all that we need desire. She will not consent to put any stigma on her own domestic institutions. She will not submit to be treated as a Power peculiarly liable to suspicion of an offence of which she has hitherto been entirely innocent. But she will give us all reasonable guarantees that we should ask from a friendly country; she will cordially accede to our policy of making the slave-trade a crime against international law, and she will take such measures as will ensure the fulfilment of her engagements in loyalty and good faith. More than this we may not, less than this we could not, as a nation, demand. We want from the South no African squadron, no humiliating or inconvenient concession, but simply an effectual aid in putting down a traffic which is abhorrent to civilization. And as the Southern nation fully concur in our views of that traffic we shall have no difficulty in securing their honest concurrence in our policy with regard to its suppression.

A rich Northerner made an effort to escape the Lincoln draft by dressing himself as a woman, and with a child in his arms attempted to pass the bridge into Canada. He was arrested, and the offer of a bribe to the sentinel failed to procure his release.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS IN THE NORTH.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Philadelphia, October 21.

Sir,—Herewith I send you a leading article from the *North American* of this morning. It contains a pretty correct account of the financial condition of affairs in this country, but the views of the editor are not at all consistent with sound principles of economy, and show clearly that great degeneracy has taken place in the current of thought. While Mr. Chase is blamed for the issue of vast quantities of paper money, thereby causing the inflation, no one seems to think that there was no other course open to him. The public generally have not subscribed to over \$70,000,000 of Government bonds, yet the entire indebtedness is bordering on \$200,000,000. Speculators never have the power of running up prices, as is charged by the *North American*; they merely anticipate, by the exercise of mental talent, the rise that is going to take place.

The Democrats have carried the State ticket, and also secured about one-half of the Congressmen. They, too, have a majority in joint ballot in the Legislature, which enables them to return an United States' senator. Since the Presidential election, the Democrats have gained 70,000 votes in Pennsylvania, 60,000 in Ohio, and 50,000 in Indiana, besides great accessions in Iowa. There is no doubt whatever but that there is a large majority of persons in all the Federal

States outside of New England that are entirely opposed to the policy of the Lincoln Administration, and that the Washington Government will, therefore, be unable to sustain itself much longer, now that the people have had an opportunity of expressing themselves through the ballot-box.

GIRARD.

THE CRISIS AND THE IMPORTERS.

Of all the humbugs by which the stock market has ever been deluded, that by which non-dividend paying "fancy" railway shares have been run up from 20 to 50 per cent. is the strangest and most unaccountable. Look, for example, at the subjoined statement, prepared by the financial editor of the *New York World*, and covering the time since April 7, when there were no legal tender Treasury notes in circulation:—

	Week ending April 12.	Sept. 18.	Oct. 18.
Erie	36½	38½	59½
Erie preferred	60½	70	86½
Cleveland and Toledo	45	54½	70½
Cleveland and Pittsburgh	17	24	39
Harlem	12	15½	23
Harlem preferred	30½	39	51½
Michigan Southern	22½	31	43
Michigan Southern guar'd	46	61½	82
Hudson River	36	50	67½
Cumberland preferred	—	—	14½
Illinois Central	61	61½	81
Galena	67½	70½	85½
Rock Island	54½	66½	82

While all these stocks have thus appreciated so enormously in price, United States' securities have remained stationary, and thereby are relatively depreciated. What reason is there sufficient to justify such a discrimination as this? If stocks which pay no dividends are so much more valuable, and goods of all kinds are also suddenly found out so much more, why are not the securities of the national Government, which represent the wealth and resources of the whole country, proportionately higher in price? Yet day after day, and week after week, and month after month, this contrast has stared everybody in the face. At one period, indeed, United States Treasury notes were worth 37 per cent. less than gold.

We warn the public of Philadelphia that this bubble has collapsed in New York, and that prices are coming down, in consequence of the speculators seeking to realize at the expense of the "outsiders." *The World* says:—

"This stock speculation is evidently a bubble of the flimsiest texture that has ever been blown up to delude and rob a credulous public, and its collapse is not far distant. The shrewd operators realized some weeks ago, and the prudent outside men sold during the last week, being content with the large profits of 20 to 50 per cent. realized by them on the prices paid a month ago. The market is now supported by weak brokers and street operators, and—we regret to have to state the fact—by some of our city bank Presidents and their friends."

These statements are confirmed by nearly all the well-informed journals of New York. So far as we can learn, our Philadelphia banking interests have not been engaged in this speculative movement, and our Stock Board yesterday set an example by striking off the stock list gold as an article to be bought and sold at the Board. This and other causes brought gold down to 127½. Last week it reached 137½ under a deliberate effort to push it to 140, in expectation of ultimately getting it to 150. Exchange of course kept ahead of gold all the time. The rate reached 153, and then fell to 143. Now, let any man of common sense imagine an importing merchant in New York or Philadelphia undertaking to do business with affairs in such a pickle as this. He cannot regulate his transactions at all. If he carries on his purchases and sales constantly at any thing like fixed rates with any one, tell us how he is to arrive at a conclusion whether he makes losses or gains.

In fact this fluctuation of rates is ruinous to commerce. The importers all complain of it as intolerable, and if it goes on it will be impossible for any one to conduct the business with any safety. It operates as a complete embargo on the importing trade, just at a time when the prosperity of the loyal States would have caused a flourishing commerce to revive, and poured a largely increased revenue into the coffers of the national Government. We have already shown how it has hindered the export of breadstuffs and produce; but the reader may rest assured that great as is the injury done in that way, it bears no comparison to the mischief inflicted on the importers and jobbers of foreign goods. Hallett's circular says:—

"Importers who have sold their goods at 10 per cent. profit have, in many instances, lost more than their profits in the rapid advance in foreign bills, by means of which their payments were made."

"The effect of the present enormous premium on such bills is undoubtedly to check importations."

Many persons imagine this condition of things to be exceedingly desirable. They think that if we did not import any foreign goods at all we should be better off, forgetting that there are great quantities of foreign goods which we do not and cannot expect to raise or make in the United States. We cannot conjure up silk factories and coffee and tea plantations, nor produce the drugs and spices, and the luxuries and comforts which the arts of civilization bring us from all parts of the world, by simply checking importations. Most of these articles must be imported, or we must do without them. We do not foster American industry by stopping the influx of these commodities. Moreover, if we do stop them, we stop the exportation of our own produce also; for the one stimulates the other. When we import largely we export largely to pay for the goods. But in the present state of affairs commerce of all legitimate kinds is thoroughly blockaded. Our Western supplies are interrupted because the West is stripped of currency to feed the insatiable maw of Eastern speculators, and our foreign supplies are stopped because of the enormous premium on gold and exchange.

The question, therefore, is, shall we suspend the legitimate business of the country in order to devote all our energies and capital to a wild and reckless movement, prompted by some crazy theory about gold? Shall we tie up our ships, and cease importing and exporting? Shall we leave the West to get along by itself and stop trading in its produce? Shall we ruin our merchants, and so throw out of employment all who have lived by the commerce of these great cities, in order that we may all engage in an unbridled speculation in gold? Let every business man ponder over this, for it is, without exaggeration an immediate issue to be met. It is not the Government which is imperilled, for that can save itself. But our trade is threatened, and all who live by it are interested in keeping down the fever.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1862.

Burning Ships; Belligerent and Neutral.

The exploits of the infant navy of the Confederate States have excited the admiration of the world, and the terror of their enemies. The North, with a navy ready to hand, with immense maritime resources, after spending millions on its dockyards and on jobs less profitable to the country than to the officials of the Navy Department, has not performed a single brilliant achievement on the element which it claims as its own. In quality, its navy is scarcely superior to its army; what either has accomplished has been done by mere force of numbers. We need not recall the feats of the Confederates in their own waters; the terrible onslaught of the Arkansas on the Federal flotilla before Vicksburg, or the consternation excited throughout the North by the short-lived Virginia. Valuable as were the services of those vessels, they did not accomplish half as much for the advantage of the South and the injury of the North as has been achieved by the three or four vessels which from time to time have made their appearance on the high seas—the crazy Sumter; the Nashville, a shell which one shot from a twelve-pounder might have sent to the bottom; the Oviato, and the Alabama. The latter craft has made a terrible impression on American commerce; one or two more such vessels might ruin the whole merchant marine of New York and Boston. It is not necessary to destroy any large proportion of the enemy's ships; it suffices thoroughly to frighten the underwriters. And this has been done. Insurance on American ships is very high; and English houses have notified to their correspondents that they will not accept bills drawn against goods shipped in Northern vessels, nor advance on bills of lading for such goods. The shipowners are frightened and furious; the New York Chamber of Commerce is terrified out of its wits, its logic, and its grammar. It has published a frantic protest against Captain Semmes, in what may, for aught we know, be good American, but certainly is not English of any sort. The Alabama is denounced as guilty of detestable outrages upon humanity, and of an atrocious violation of "neutral rights"; and Great Britain is threatened with the high displeasure of the Chamber and the condign vengeance of New York for allowing such a vessel to leave Liverpool unmolested, and to prey on the defenceless shipping of the Northern States. It would seem that the merchants of the Empire City imagined that the war was to be all on one side. Plundering Southern plantations, burning Southern towns, consigning Southern men and women to chains and hard labour, is a right and legitimate method of warfare; but seizing Northern merchandize, setting fire to Northern ships, and fettering Northern prisoners until they can be safely released and set on shore, are crimes against mankind, violations of the rules of civilized war, horrible, detestable, and unnatural villainies.

Now, we are ready to grant that the shipowners of New York have reason for complaint and indig-

nation. The achievements of the Alabama are utterly disgraceful—to the Federal Government and the Federal Navy. That vessel ought long ago to have been in New York, a prize to Captain Wilkes, or some of the other heroes who are busying themselves with the pursuit of safer game; plundering neutral vessels in neutral waters, blockading the harbours of a friendly Power, and insulting with impunity the flag of Great Britain. It is scandalous that a navy like that which the United States now possess—a navy equal to that of any other third-rate Power—should be unable to protect their commerce against such depredators as Captain Semmes. But their inability, whether it arises from weakness, cowardice, or simple stupidity, should be visited on the shoulders of the Government at Washington. It affords no ground for abusing the dashing captain of the Alabama, or reviling the English Ministry. The Confederate cruiser has done nothing which she had not a perfect right to do; nothing, indeed, which it was not her clear and bounden duty to do. The ships of war of every belligerent country are bound to do their utmost to "capture, sink, burn, and destroy" the ships that bear the enemy's flag; and this is exactly what Captain Semmes has done. To make prizes of his captures, and carry them into a Southern port for condemnation, was impossible. Neutral ports are shut against him; if they were not, loud and furious would be the complaints of the North. What, then, can he do with the vessels he captures? He is not bound to waste powder and shot by firing at them till they sink. He chooses to burn them; and he has the fullest right to do so. We ourselves, even when absolute masters of the sea, never hesitated to burn a captured vessel which we could not remove with safety. The merchants of New York ought to know that the formalities of a Prize Court are not intended for the benefit of an enemy's ships. These are always and *ipso facto* at the mercy of the captor; their condemnation merely enables him to sell them and receive their price, instead of destroying or handing them over to his Government. If, indeed, it were true that Captain Semmes had deliberately waited till nightfall to destroy his captures, in order to attract other vessels to the spot by the glare of their conflagration, neutral countries might have some right to complain of his conduct. It is not right that an English ship, accidentally on fire, should lose the chance of aid she might enjoy from the humanity of an American vessel in her neighbourhood. If such an offence has been committed, we might indeed protest, as we protested against the destruction of Charleston Harbour; but the North, which perpetrated that monstrous outrage, would have no right whatever to complain. Until, however, this charge against the Alabama is established by the evidence of witnesses less thoroughly discredited, less notoriously untruthful, than the Northern newspapers, we shall decline to believe it.

What the New York Chamber means by a violation of "neutral rights," in the case of the Alabama, it is not very easy to understand. New York is not, though she once promised to be, neutral in the present war; and therefore she can have no complaint to prefer under that head. Is there a confusion in the minds of her merchants between rights and duties; and do they mean to charge Great Britain with a neglect of the obligations of neutrality? We suppose, from the very American paragraph in which they accuse her of "a change in sentiment transferring a friendly nation into a self-styled neutral Power," that this idea was in their mind; but we confess ourselves unable to comprehend what is that "offence against neutral rights" which is "aggravated" by the destruction of British as well as American property. With regard to the alleged infraction of neutrality by the building of the Alabama in a British port, we would observe, first, that the Americans fitted out, armed, and sent to Russia more than one vessel to be used against us in the war of 1854-56, and that they are therefore estopped from any complaint on this score; and, secondly, that it is difficult to see at what point the British Government

could possibly have interfered. There was no proof that the Alabama (then the "290") was sold to the Confederate Government when she quitted Liverpool. She was not armed or ready for war. On what pretence could she have been stopped on her "trial trip"? Or ought we to have seized the cargo of the vessel which carried out to her her arms and equipment? We have never interfered with the shipment of arms to New York; we have therefore no right to prevent their shipment for a Confederate port, or for Confederate use. It is impossible to see any other course which was open to the British Government except that which they actually took, or to discover in their proceedings any violation of the obligations imposed by their neutral position.

There is not the shadow of a pretence for the allegation that Captain Semmes has violated any neutral rights. He has not knowingly destroyed any British property, even on board the enemy's ships; if he has done so unwittingly, England must demand reparation, and the Confederate States must accord it. We believe that the captain of the Alabama has acted with signal care and discretion in a very difficult position. A neutral vessel conveying contraband of war is liable to seizure and confiscation; but she must be condemned by a Prize Court. The captor has no right to do more than detain her; she is, like other presumed offenders, legally innocent till she is legally condemned. It was the neglect of this law that was made the ground of English reclamations in the case of the Trent; the question whether or no the Trent was carrying contraband of war being waived, though every sane man knew that she was not. Now, there are many valuable English ships, engaged in a regular trade with the North that habitually carry contraband of war. These Captain Semmes might lawfully arrest, and if brought into port they would unquestionably be condemned. But he cannot take them into a Southern port, by reason of the blockade, and from all others he is excluded by the policy of the neutral Powers. He cannot destroy them, however clearly guilty, without giving us a *casus belli* technically indisputable. And therefore he will not meddle with British vessels, even if engaged under his very eyes in giving aid and comfort to his enemy and the enemy of their own country.

The Northern cruisers are much less scrupulous. The same mail that brought the remonstrance of the New York Chamber of Commerce also brought the news of an unparalleled outrage committed by a Federal vessel in Spanish waters. The British ship *Blanche* was bound from Matamoras to Havannah, with cotton. While thus pursuing a lawful voyage between two neutral ports, she was desecrated off the coast of Cuba by a Northern man-of-war, conceived to be the *Montgomery*. The latter gave chase; and the captain of the *Blanche*, knowing how little the American was likely to regard the lawfulness of his voyage or the innocence of his cargo, ran his vessel ashore. The Spanish Alcalde came on board, and hoisted the Spanish flag. The Americans boarded the *Blanche*; slapped the magistrate in the face, and drove him and his attendants back to the shore; kidnapped and carried off the pilot, and set fire to the *Blanche*. On receiving the news of this outrage on his flag, the Captain-General of Cuba showed more of Castilian spirit than of British patience. He ordered a Spanish frigate in the harbour of Havannah to chase and capture the offender; but the *Montgomery* had disappeared from the scene of her exploit. What will Lord Russell do? A clear act of piracy, even more outrageous than that on the Trent, has been in this case perpetrated. The *Blanche* was innocent; had she been otherwise, the cruiser had no right to touch her in Spanish waters; had she been on the high seas, he had no right to burn her, but was bound to take her into port for adjudication. Spain has a right to demand the surrender of the culprits to be tried for an act of piracy committed within Spanish jurisdiction; Great Britain is bound in honour to exact full compensation and an ample apology. It will not be gratifying to British pride if Spain should be more prompt than England to

avenge her wounded honour. But whatever may be its result, the exploit of the Montgomery is an excellent comment on, and answer to, the outcry of the New York merchants against the exploits of the Alabama.

The South and Slavery.

Let any people other than that of the Confederate States of America exhibit one tithe of the same heroic determination to be independent and free, the sympathies of civilized mankind would gush forth towards it with an impetuosity which neither the timid hesitations of Cabinets nor the statecraft of rulers could withstand. There is something so sublime in the spectacle of a whole nation rising as one man to a great and sustained effort, that with whatever bias we behold it, we finish by submitting our individual judgment to what we cannot fail to recognize as the fiat of the Almighty. If ever the voice of the people is the voice of God, it is on such rare and solemn occasions. Why, in this one instance alone, and this in the instance of a people so closely akin, has the generous British heart been slow to yield its sympathies; and why have these sympathies so long remained passive and faint of utterance? Why were more cruel tests exacted from this people than ever were from any other struggling for its independence, and this in the face of powerful motives of self-interest prompting leniency in the application of the tests? No man can doubt that the one reason is slavery. The nation of the South has a system of labour which the other nations have united in condemning and warring against.

In vain is it pleaded on behalf of the people thus mercilessly placed under ban, that this system is not one of their own creation; that they inherit it from a not remote period, when it was almost as generally approved, or, at least tolerated, as it is now denounced; and that the circumstances of their position do not even now leave to them the choice between this system and any other. The worst that can be reproached to the South by the most inveterate haters of her institutions, is that she has lagged one generation behind themselves. Within the memory of living men, every nation of Europe approved of slaveholding by the example of its practice. In the case of every other nation, its industrial and commercial development favoured and promoted the change of sentiment which led to the abandonment of the practice. In the case of the South alone, her industrial and commercial development welded the system more closely to her, and at this hour she cannot suddenly abandon it without shaking the very foundation, not only of her own, but of the world's prosperity. Such pleas are rejected, and the South is treated not as a criminal to be tried but as a felon already convicted.

We venture, not only as the avowed friends of the South and advocates of its cause, but even more the interest of humanity and civilization, to question the justice or the policy of a proceeding which thus isolates one nation from moral and intellectual communion with the rest. It is but common justice to distinguish between the wilful wrong-doer and him who errs from ignorance. It is but common humanity to listen to an offender before he is condemned. The people of the South do not feel guilty of the enormous villainies which are so persistently laid to their charge. They are conscious of having the same failings which everywhere pertain to human nature, but they are conscious also of not being destitute of those redeeming features which everywhere adorn it. When they are painted in the grotesque colours of stage morality, as is the too prevalent custom of certain orators and presses, it is surprising that they do not recognize themselves in the picture, and spurn with scorn or indignation the absurd caricature? When they are exhorted by the argument of facts which their daily experience proves to them to be gross and often wicked fabrications, is it surprising that they should look upon their advisers as traducers, or at best, as teachers who should learn before

presuming to teach? Were the anti-slavery world once to persuade itself to treat the Southern slaveholders as ordinary men and women, such as we meet with in our walks of life at home, and to be appealed to and reasoned with as such, it would be the greatest step yet made towards bringing the South under the influence of European public opinion. As it is, the South sends her youths to be educated in our schools and colleges, her travellers to mix in our society and study our institutions; she reads our books and periodicals; and though on all other subjects we find her a quick and docile pupil, in this one subject alone we succeed only in convincing her the more thoroughly of our ignorance. It is but stating the simple truth to say, that if the institution of slavery needed advocacy or defence in the South, it would find the most efficient of both in the vulgar tirades which a certain class of philanthropists delight in lavishing upon it. In this manner, indeed, have the outpourings of the Abolition press been used for years.

We have now before us a sermon delivered on Thanksgiving-day, in November 1860, by Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, an eminent Presbyterian divine, distinguished and beloved for the possession of many brilliant gifts, united with the conscientious practice of all Christian virtues. Politics in the pulpit have never been tolerated in the South; and though this sermon can scarcely be called a political one, it would have been deemed irreverent on the Sabbath-day. On this day, appointed by the Chief Magistrate as a day of thanksgiving, but which in the South was a day of mourning, when the nation girded its loins for the fearful trials which even the most hopeful could plainly foresee, the pastor departed from his lifelong reticence on all matters political, and addressed his congregation on what he considered their duties in the approaching struggle, especially as regarded the institution of slavery. One expression from this exhortation has been often, and sometimes malignantly, quoted. He told his hearers that the institution of slavery was for the South a solemn and Providential trust, for the faithful discharge of which they were individually, and as a nation, accountable before the Judgment-seat of Heaven. Those who have quoted this passage to prejudice the South, and convict her of hypocrisy as well as a crime, have overlooked the other passages in which the orator elaborates his meaning. It is not for the selfish interest of the master that the trust is given:—

This duty is bound upon us again as the constituted guardians of the slaves themselves. Our lot is not more implicated in theirs than is their lot in ours; in our mutual relations we survive or perish together. The worst foes of the black race are those who have intermeddled on their behalf. We know better than others that every attribute of their character fits them for dependence and servitude. By nature the most affectionate and loyal of all races beneath the sun, they are also the most helpless; and no calamity can befall them greater than the loss of that protection they enjoy under this patriarchal system. Indeed, the experiment has been grandly tried of precipitating them upon freedom which they know not how to enjoy; and the dismal results are before us in statistics that astonish the world. With the fairest portions of the earth in their possession, and with the advantage of a long discipline as cultivators of the soil, their constitutional indolence has converted the most beautiful islands of the sea into a howling waste. It is not too much to say that if the South should, at this moment, surrender every slave, the wisdom of the entire world, united in solemn council, could not solve the question of their disposal. Their transportation to Africa, even if it were feasible, would be but the most refined cruelty; they must perish with starvation before they could have time to relapse into their primitive barbarism. Their residence here, in the presence of the vigorous Saxon race, would be but the signal for their rapid extermination before they had time to waste away through listlessness, filth, and vice. Freedom would be their doom; and equally from both they call upon us, their providential guardians, to be protected. I know this argument will be scoffed abroad as the hypocritical cover thrown over our own cupidity and selfishness; but every Southern master knows its truth and feels its power. My servant, whether born in my house or bought with my money, stands to me in the relation of a child. Though providentially owing me service, which, providentially, I am bound to exact, he is, nevertheless, my brother and my friend; and I am to him a guardian and a father. He leans upon me for protection, for counsel, and for blessing; and so long as the relation continues no power but the power of Almighty God shall come between him and me. Were there no argument but this, it binds upon us the providential duty of preserving the relation that we may save him from a doom worse than death.

We accept Dr. Palmer as the exponent, in this respect, of the conscientious convictions not only of his own religious denomination but of all God-fearing people in the South, of whatever sect or creed.

The Southerners defend slavery not as men defend a favourite sin, to which they knowingly cling, but as an inherited obligation of mutual and reciprocal duties. The fact that it is so intimately interwoven with their entire social fabric, is to them a proof that it should not be rudely touched by wanton or inexperienced hands. The moral and intellectual infancy of the enslaved race teach them that in the treatment of the question they, as men and Christians, cannot consider their own interests or their own wishes alone. The relation which slavery sustains as one of the most important pillars of modern commerce, warns them that as statesmen they must not rashly venture upon doubtful experiments when failure would involve such momentous consequences.

Whatever be the evils of slavery, let them be as great as the wildest fancy has depicted them, it does appear to us that the true philanthropist should congratulate himself that the people most immediately concerned in it hold themselves accountable to God and to their fellow-men for the conscientious discharge of solemn duties. And it does also appear to us that a people burdened with the solution of so grave a question, and which so fully recognizes its responsibility in the solution of that question, is entitled to great forbearance, and at least credit for good intentions, at the hands of those who are absolved from the immediate responsibility. The South is amenable to the tribunal of the world's opinion for the manner in which it discharges this trust of the material and spiritual welfare of four millions of fellow-creatures, and it is not so stubborn in self-conceit as to believe that it can dispense with all advice and assistance. But that advice has been heretofore tendered in the shape of bitter taunts and reckless accusations, and the assistance has come in the shape of attempted annihilation by fire and sword.

Recognition of the Confederate States, and the Price of Cotton.

The death of Dives enriches his heirs—the death of the pauper puts a few shillings into the purse of the parish undertaker. When there is a commercial crisis involving wide-spread bankruptcy and ruin, accountants and lawyers reap a splendid harvest. To paraphrase a popular saying, and indeed to give expression to an indisputable and palpable truth, there is no such thing as an ill wind which does not benefit some individual or class. War, in its ultimate results, may not be an unmixt evil, for it often develops those virtues upon which national greatness and security depend; still its immediate effects are hideous and heartrending. Men prate about the horrors of the battle-field, about the dead, wounded, and maimed, about the desolation of once happy homes, about the sufferings of the mass of the community from the many evils with which war afflicts those who, by remaining at home, escape the pestilence of the camp and the dangers of the fight; but all such descriptions fall short of the actual miseries entailed by warfare. Language is too feeble to portray them; they cannot be appreciated by the most powerful imagination. Yet war is of considerable and instant advantage to many persons. If it were not so, we might have some hope of a speedy ending of the contest in America. A large army of contractors, a great body of speculators, men who, through soldiering, hope to attain fortune, are all determined opponents of peace. As it is in America so it has been in Europe. During the long wars waged by this country, when we were accumulating the national debt, which, though it may be rivalled by that of the United States, is nevertheless of highly respectable dimensions, many of our most eminent firms laid the foundation of their fortunes, and not only colossal but a multitude of smaller fortunes were made. It was the period when farmers kept their wine “on tap,” and when the great middle classes of England became a power in the State. Nor are these things exceptional or inexplicable. By far the largest portion of the money devoted to military and naval

purposes does not go abroad, but what is collected from the pockets of the whole people finds its way into the pockets of a part. If war did not profit many persons it would be less frequent and of less duration.

The American war has produced much suffering in Europe and notably in England, and in this country, by a natural sequence, it has been of great benefit to many individuals and trades. Not only have dealers in warlike stores and holders of cotton been gainers, but our manufacturers and merchants have been saved from the ruin that threatened them from the unprecedented glut of cotton goods in every market. We need not dwell on the good this war will do to the whole commerce and industry of England, by breaking down the Northern monopoly

Southern trade, and bringing us into direct relations with eight millions of customers, whose wants are many and whose means of payment are ample. Some people are angry that all have not suffered equally from the war in America. There has been a vulgar and ignorant outcry against speculators in cotton. They have been accused of keeping the mills closed, whereas the reason of the whole of our cotton not being worked up is not the price of the raw material, but that the stock of manufactured goods was so heavy at the outbreak of the war that there was no demand which would enable dealers to concede the additional price of the raw material; and if the American supply had not been cut off, there is no doubt Lancashire mills would have stopped working from the want of orders. The American disruption could not have occurred at a better time for Lancashire. The high prices which have ruled were not the consequence of the supply of cotton being insufficient for the supply of the demand for yarns and cloth, but because it was foreseen that when the stock of fabrics was exhausted there would be a scarcity of the raw material. The supposition that cotton speculation has in the slightest degree added to the distress of Lancashire evinces contemptible ignorance of the simplest laws of Political Economy and of the practical bearings of commercial transactions. It would be easy to show, if it were worth the pains, that the advance in price in the prospect or presence of a dearth—a dearth from which speculators may reap a benefit proportionate to their risk, but which they cannot bring about, and which they cannot foster without ultimate loss—is a safeguard and an incalculable advantage to the community. If scarcity did not check demand by causing dearth, it would result in absolute, not comparative, famine.

But the charge of "wicked monopoly" preferred against the speculators or holders of cotton is not more absurd than the whisper buzzed about, that to recognize the Confederate States would ruin the owners of cotton. The frank and manly declaration of Mr. Gladstone has been denounced as a species of moral delinquency, because anxious holders thought it had a tendency to unsettle the market. We need hardly observe that if recognition meant the instant return of the nominal price of cotton and heavy losses to holders, it would not justify the withholding of recognition for a single hour. We have no quarrel with speculators in cotton, saltpetre, iron, corn, or any other article; but whilst they are free to speculate, it would be preposterous to suppose that a regard for their speculative interests should induce us to postpone an act of justice to a kindred nation, and put off doing that which would be a benefit to the country at large. We do not believe that shrewd men of business ever expected the Imperial welfare would be made subservient to their speculations. Besides, the impression that recognition and a fall in the price of cotton would be simultaneous is utterly unfounded.

Our able correspondent, Mr. George M'Henry, whose communication on the subject we are discussing will be found in another column, combats and successfully refutes this idea. Before offering a few remarks on the question so lucidly stated and argued by our correspondent, it is necessary to inquire why it is thought recognition would send down the price of cotton. We are told by the friends of the North,

—it is particularly urged by the Northern Government—it is the staple argument of that section of our commercial men who oppose recognition—that such a proceeding on the part of European Powers would be useless and worse than useless; that it would not open the Southern ports; and instead of shortening, would embitter and prolong the war. It is always suspicious when the opponents of a proposition resort to the pleas of utility and impracticability. If a scheme has no power for good or evil, it may not find friends; but, on the other hand, it will not be troubled with enemies. It is evident Mr. Seward and his Government would not protest so earnestly against recognition if they did not feel assured that the Northerners would then learn they are fighting against an independent nation, and for the conquest of a country which would need at least half a million of men to garrison it; and being thus informed of the true issues, a majority of the people would resolve not to risk their lives and fortunes in the continuation of a contest equally unjust and hopeless. It is also manifest that gentlemen on this side the Atlantic who protest against recognition on the score of its futility are so far insincere that they are not convinced by their own reasoning, or they would not associate recognition with a fall in the price of cotton. Indeed, the opponents of recognition are far more sanguine about its influence on the termination of the war than we are. We ask for the recognition of the Confederate States because it is an act of bare legal justice and of policy; and we also feel assured that unless peace is to be brought about by extermination, it must be preceded by European recognition. Further, if immediately after the battles of June, Europe had seized the decisive moment for recognition, we think it might have led to a suspension of hostilities. At present we are of opinion it would have no influence in bringing about an immediate peace. It seems to us that recognition is no longer urgent, except on the grounds of justice and international policy. We must, however, to meet the suggestion of the price of cotton being sent down by recognition, assume that the stoutly-opposed proceeding would forthwith put an end to the war, and so open the ports.

In the first place, we must notice the exaggerated notions about the quantity of cotton in the Confederacy. The British Consul at Charleston estimates it at four million bales, but we need hardly remark that his calculation is based upon probabilities, rather than on any actual data. We happen to know that on some of the largest cotton farms cotton this year does not form more than a fifth of the crops, and probably the South has not so much as four millions of bales. But, accepting this estimate, we must remember that in consequence of the war a far larger quantity of cotton has been spoilt than destroyed; and out of the entire quantity of cotton in the States, it is highly probable that 25 per cent. is waste. That is, the stock of cotton in the hands of European manufacturers and holders is smaller than at any former period, and is not equal to a three months' supply, and yet the stock of cotton in the States is not equal to one year's supply, taking the average of 1858, 1859, and 1860.

The stocks of fabrics are also being rapidly reduced; and, despite the high price of the raw material, manufacturers will, ere long, be full of orders. This reduction of stock is the case with America, as well as in Europe, India, and Australia. When peace is restored the Confederate States will be large buyers of cotton goods, and by their own necessities will enhance the price of their staple. The Northern States will not be able to do without cotton or cotton fabrics, and in the face of the Morrill tariff will have to import the raw material or the cloth, and so do their part towards enhancing the value of cotton. Mr. M'Henry is fully justified in the opinion he expresses that much of the cotton "in the possession of the planters may command more than double the ordinary value." Under the most favourable circumstances we do not expect a return of the prices of 1860 until four or five years after the conclusion of peace.

But the holders of cotton are protected from any

sudden fall in the price of cotton by the difficulty of transporting it to Liverpool. A great portion of it is unginned and nearly all of it unpacked. To prepare the material for shipment white labour is necessary, and also the gummy cloths and other materials for packing. Moreover, the cotton cannot be brought to market all the year round; we must wait for the season when the rivers are swollen, and the bales can be put on board the river steamers. And where are the steamers to be obtained? Many of them have been destroyed, many have been used for war purposes, and there has not been the usual annual supply of new vessels for this traffic. For months after the opening of the ports, and the return of peace—which alone makes the opening of the ports useful, by enabling the white population to return to the pursuits of commerce, and attend to the packing and shipping of the cotton—very small quantities will reach Europe. But the demand for manufactures will be immediate. Before the raw material gets to Liverpool, the South will be buying extensively in Manchester; and, as we have seen, there will be a brisk demand from other quarters. So far from peace bringing down the price of cotton, it is highly probable that after a temporary fluctuation, holders may realize higher prices from the unusual demand.

We think the candid reader will admit, though the holders of saltpetre may suffer from the advent of peace, that that happy, though, we fear, distant event will not injure the holders of cotton. We do not agree with those who say that recognition will be forthwith followed by peace; but we are quite sure that recognition, even if it should suddenly put an end to hostilities, will not diminish the value of the present or then stocks of cotton.

The Majority of the Prince of Wales.

It is our duty and privilege to join in the loud chorus of congratulation that will on Sunday next greet the twenty-first anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Wales. If the future of Albert Edward is as bright as the present prospect, the hearty good wishes of the nation will be fully realized. A more dazzling and happy position could not be conceived. He is heir to the throne of an empire upon which the sun never sets. In every quarter of the globe subjects of Queen Victoria will hail with cordial loyalty the auspicious event. In North America, in India, in Australia, in the West Indies, in the Ionian Islands, and from the fortifications of Gibraltar, the discharge of cannon will proclaim to the world that the future King of England has attained his majority; that the Prince of the mother country of the Anglo-Saxon race has entered upon the responsible duties of manhood. At home, from a thousand pulpits his name will be mentioned with affectionate solicitude, and congregations of every sect will wish him God speed in his exalted career. It cannot be expected that he will pass through life without trials, for trials are the adjuncts of greatness. If he should be spared to wear the crown, he will doubtless find that even the devoted loyalty of a united people will not remove, though it may modify, the cares incident to the kingly office. Those who think a constitutional monarch is free from anxiety, and has no difficulties to contend with, are much deceived. Is it possible a King of England can ever feel indifferent to the prosperity or adversity of his people? Their glory is his glory, their decadence detracts from his honour. Besides, it requires magnanimity, forbearance, and a high degree of patriotism, as well as excellent kingcraft, for a constitutional monarch to maintain and exercise his Royal prerogative, whilst at the same time he sets an example to his subjects of a rigid observance of that Constitution from which his power is derived, and a reverence for those laws which it is his duty to enforce. A constitutional monarch is often called upon to sacrifice his wishes and to submit his will to the opinions and guidance of his constitutional advisers and of the Legislature. It is far

easier to play the *role* of an irresponsible sovereign than that of a king who has to obey the laws, and to rule within the limits of the Constitution. The former demands ability; the latter ability and the exercise of the high virtue of self-abnegation.

Albert Edward is not only fortunate in the greatness of his destiny, but also in the circumstances of his birth and education. He may reasonably be proud of his descent from a long line of kings, yet he has greater cause for rejoicing that he is the son of a Queen whose monarchical and womanly virtues have endeared her to her subjects, and made her respected in all lands; and that his father played his part in life so well that in his early death the community felt they had lost a pillar of the state, and who will be remembered by posterity as Albert the Good. The English people are imbued with a sentiment of loyalty that has no immediate connection with the personal virtues of their rulers. They honour the King for the sake of his office. Still, it is well for the monarch and the people when loyalty to the throne is associated with heartfelt affection for its occupant.

The education of the Prince of Wales has been comprehensive and befitting his high calling. The rugged path of knowledge in his case has been smoothed as far as possible by all the appliances and means which royalty can command, and which his illustrious parents judiciously and anxiously applied. After a long course of private tuition, he passed some time at each of the Universities. He has visited the principal capitals of Europe. He has been to Canada and also to the late United States, and thus had the opportunity of seeing the wonderful development of a people in whose greatness or downfall England is not only commercially interested, but still more so because they are our kindred and speak our language. Lastly, in the midst of mourning for his father's death he visited the Holy Land; and we cannot suppose that the solemn impressions produced on that journey can fail to have a salutary and lasting effect upon his mind. The education and training of the heir to the throne leave nothing to be desired.

The anticipations of the future happiness, and, let us add, usefulness of the Prince of Wales are increased by his intended alliance with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. Such a connection with Scandinavia is historically and otherwise pleasing to the English people, and it is impossible to reject the general testimony as to the virtues of the future Princess of Wales,—virtues which peculiarly fit her to occupy a distinguished place in the Court of Queen Victoria, where the pomp of royalty does not eclipse the graces of home and of family life. For his own sake, and for the sake of England, may the future years of Albert Edward Prince of Wales realize the promise of his youth and early manhood.

SOME officious person, burning to see himself in type, has complimented the *Times*, in its own columns, with his "entire concurrence in the views expressed by it the other day, as to the impolicy of European interference in the American civil strife." No one could find fault with such a harmless indulgence of personal vanity, especially as the writer discreetly contents himself with basing his "entire concurrence" upon reasons "so obvious as not to need stating," had he not presumed to speak as an organ of Southern opinion, and even on behalf of "every prominent man in the South to whom he has appealed within the past two months." This affectation of authority, coupled with the fact that he uses as his patronymic a well-known and once honoured name, has, we are informed, led to some misapprehension. It is scarcely necessary to tell our readers that the "H. C. Crittenden" of the *Times*, is not the J. J. Crittenden, late United States' Attorney-General, Senator, and author of the "Compromise Resolutions"; but it may be as well to tell them that the *Times'* Mr. Crittenden has no authority to speak either for the people of the South, or for their representatives in Europe; that, so far as we can ascertain, he is not even known to them by name; and that the sentiments expressed in

his letter to the *Times* are in violent contrast to those of all the authorized exponents of Southern views.

WE are indebted to the New York correspondent of the *Daily News* for the following "latest direct intelligence from the South," which appeared in that journal on Tuesday:—

But at the same time there is no denying the fact that the hatred of the Southern populace to Northerners is intense, and when directed against Federal soldiers it becomes doubly intense. If the clamour of the newspapers and the mob had been attended to, "the black flag" would have been hoisted long ago, and the barbarous tastes and tendencies which slavery always develops would have had full play. There is no doubt whatever that Yankee bones have been carved into rings, and other ornaments, and Yankee skulls used as drinking cups, by various individuals in the Southern army. I have had proofs of the truth of these stories from divers quarters too strong to be gainsaid; and there is no doubt, too, that Federal prisoners have been insulted by mobs, and in remote prisons have been badly fed and badly lodged, and generally neglected. But in a state of society in which an anti-slavery man is looked on as a demon, in which in our own time mobs, headed by the sheriff, burn men alive in open day, in which shooting people down unawares in the street is a recognized and legitimate mode of avenging insults, and in which a bishop of the Protestant Church is at one and the same time a slaveholder, a drunkard, and major-general in the army, it need excite no great wonder and no great indignation if enemies taken in battle are not very hospitably entertained. We do not expect the refinements of civilized hostility from semi-barbarians, and semi-barbarians the mass of the Southern people undoubtedly are.

Reviews.

A STRANGE CODE OF MORAL DUTIES.*

The translator of this work thinks that in it is to be found a vindication of the character of his hero. He is not altogether wrong. Whilst every chapter is a proof of the dreamy, dangerous, and demoralizing nature of the principles of the revolutionist who has devoted his life to stirring up strife and inciting his countrymen to conspiracy, insurrection, and dastardly assassinations, all the time taking good heed not to incur any of the risks incident to such adventures, this book shows the obliquity of its writer's mental vision, and that he has not the judgment necessary to distinguish right from wrong, or truth from error. It is, therefore, barely within the range of possibility that when he was hounding on his unhappy victims to the commission of atrocious crimes, and to their own assured destruction, he thought he was doing his duty; and perhaps, setting a very high value on his own teaching and influence, he was so far self-deceived as to imagine the sneaking cowardice of planning deeds of violence and bloodshed, and skulking from the danger of aiding in their execution, was in his case a virtue. This plea is a poor one, but we can suggest no other to palliate the conduct of Joseph Mazzini. Perhaps the translator is the secret enemy of Mr. Mazzini, and presents these addresses to the Italian workmen in an English dress to disgust the people of this country with the doctrines of the most unscrupulous, though not the ablest, of the Red Republicans. If so, he might have spared his pains. Englishmen have no sympathy with infidelity that would be hideously blasphemous if it were not supremely ridiculous, with political principles that would be dangerous if they were not thoroughly impracticable, and with appeals so wild and incoherent that they sound like the ravings of a lunatic, and which could only influence men maddened by excitement. Englishmen are too practical to pin their faith to a philosopher who should propose to abolish the law of gravity, and substitute some law of his own, or to blot out the sun, and in place thereof use gas. What Mr. Mazzini proposes is, to disavow all the natural laws of society, all the inherent impulses of mankind, and to act upon motives foreign to humanity, and to organize society upon principles that are antagonistic to all association.

Cleared of verbiage, the doctrine enunciated in this book is, that former revolutions have been based upon a wrong principle; that men should not be taught so much to clamour for their rights as to do their duty. Still, Mr. Mazzini does not give up the struggle for rights, but he says rights should only be sought for as a means to an end. Not a very novel idea, since no man seeks his rights except for the end of promoting his interests or enjoyment. The end and the duty inculcated by Mr. Mazzini is the very pleasant one of working less and getting more. "It is clear you ought to labour less, and

gain more than you do now." To effect this, capitalists and middlemen are to be got rid of; and as, from a faulty arrangement, men are not born equal in physical strength and mental capacity, if a man is willing to give "that amount of labour of which he is capable, he ought to receive such amount of recompense for that labour as will enable him more or less to develop his individual life in each of the essential characteristics by which individual life is defined."

Did Mr. Mazzini ever read an elementary work upon Political Economy? Possibly he is too much opposed to such a matter-of-fact study as to have done so. But he has lived so long in the world as to have had ample opportunity for observing the everyday, palpable incidents of supply and demand. He cannot, we suppose, have failed to notice that the abundant provision made by the Creator for His creatures depends upon human labour for its adaptation to the wants of humanity; that bread, meat, wine, clothing, and habitations do not exist without labour. The more labour the greater the production, and greater production means cheapness; and cheapness means that the working man enjoys comforts he cannot procure in dear times. Less labour would result in less food and clothing, and the working man would have less to eat and less clothing. But, says Mr. Mazzini, all must be equal, and working men must be their own capitalists. That will not cause a blade of wheat to spring up without ploughing and sowing, or make the fleece of the sheep cloth without handicraft. From year to year the total production of food is consumed; and though the working man does not eat too much, he eats as much as the duke or manufacturer; and how would he fare if less food were given? We owe an apology to our readers for troubling them with the commonplaces of Political Economy, or for seriously noticing such a ludicrous proposition as that the working classes should labour less and gain more; but we have no choice. The notoriety of Mr. Mazzini entitles his book to a notice which is not justified by its intrinsic merits; and elementary truths are the only reply to puerile arguments.

Whilst M. Mazzini advocates equality, he admits a saving clause to cover the position of the demagogue. If the Italians read his book, they might ask why Joseph Mazzini taught them and sought to lead them, if all men were equal? So, although the working-man is told to "untiringly combat the existence of privilege and inequality in the land that gave you birth," he is also immediately informed:—

There is but one sole legitimate privilege, the privilege of Genius when it reveals itself united with virtue. But this is a privilege given by God, and when you acknowledge it and follow its inspiration, you do so freely, exercising your own reason, and your own choice.

In the same page the Italians are thus instructed:—
Be your Country your Temple. God at the Summit; a people of equals at the base.

Where is Genius to be placed? Any one who reads the chapter entitled "God," will find that the author's God is a kind of earthly mysticism, and Joseph Mazzini is his prophet. What the demagogue desires is, stagnant equality amongst the people, and his own exaltation.

Mr. Mazzini approves of universal suffrage, and says "it is the only legal means by which a people may govern itself, without risk of continual violent crises." This was written twenty years ago, before the American crisis; yet not before there had been many instances of universal suffrages resulting in violent crises. But our author is above being instructed by the lessons of history, and the following quotation shows that he equally disregards the dictates of common sense:—

Universal suffrage in a country governed by a common faith, is the expression of the national will; but in a country deprived of a common belief, what can it be but the mere expression of the interests of those numerically the stronger, to the oppression of all the rest?

Now, if universal suffrage is not to gauge the will of the greater number, of what use is it? What is the object of voting and representation if it is not to express the views of a majority? If there is "a common faith," by which we suppose Mr. Mazzini means perfect unanimity, we cannot see what use there is of voting. It is true universal suffrage does lead to oppression, but that only proves that the system is bad, and not that any good can result from putting a question to the vote when the voters (under the influence of a presiding Genius) are agreed; or that any kind of voting is of service if it is not for the purpose of giving expression to the will of "those numerically the stronger."

One of Mr. Mazzini's pet schemes is to place man and woman upon a political equality.

The Mosaic Bible has declared: *God created Man, and Woman from Man*; but your Bible, the Bible of the Future, will proclaim, that *God created Humanity, made manifest in the Woman and the Man*.

The italics in the above quotation are the author's. Surely such a sentence is the very essence of wordy

* The Duties of Man, By JOSEPH MAZZINI. (London: Chapman and Hall.)

trash. The Bible of the Italian artizan is a Bible of the future, but Mr. Mazzini knows what it will contain. Why does he not imitate Joe Smith, and make a Bible? If, however, Mr. Mazzini's book were a fair specimen of man's political sagacity and statesmanship, the world would be benefited by the government of old women. They could not be more bungling than Mr. Mazzini, and their policy would certainly be more honest and humane.

If any of Victor Emmanuel's subjects are afflicted with the revolutionary mania, he cannot adopt a better means of curing them than by having "The Duties of Man," by Joseph Mazzini, extensively circulated; and as a suitable, yet severe, lasting, and cruel punishment for political offenders, let them be compelled to commit a few chapters to memory.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Old Lieutenant and his Son. By the Editor of "Good Words." (Strachan and Co.)

Those acquainted with Dr. McLeod as a preacher would expect from his pen solid mental food, and they have it in "The Old Lieutenant and his Son," though so prepared as to be pleasant as well as wholesome. Dr. McLeod is not one of the "sour-faced" school. We do not mean that, like another popular preacher, he thinks that a little laughter, caused by some comic illustrations of solemn things, is not out of place in a sermon; but when he leaves the pulpit and addresses the world by the agency of the press, he knows how to put forth an excellent sermon without sermonizing. The "good words" of such a writer are valuable, and must cost him much patient labour. He strives earnestly and successfully to make his readers welcome the preacher under the guise of the novelist. There is nothing in "The Old Lieutenant and his Son" that the most rigid Puritan can object to; nor is it that kind of religious novel in which the story only makes the moral more difficult to understand and less prepossessing. This work does not depend for its circulation upon critical commendation. Its popularity is insured by the reputation of its author and by its intrinsic merits.

Flax and its Products in Ireland. By WILLIAM CHARLEY, J.P. (Bell and Dally.)

If Mr. Charley should induce a single farmer to increase his cultivation of flax, or rather, give him a hint how to do so profitably, he will have done something for his day and generation, which is more than can be said of gentlemen who lay claim to a great discovery because they tell the world that if any one can find out a method of spinning woody fibre, and of so changing the nature of that fibre as to make the cloth as durable as cotton cloth, there will be an all-sufficient substitute for cotton. Flax is a substitute for cotton, though not the only one. But it is well to define what is meant by the word "substitute" in this case. It does not mean that all the uses of cotton are replaced and supplied; it does not mean that having the substitute, it is a matter of indifference whether we get any more cotton. When the American war is over, or rather, when the cotton trade returns to its normal condition—an event which will only follow peace after a long interval—flax, jute, and all other substitutes for cotton hitherto brought into use, will not displace a single bale of cotton. During the potato famine rice was used as a substitute, but when potatoes became plentiful rice was no more eaten as a vegetable. We do not seek to damage the development of the growth of flax; for though it can only temporarily, and to an extremely limited extent, replace cotton, it may with advantage come into more general use. Mr. Charley is practically acquainted with the subject of his book, rather an exceptional merit in these days of book-making.

The Home and Foreign Review. No. II.

This Review is well written and carefully edited. Indeed, the editorial supervision has been a little too careful and minute. The contents are on widely different subjects, and yet there is a certain sameness of tone, which is proper in a book the work of a single writer, but decidedly objectionable in a Review produced by several writers. The best possible design for a house would destroy the architectural beauty of a street or town if it were constantly or too frequently repeated. The *Home and Foreign Review* is certainly one of the most liberal Roman Catholic publications of the day, and it ought to command the support of the enlightened members of the Roman Church in England. It has at the outset of its career managed to offend Cardinal Wiseman, and the article in reference to this pretty quarrel is rather smart. It commences by a profession of the most profound obedience to the Cardinal, praises his virtues and talents, and then proceeds to prove that the Cardinal's condemnation of the Review was

unjustifiable, and winds up with a respectful declaration of war against what we expect his Eminence would call the prerogative of the Church in directing and controlling the opinions and conscience of her children.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined. By J. W. COLENSO, D.D., Bishop of Natal. (Longman and Co.)

The heresies of Dr. Colenso are well known. Any one who has read his "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, newly translated from a Missionary Point of View," will be prepared in this work for an avowal of the fundamental infidelity which consists in discrediting the inspiration of the Scriptures. The difficulties of belief are clearly stated, but no reference is made to the still greater difficulties of unbelief. If parts of the Bible, and even of certain books, are false, why not the whole? How can we accept anything from men who, solemnly professing to write from Divine inspiration, write falsehoods? Moreover, no attempt is made to reply to the arguments which support the inspiration of the Bible. It is said that Dr. Colenso is about to resign his bishopric—we can only regret he has not done so before. It is not in accordance with our idea of honesty for a man whilst retaining the office of a Christian Bishop to attack what the Christian world regards as the foundation of the Christian faith.

THE TRADE OF BREMEN.

BREMEN, Oct. 22.

This city having long carried on an extensive trade with the South, and being one of the two principal German ports, its probable future relations to the Southern Confederacy may be interesting to consider. As the principal buyer of Southern tobacco, and a large importer of cotton, and other Southern staples, the importance of this little Hanse Free Town is not to be underestimated. The energy of its merchants has created for it a prominent place among the business emporiums of Europe, not to say of the world; and it is, perhaps, unnecessary to add everything else social, political, learning, or luxury, are made subservient to the grand object—business success. The large trade carried on during the present war between this port and the North, is not calculated to gain for Bremen much Southern business, or many friends there; but then, the South can safely reckon upon any amount of sympathy at the close of the war, when its trade is once more revived. This article "sympathy" is not regularly quoted in the market; but you may depend upon it, can be bought and sold, and is subject to fluctuations, as all the other articles. At present "Northern sympathy" commands a good price, but when the Confederation is recognized, Northern sympathy will stand at a much larger discount in this market than Northern Treasury Notes are at present in Wall-street. In point of fact the South ought not to bear malice on this account, because if Mr. and Mrs. Smith resort to fistieffs to settle their little domestic differences; the butcher cannot really be expected to care which whips, so long as his beef is taken and paid for. At the end of the war, I repeat, the South will have more sympathy than she knows what to do with, and those who now declaim loudest against her will probably beg most humbly for a portion of her trade.

In order to clearly indicate the extent of the trade between Bremen and the United States prior to the present war, and its importance as a buyer of Southern produce, and exporter of European manufactures, I enclose several tables marked I—XI, showing the amount and character of this trade in detail. I send also a cotton report, marked No. I., showing the imports of cotton here during the past twenty years, and finally tables marked XII and XIII, showing the "Arrivals and Departures of American Vessels," at and from this port from 1815—1858 with a comparative table of the "Arrivals and Departures of Bremen Vessels" during the same period.

From 1850, after various fluctuations, the cotton trade gradually increased, until it reached over 60,000,000 lbs. in 1859. This increase, however, does not result from direct shipments from Southern ports only. The City of New York, by an anomaly of trade, under which the South has suffered too long, sent us in 1856, over 3,000,000 lbs.; again in 1859, over 3,000,000 lbs.; and in 1858-9, a larger quantity still. In 1860 New York sends over 4,000,000 lbs., valued at 701,115 Bremen thalers. (A thaler at ordinary exchange is worth 78—80 cents). This sum is trifling against the grand total of cotton imports, but furnishes one of many examples, how New York insinuates itself into legitimate Southern trade and profits.

How is it that in 1860 New York sent us 17,772,103 lbs. of rosin, worth 250,000 thalers; also 1,089,469 lbs. of turpentine, worth 103,820 thalers; also large quantities of staves and cedar wood? These articles are the natural exports of the South. But commerce and the import of manufactures from Europe have been in the hands of the North, and for the sake of filling up ships, securing return business, and maintaining their commercial superiority over the South, the Northern merchants lay up these things, and ship them from their ports, though they are often not by any means a source of direct profit. In the ordinary course of trade these articles would be shipped to Europe from the South, and would yield then a handsome profit to buyer and seller. The Southern merchants have always had to pay the penalty of permitting this unnatural diversion of exports, and for allowing the reciprocal relations that ought to exist between producers and consumers to be governed by those who are nothing other than go-betweens, who manage to squeeze a commission from both. Take our port Bremen for example, which being a great entrepot to the Continent, affords a fair illustration. What did the North send us in 1860? Hops, Havannah tobacco, seedleaf, some dye-woods, rosin, cotton, turpentine,

shoe-pegs, leather, &c., amounting in total value to the following:—

	Bremen thalers.
From Boston	900
„ Philadelphia	12,268
„ New York	3,786,708
Grand Total	3,799,876

Now, what did we get from the South?

Tobacco, stems, some copper, quercitron, corn, rosin, pine wood, and other woods, staves, cotton, little rice, no turpentine, no sugar, amounting in total as follows:—

	Bremen thalers.
From Baltimore	1,880,582
„ Richmond	610,209
„ Charleston	1,205,770
„ Savannah	1,082,737
„ Mobile	868,649
„ Galveston	1,004,306
„ St. Louis (Mobile)	1,000
„ New Orleans	5,938,938
Grand total	12,592,201

Thus we receive from the North per year something over 3,000,000, and from the South over 12,000,000; with the phenomenon that several of the most important articles exported from the North belong legitimately to the South, and should have been sent from her ports. But what does Bremen return the North for the 3,000,000 imports from there? Manufactured goods of cotton, linen, silk, woollen; toys, glassware, cigars, wines, beer, porcelain, pianos, fancy articles, window glass, mirrors, cutlery, &c., &c., in short, the various products of European skill, as follows:—

	Bremen thalers
To Boston	74,811
„ Philadelphia	968,086
„ New York	10,948,113

Grand total 11,991,310

Besides to various other places in the United States not specified 1,089,183

12,680,493

In exchange for the 12,000,000 from the South she sends, of the following value:—

	Bremen thalers.
To Baltimore	75,216
„ Richmond	14,723
„ Charleston	39,680
„ Savannah	3,781
„ Mobile	129
„ Galveston	101,591
„ New Orleans	465,232
Grand total	1,600,352

Thus of a total export to the former United States, amounting to 13,680,145 thalers, only about 1,000,000 went to the South, over 12,000,000 to the North, to be retailed at raised prices to our merchants, who "go North" once or twice a year to purchase stock, which reaches New Orleans from Europe via New York. The effect of the liberal tariff of the South would be sufficient without any other inducement to divert shipments of European and other manufactures, to new ports and to place her business and commerce in a position which will not only far surpass what they were, but even outstrip the trade of the North. The vast benefits of this legislation to the South will be seen in the reduced price of every manufactured article, whether of use or luxury, and consequently in the general cost of living, while the raw products of the South may be sent to Europe at reduced prices also, leaving the planter as large a profit as ever before. For if the whole scale of prices be changed for those things we buy, we can also reduce the cost of what we sell. The per cent. of profit of the merchant, the amount of salary of his clerk, the price he has to pay for board, food, and clothing, will then be largely reduced, and we shall no more pay 50—100 per cent. more for every necessary of life in New Orleans than in New York. When we refuse to receive merchandise through the medium of New York speculators, brokers, bankers, and go-betweens of every kind, we shall inaugurate a new system of Political Economy for the South, and a new era of unexampled prosperity. Whatever then may be the results of the efforts to import cotton from India, Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Turkey, Italy, Brazil, Australia, Siam, China, or whence you will, the South will be able to put competition at defiance—a result growing out of, and due solely to, direct trade and low tariff. That this abnormal condition of things in the South has not been sooner ended is not explicable by any other conjecture than the difficulty of altering a long established system of trade, and the disinclination to bring about so tremendous a commercial convulsion. It has finally taken place, and caused the war now raging. Under its effects the North is writhing, and screaming with much patriotism, "Save the Union, save our customers, save our shops, our factories, our industry, save our pockets, save our brokerage, save the Union!"

That the two causes of the war, and the bitterness manifested by the North, are to be found in the unequal advantages of trade, and the possibility that the latter will be inevitably crippled by European opposition in every branch of manufacturing industry, is quite generally understood and believed in England and France, and is every day gaining ground in Germany, and in the rest of the continent.

Even before the withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union, measures had been taken both here and in Antwerp, and Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, towards inaugurating a "Direct Trade" between Europe and the Southern States of America. It was believed that a rupture of the two sections of the Union was inevitable; and though certain of a desperate opposition from their friends and customers in the North, European merchants made significant movements in several places towards encouraging the project of direct trade. The result of meetings held in Antwerp was the sending of a ship to the South, laden with a general assortment of manufactured goods, and the establishment of a company to continue the movement so bravely begun. In a despatch to the department of the then U. S. consul in Antwerp, we are informed that the company is styled "La Compagnie Belge-Américaine pour le développement du Commerce direct, avec le Sud des Etats-Unis." The consul states that,—

"A large amount of the capital stock of the Company has been taken by wealthy persons, and during the present year several gentlemen of high respectability, representing the interests of the South have arrived here in aid of this project.

This measure, if carried on to success, will most unquestionably improve the interests of the great traffic of the Southern States."

He adds farther, that he has given considerable encouragement to the movement, but is sorry to say that some have based the chief success of the enterprise upon a dissolution of the American Union. The Consul, though discouraging, as he states, this view of the enterprise does not deny the importance of the movement or its popularity.

Again, Mr. Samuel Ricker, the very able late Consul General of the United States at Frankfort-on-Maine, reports to the department, under date August 7, 1860, that:—

"The plan of opening a direct trade between Europe and the Southern States of America was already to a certain extent realised by the inauguration of the 'Waaren und Industrie Borse at the Exchange Hall.' 223 firms were represented on the first day. Middle and Southern Germany were the most numerous represented, although Northern Germany, especially Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg, and Hanover, contributed also. England sent from Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford, &c. France and Belgium from Strasburg, Lyons, Verrieres, Ghent, &c.; and Switzerland from Winterthur, Basle; and even Naples was represented."

The Consul from Nantes, in France, also mentions that a movement in favour of direct trade has also been made there. We thus have the assurance of the readiness of Europe to enter into direct commercial relations with the South upon a basis of mutual advantage. In conclusion the Consul General remarks:—

"It is remarkable that many favourable offers from Liverpool houses were unnoticed on account of the expected opening of a direct intercourse with the Southern States, that is of the saving of the expensive intermediation of New York and English agents."

In Bremen there are also a number of influential merchants who are ready to aid this movement whenever circumstances will permit, and to send to the South the products of European manufacture upon such terms as can be agreed upon. These views were entertained, as I have shown prior to the separation of the South, and looked only to a small part of the immense advantages now opened up to Europe by the adoption on one side of a liberal tariff, and on the other of protective and prospective measures suicidal of their own purposes, and highly effective in forwarding the interests of the South. The cessation of hostilities will be the signal for the commencement of this trade, and one year will be sufficient to develop it into gigantic proportions. The question is thoroughly understood here, and I am assured by prominent merchants that the terms of the South can be easily carried out, and credit extended, and capital advanced upon proffer, upon the system hitherto in vogue in trade with the North. There has been a great deal said by the opponents of the South of her inability to raise the means necessary to carry on a direct trade with Europe, or even to command the confidence and credit here, which made their business with the North so desirable, but if the efforts and offers already made by men of high commercial standing are to be taken as a guarantee for the future; the difficulty of obtaining credit and advances to an indefinite extent will be among the least with which the South will have to contend. In relation to this subject I have been put in possession of letters from Governor Pickens, George Brown, Thomas Howell Cobb, &c., and was assured of the determination of these gentlemen to support to the utmost the movement to establish this trade. It was suggested to make Bremen the port of shipment to the Continent, in view of its advantages as a cheap port, as accessible at all seasons of the year to vessels of the largest class, as being contiguous to the Zollverein, and connected with every port and place in Europe of importance by an unbroken line of railroad, by which goods can be conveyed from the side of the ship, without transshipment, to any point between St. Petersburg and Trieste. The energetic character of the people is constantly opening up new channels for the sale of their merchandise; and within the past two years considerable quantities of cotton have found their way from this port to Russia, Switzerland, and Austria. The port of Hamburg is objectionable on account of the want of docks—ships having to discharge in lighters—while the Elbe is in winter often completely closed to navigation. Our port, Bremerhaven, is never seriously obstructed by ice, and is connected with Bremen by a railroad lately completed. In the event that Government, or an association of planters—as was at one time contemplated—should ship cotton to the Continent on their own account, I would especially urge the advantages enjoyed by this port for the reception and sale of the same upon terms favourable to the shippers. As the entrepot to the Continent, and owing to the abolition of transport dues through the Zollverein, Bremen bids fair to surpass every other port on the Continent. The United States Consul at Trieste, writes under date September 20, 1859, that "Bremen is the most dangerous competitor of Trieste, feeding almost all the spinners of Southern Austria." Besides the rising importance of this port as a cotton market, it ranks among the first, if not the very first, market in the world for Southern tobacco. A line of trade between Bremen as the exporting agency of European manufactures, and the medium of import for the Continent, of Southern produce, would be establishing true and legitimate reciprocal relations between the two great factors, producers, and consumers, and quickly divert the shipment of manufactured goods to New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond, and Savannah, in return for the great staples sent us from the co. The true guarantee for the permanence of this trade would be found in the mutual advantage derived from it. These reciprocal transactions would establish exchanges upon a sound basis, and even without an effort would for ever transfer the banking business of the South to one of her cities. Under this system the statistician may find that the trade of New York can no longer be represented as in the following paragraph from a Northern Cyclopaedia of Commerce:—

"The trade of New York has apparently fallen off; a circumstance which discloses a satisfactory explanation in the large increase of transit business between the principal Southern ports and the markets of Europe. These operations are mainly made the control of parties in this city, acting in the capacity of speculators, brokers, agents for foreign spinners, &c. It has frequently happened that when the stock here was reduced to a comparatively low figure, parties who operate in transit would purchase from 20 to 30,000 bales per week, and not unfrequently turning the staple over two or three times, in the period which used to suffice under the old system of working but one fair profit out of it. . . . New York being the real seat of the medium financially, and every other way between the producer and the consumer, the planter and agriculturist here, and the factor and manufacturer there (Europe), New York being all this and much more, we repeat,

it must continue to control the cotton trade of the country for a century to come." The alacrity with which New York has responded to the call for troops to subjugate the South shows how much she has the fulfilment of this prophecy at heart.

Having in the foregoing stated the proportions of the imports from the South at this port, and the inadequate returns made by shipments thither, under the old position of things, the great and unceasing popularity of direct commercial relations with the South, exclusive of the intermediation of the North; the importance of establishing such relations with Bremen as a great consumer of Southern produce, and the entrepot for the exports of the Continent, by appointing Government or Company agents here, or in any other manner aiding the movement, by which the interests of the planters may be best advanced, I now beg to call your attention to the prospects of the South enjoying a portion of the carrying trade between her ports and Europe.

The tables enclosed of arrivals and departures of American vessels extend from 1815 to 1857, and give a clear insight into the commerce of Bremen with the United States during this period. It will be seen that wherever the arrivals of American vessels in 1827, amounted to 67 against 14 Bremen vessels, they have diminished in 1858 to 22, (of which 11 were regular steamers, leaving only 11 sailing vessels.) against 166 Bremen vessels. The arrivals of Bremen vessels are estimated from the United States only; as to the trade between foreign ports and Bremen, the vessels of the latter have absorbed it almost to the entire exclusion of American bottoms. This is owing to a combination of causes, among which may be mentioned the cheapness of ships, of labour, of provisions, abundance of sailors, low wages, the fact of the owners residing here, and being thus enabled to settle all business connected with their ships without detaining them; but above all other causes of this successful position, is unquestionably the Treaty of 1827 with the United States. The former United States' Consul at this port, writing to Washington under date Sept. 5, 1859, reports:—

"Yet with this immense increase of trade (between United States and Bremen) we find the American shipping gradually falling off, and that of Bremen increasing beyond all precedent; thus conclusively showing that our shippers have been deprived of the benefits of a large and increasing commerce, which was formerly in their hands, and upon the ruin of which the present immense commerce of Bremen, has been built—a result inevitably following from the very favourable reciprocity treaty of 1827. But the injury done to our trade is not confined to the commerce with the ports of the Hanse Towns, though I think this to be very great; for the ships of the Hanse Towns also compete with our own in the trade from other countries to our ports, and especially from the East and West Indies, China, and the South Sea Islands. * * * This competition must, and always will, be successfully maintained so long as the terms of this treaty are in force. It could never have entered into the calculations of the framers of the treaty in 1827, that the effect of it in thirty-one years would be not only to drive our ships from participation in the trade of these ports, but actually to raise up and encourage competition with our shipping for the trade of the world. I have no hesitation in saying that the present great and growing commerce of the Hanse Towns, and of Bremen especially, is owing, in a great measure, to the privileges enjoyed by them under the treaty of 1827; and while it would ill become us to suggest to any interference with the proper and legitimate increase of the trade of those towns, the question arises whether justice to the interests of our own citizens does not require that we should withdraw equal privileges from a foreign nation, when it is clearly evident that they operate fatally to the disadvantage of our own commerce."

The Consul then suggests a modification of the treaty by withdrawing from Hanse vessels the right to enter our ports upon the same terms as American vessels.

Mr. Wheaton, the eminent author of the "Elements of International Law," when the United States Minister in Berlin, wrote to the American Consul at this port under date August 16, 1841, as follows:—

"I should be glad to have, at your earliest convenience, your opinion as to the actual working of the existing treaty between us and the Hanse towns, upon the interests of our navigation and commerce, especially in respect to the intercourse between Bremen and the United States. You are aware that our ship owners complain that its operation is very unfavourable to them."

To this the Consul replied:—

"United States' Consulate, Bremen, Sept. 20, 1841. * * * * "That the treaty has greatly aided in promoting the commerce of this place, I think, cannot be doubted, as it has thrown nearly the whole of the carrying trade between it and our country into the hands of the former and enabled it to share in that, from and to the United States, to and from other countries; that it has greatly facilitated the citizens of these ports in establishing themselves in our seaports to the detriment of our merchants; and that it has been the major part of the cause of this place having augmented its shipping to such an extent, that its owners, mostly merchants, have, at dull periods, been obliged to seek new branches of commerce, and in doing so have gone into that of the New England and South Sea Fisheries; thus, with respect to the former, supplying this market with part of what is received through the United States, and as regards the latter, coming directly in the way of our vessels. * * * To these advantages the Hanse towns have it not in their power to give anything like an equivalent, as they would not and could not retaliate in case the treaty should be abrogated by our country. Bremen and Hamburg being rival servants of Germany, the one that works cheapest and best will be preferred. This is what keeps either of them from attempting to impose heavier imposts on commerce than exist at present and even if it did not the Government of the German Customs League (Zollverein) would probably not suffer them to do so. Hamburg has not taken near as much advantage of the treaty as Bremen."

Thus so long ago as 1841, this treaty was seen to be injurious to the United States, and experience since then has but confirmed the truth of this view.

Whatever the policy of the Confederate Government will be in establishing future commercial relations with foreign countries, I desire to place on record the workings of the Treaty of 1827, as furnishing data for a future treaty with the Hanse Towns. If Southern vessels are to share in the carrying trade, which will hereafter spring up between the Confederate States and Europe, stipulations of a different kind must be made with these towns, for owing to the reasons given, their vessels will always be able to underbid ours, when placed upon an equal footing with them.

TABLE I.
No. 1.—Imports and Prices of Cotton at Bremen in the Past Twenty Years.

Year.	Imports. Pounds, net.	Average Price per Pound in Grotes.	Years.	Imports. Pounds, net.	Average Price per Pound in Grotes.
1810..	2,343,930	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1850..	4,969,200	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
1811..	2,242,584	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1851..	9,511,162	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1812..	3,814,182	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1852..	8,625,196	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1813..	7,336,646	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1853..	11,527,555	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1814..	4,501,901	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1854..	20,990,751	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1815..	6,697,697	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1855..	23,965,983	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1816..	4,372,771	9	1856..	41,557,005	12
1817..	4,414,974	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1857..	41,020,316	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
1818..	5,743,823	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1858..	40,913,092	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1819..	8,503,565	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1859..	60,133,809	13 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE II.
Imports of Cotton in Bremen from 1856 to 1859.

Imports From—	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.
	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
Hamburg.....	88	.....	.....	.....
Great Britain.....	1,630,535	1,991,881	3,883	6,332,184
France.....	.....	.....	.....	86,700
New York.....	3,111,574	3,182,570	2,197	550,279
Charleston.....	6,993,573	3,081,623	2,826	360,987
Savannah.....	360,107	419,730	985	730,305
Mobile.....	3,629,134	.....	.....	919,927
New Orleans.....	22,609,810	23,070,529	21,207	529,255
Calcutta and India.....	2,264,964	2,315,807	3,58	388,446
West India.....	135,816	52,811	8	73,281
South America.....	87,082	42,209	5	75,969
British East India.....	579,628	6,541,846	5,99	49,579
Other imports.....	101,094	21,440	2	5,371
Total pounds.....	41,557,005	41,020,316	40,913,092	60,133,809

TABLE III.
A Statement of Importations of Tobacco, the Growth of the United States in Bremen during the Years 1858 and 1857.

Year.	Where Produced.	Amount.	Value.	Average Price.
		Bremen Grotes.	Rix Thalers.	Bremen Grotes. 28 per lb.
1858	Florida.....	430,943	167,597	47
1857	Ditto.....	263,124	171,589	47
1858	Kentucky.....	7,856,885	1,105,211	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	16,929,532	3,584,717	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Maryland.....	8,693,088	935,376	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	9,939,770	1,620,430	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Ohio.....	2,031,362	270,070	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	1,915,896	404,345	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Virginia.....	5,736,458	569,881	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	5,667,347	975,500	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Virginia seed leaf.....	1,067,712	204,836	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	364,364	113,247	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Virginia stems.....	5,605,425	243,242	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	9,323,577	597,318	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1858	Kentucky stems.....	2,310,057	74,242	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857	Ditto.....	2,236,358	120,594	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE IV.
A Statement of Importations of Rice in Bremen during the Years 1858 and 1857.

Ports of Shipment.	Amount.	Value.	Average Price.
	Bremen Pounds.	Rix Thalers.	Bremen Grotes. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.
New York.....	2,173,187	138,524	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Charleston.....	1,328,907	77,877	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Savannah.....	28,223	1,835	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLES V., VI.
A Statement of Importations in Bremen of Turpentine and Resin, during the Years 1858—1857.

Ports of Shipment.	Amount.	Value.	Average Price Per 100 Pounds.
	Bremen Pounds.	Rix Thalers.	Bremen Grotes.
New York.....	981,507	104,645	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Zollverein.....	1,884	198	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total in 1858..	983,391	104,843	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total in 1857..	767,269	81,150	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ports of Shipment.	Pounds.	Value.	Average Price Per 100 Pounds.
		Rix Thalers.	Bremen Grotes.
New York.....	7,839,819	104,011	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Baltimore.....	1,429,998	16,885	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Richmond, Va. ..	188,153	2,149	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wilmington, N. C.	61,354	1,065	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Other ports.....	4,594	58	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total in 1858..	9,523,918	124,168	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total in 1857..	8,865,621	157,111	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

TABLE VII.
A Statement, Showing the Amount of Exportations from Bremen from Important Ports in the United States during the Year 1858.

Exportations to—	Gross Weight. Centners.	Value in Louis d'or.
Boston.....	1,764	21,207
New York.....	207,065	7,315,154
Philadelphia.....	22,252	822,979
Baltimore and Washington.....	37,506	855,335
Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia.....	14	238
Charleston, South Carolina.....	1,795	21,602
Savannah, Georgia.....	29	1,230
New Orleans.....	21,814	350,059
Calcutta and India.....	4,993	72,790
San Francisco.....	1,966	49,562
St. Louis.....	902	36,527
Other places in the United States.....	796	29,617
Total.....	300,926	9,567,600

TABLE VIII.

A Statement showing the Amount of Importations into Bremen from important Ports in the United States in the year 1858.

Imports from—	Gross Weight. Centners.	Value in Louis d'or.
Frankfort in the State of Maine ..	4,021	5,441
New Bedford	24,705	267,278
Boston	106	550
New York	321,761	2,819,379
Philadelphia	276	3,220
Baltimore	185,105	1,480,850
Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia	117,831	726,927
Wilmington, North Carolina	822	1,167
Charleston, South Carolina	50,269	641,038
Savannah, Georgia	17,155	211,946
New Orleans	324,554	5,276,233
Calveston	38,969	684,201
The Old Faces	28	408
.....	8	87
Total	1,085,610	12,118,725

TABLE IX.

Resin, 1859.

Where from	Bremen Pounds.	Bremen Thalers.	Price per 100 Pounds.
Zollverein	10,180	172	8 $\frac{2}{3}$
Hamburg	6,750	246	3 $\frac{2}{3}$
New York	11,914,392	154,760	1 $\frac{1}{3}$
Philadelphia	108,045	1,245	1 $\frac{1}{6}$
Baltimore	955,315	11,031	1 $\frac{1}{6}$
Richmond	62,842	681	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Charleston	792,365	11,562	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Savannah	37,259	606	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Florida	35,931	398	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Other imports	5,914	110	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Total in 1859 ..	13,928,993	180,811	1 $\frac{1}{12}$
Total in 1858 ..	8,523,918	124,168	—

TABLE X.

Turpentine.

Where from.	Bremen Pounds.	Bremen Thalers.	Per 100 Pounds.
Zollverein	1,679	179	10 $\frac{2}{3}$
New York	853,149	90,981	10 $\frac{2}{3}$
Total in 1859 ..	854,828	91,160	—
Total in 1858 ..	983,391	104,843	—

TABLE XI.

Statement of Importations of Tobacco, the growth of the United States and other places, in Bremen, during the years 1858 and 1859.

Year.	Where produced.	Amount.	Value.	Average Price.
		Bremen Pounds.	Rix Thalers.	Bremen Groses.
1858	Florida	430,943	167,597	28 per lb.
1859	Ditto	742,136	200,781	20 "
1858	Kentucky	7,856,885	1,105,211	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	20,431,067	2,247,841	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1858	Maryland	8,695,088	935,376	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	9,446,794	792,096	6 "
1858	Ohio	2,031,362	270,070	9 "
1859	Ditto	1,998,086	220,128	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1858	Virginia	5,736,458	569,881	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	3,983,643	418,911	8 "
1858	Virginia seed leaf	1,067,712	204,836	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	914,324	172,895	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1858	Virginia stems ..	5,605,425	243,242	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	9,541,130	358,164	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1858	Kentucky stems ..	2,310,057	74,242	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859	Ditto	2,135,358	58,059	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

TABLE XII.

Statement of American Vessels Arriving at Bremen from 1815 to 1858.

Year.	From United States.	From Foreign Ports.	Total	Year.	From United States.	From Foreign Ports.	Total
1815	31	1	32	1837	12	12	24
1816	35	1	36	1838	20	5	25
1817	31	6	37	1839	13	11	24
1818	37	2	39	1840	20	17	37
1819	37	4	41	1841	25	5	30
1820	42	3	45	1842	23	8	31
1821	38	6	44	1843	24	8	32
1822	45	2	47	1844	19	12	31
1823	47	15	62	1845	21	40	61
1824	31	10	41	1846	15	47	62
1825	42	4	46	1847	13	21	34
1826	42	8	50	1848	20	45	65
1827	67	12	79	1849	19	13	32
1828	53	5	58	1850	12	8	20
1829	44	11	55	1851	13	10	23
1830	48	8	56	1852	25	16	41
1831	44	15	59	1853	27	10	37
1832	53	10	63	1854	26	18	44
1833	20	8	28	1855	28	7	35
1834	38	20	58	1856	44	8	52
1835	27	4	31	1857	37	11	48
1836	19	10	29	1858	22	10	32

TABLE XIII.

Statement of the Arrivals and Departures of Bremen and other Vessels from and to Bremen and from and to the United States and other foreign Ports from 1827 to 1840, and from 1850 to 1858.

ARRIVALS.						
Year.	Arrivals of Bremen vessels.			Arrivals of other German Vessels.		
	From United States.	From Foreign Ports.	Total.	From United States.	From Foreign Ports.	Total.
1827..	14	....	14	4	....	4
1828..	22	....	22	7	....	7
1829..	19	....	19	1	....	1
1830..	32	....	32	9	....	9
1831..	31	....	31	8	....	8
1832..	48	....	48	19	....	19
1833..	45	....	45	14	....	14
1834..	57	....	57	7	....	7
1835..	55	....	55	9	....	9
1836..	77	....	77	13	....	13
1837..	98	....	98	24	....	24
1838..	65	....	65	2	....	2
1839..	71	....	71	4	....	4
1840..	75	....	75	4	....	4
1850..	79	53	132	8	26	34
1851..	98	101	199	12	45	57
1852..	133	127	260	17	53	70
1853..	98	100	198	14	82	96
1854..	144	135	279	33	46	79
1855..	93	136	229	12	66	78
1856..	108	135	243	17	102	119
1857..	122	129	251	19	96	115
1858..	166	101	267	16	76	92

DEPARTURES.						
Year.	Departure of Bremen Vessels.			Departures of other German Vessels.		
	To United States.	To Foreign Ports.	Total.	To United States.	To Foreign Ports.	Total.
1827..	15	....	15	....	....	....
1828..	21	....	21	....	....	....
1829..	21	....	21	....	....	....
1830..	23	....	23	2	....	2
1831..	35	....	35	3	....	3
1832..	50	....	50	8	....	8
1833..	53	....	53	7	....	7
1834..	74	....	74	7	....	7
1835..	63	....	63	....	....	....
1836..	108	....	108	18	....	18
1837..	130	....	130	20	....	20
1838..	82	....	82	3	....	3
1839..	93	....	93	5	....	5
1840..	98	....	98	6	....	6
1850..	125	68	193	9	29	38
1851..	180	88	268	22	56	78
1852..	213	73	286	46	58	104
1853..	205	82	287	37	50	87
1854..	250	75	325	72	41	113
1855..	133	153	286	19	71	90
1856..	153	130	283	28	78	106
1857..	122	129	251	33	76	109
1858..	133	93	226	25	65	90

THE PRICE OF COTTON.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—The following remarks have been suggested by the perusal of the several letters from persons in Manchester, addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which have appeared in the newspapers during the past week, expressing uneasiness concerning the quotations for cotton and cotton goods in case of the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. A long practical knowledge of the commerce between the late American Union and Europe, and an intimate acquaintance with the condition of affairs in the South at the present time, warrant the assertion that the fears entertained by the writers of those communications in reference to a decline in price, in such an event, are without sufficient foundation.

The average annual consumption of American cotton on both sides of the Atlantic for the last ten years has been 3,090,943 bales, as is proved by the result of the crops from 1851 to 1857, inclusive; those of 1858, 1859, and 1860, being excessive, viz.:—

Bales.
1851 3,015,029
1852 3,262,882
1853 2,930,027
1854 2,847,339
1855 3,527,845
1856 2,932,519
1857 3,113,962

21,636,603

or an average of 3,090,943 each year. The stocks of cotton and cotton manufactures at the close of the season in 1857 were about the same as those at the beginning of 1851. The crops for the three last years were as follows:—

Bales.
1858 3,851,481
1859 4,669,770
1860 3,656,086

12,177,337

or 4,059,112 bales per annum; making a surplus of production over consumption at the time of the breaking out of the war of 2,904,507 bales. This extra accumulation was apparent from the increased stocks of cotton at New York, Havre, and Liverpool, and the enormous quantities of manufactured goods in all parts of the globe. If the produce of 1861 had come forward in due course, there is no doubt prices would have been lower than for many years. It may be remembered that great losses were made in nearly every branch of the trade during 1860, and the first half of 1861, and that prices were kept from ascending rapidly for a number of months after hostilities commenced, by reason of the overplus being equivalent to nearly a year's requirements. But now that a second season is passing away without the usual supply coming to hand, famine quotations are readily obtained for the scanty stocks of the raw material, while the manufactured articles are still in such comparative abundance that they do not keep pace with the rise. Although the earth's productions that are used for food are scarcely ever carried over the year of their growth, in consequence of their perishable nature, those commodities taken for clothing are most generally in sufficient quantity for two years; the world, therefore, is at present drawing upon its reserve of cotton. The crop of 1861 was about 3,500,000 bales; 500,000 bales have been destroyed, and 1,000,000 bales consumed in the South, leaving 2,000,000 bales; to which must be added the crop of 1862, 1,000,000 bales, making 3,000,000 bales for export. These crops cannot, however, be moved all at once; should peace be concluded immediately, it would be three months before any portion of them would begin to reach Liverpool; and for a long while afterwards cotton could only come forward in very limited quantities. The means of getting the produce to market are greatly interrupted, and it will be a year before the usual transportation facilities can be afforded; in the meanwhile the inland as well as the ocean freights may be three or four times higher than formerly, and a variety of additional expenses will much augment the cost. It is well known that there is not any cotton at the ports; that not over 500,000 bales are ginned and bagged, and that the burlaps, gunny cloth, and hoop iron for the latter purpose, will have to be imported before the remainder can be removed from the plantations. For the first time in the history of the trade, the demand for manufactured goods will, on the return of peace, be in advance of the supply of the raw material. Commerce generally, which is now, in a measure, paralyzed by the partial blockade of the Southern ports, will take a fresh start, and more than the usual vigour and life be imparted to mercantile operations. The Confederate States will want, without delay, upwards of twenty millions sterling in value of European manufactures, as in addition to their former requirements of foreign articles, principally imported through New York, the establishment of free trade with all countries, except the United States, will transfer their custom for coarse goods from the North to this side of the Atlantic. The major portion of these supplies, too, will have to be taken from the stocks now on hand here; their necessities will be so urgent as to render it impossible to wait for the crops of 1861 and 1862 to be passed through European looms. Fabrics made from surat and other inferior cottons will answer their purpose, and the strange anomaly will exist of the growth of the East meeting a profitable market in the West. From the fact, then, of this enormous demand for dry goods springing up, there is little chance for much decline in cotton; indeed, even that yet in the possession of the planters may command more than double the ordinary value, for the same reason.

The letter of Mr. Bunch, the British Consul at Charleston, to Earl Russell, which was published in the newspapers a few days since, contains, in the judgment of many persons familiar with the subject, several errors in reference to the cotton crops of the Confederate States for the years 1860, 1861, and 1862, and the quantity now on hand for exportation.

He says, "The crop of 1860 was disposed of, and, in a considerable measure, exported before the blockade of the seaports was established, but it is calculated that 750,000 bales still remain on hand." This is not correct; shipments were continued up to the close of the season in June 1861, the number of bales reaching the large figures of 3,656,086; not 50,000 could have been held over, as the fear of the blockade induced the planters and factors to bring forward the cotton. Again, he says, "The crop of 1861 amounted to about 2,750,000 bales; of these about 1,000,000 bales have been destroyed." That is also a mistake. The product of 1861 was about 3,500,000 bales; the planting took place before hostilities commenced, and the labour of the country not having been disturbed, the crops were

secured. It is not believed that over 500,000 bales have been destroyed. Mr. Bunch, however, makes no allowance for the quantity consumed and wasted in the South during the past eighteen months, which must have been about 1,000,000 bales. He further remarks, in speaking of the growth of 1862, that "It is thought by some that the present crop will not exceed 1,000,000 bales, but has reason to believe that the supply from Texas has been underestimated," and therefore sets down 1,500,000 bales as being near the mark. Now, as the quantity cultivated in that State has never exceeded 252,424 bales (in 1860), and is most generally under 200,000 bales, it can make but little difference in the estimate.

Mr. Bunch's statement thus calls for 3,950,000 bales, or nearly a million of bales beyond what is actually on hand; the 50,000 bales which he estimates as having eluded the blockade, about balances the unshipped portion of the crop of 1860.

The augmented supply of cotton from India, Egypt, &c., induced by high quotations, will not more than compensate for the great waste for tents and other war purposes in the Federal States.

As there seems to be entire misapprehension concerning the attitude assumed by the Confederate Government in regard to the exportation of cotton, copies of the several Acts of Congress in reference thereto are herewith furnished.

Your obedient servant,
GEORGE M'HENRY.

162, New Bond-street, London, W.;
November 5, 1862.

No. 177.] AN ACT

To Prohibit the Exportation of Cotton from the Confederate States, except through the seaports of said States; and to punish persons offending therein:—

SECTION 1.—*The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That from and after the first day of June next, and during the existence of the blockade of any of the ports of the Confederate States of America by the Government of the United States, it shall not be lawful for any person to export any raw cotton or cotton yarn from the Confederate States of America, except through the seaports of the said Confederate States; and it shall be the duty of all the marshals and revenue officers of the said Confederate States to prevent all violation of this Act.

SEC. 2.—If any person shall violate, or attempt to violate or evade the provisions of the foregoing section, he shall forfeit all the cotton or cotton yarn thus attempted to be illegally exported, for the use of the Confederate States; and in addition thereto, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, or else imprisoned in some public jail or penitentiary for a period not exceeding six months, at the discretion of the court, after conviction upon trial by a court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC. 3.—Any person informing as to a violation or attempt to violate the provisions of this Act, shall be entitled to one-half the proceeds of the articles forfeited by reason of his information.

SEC. 4.—Any justice of the peace, on information under oath from any persons of a violation or attempt to violate this Act, may issue his warrant, and cause the cotton or cotton yarn specified in the affidavit to be seized and retained until an investigation can be had before the courts of the Confederate States.

SEC. 5.—Every steamboat or railroad car which shall be used with the consent of the owner or person having the same in charge, for the purpose of violating this Act, shall be forfeited in like manner to the use of the Confederate States. But nothing in this Act shall be so construed as to prohibit exportation of cotton to Mexico through its co-terminus frontier.

Approved, May 21, 1861.

No. 204.] AN ACT

To extend the provisions of an Act entitled, "An Act to Prohibit the Exportation of Cotton from the Confederate States, except through the seaports of said States, and to punish persons offending therein."

Approved, May 21, 1861.

SEC. 1.—*The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact*, That the provisions of the above recited Act be, and the same are hereby, extended and made applicable to the exportation of tobacco, sugar, rice, molasses, syrup, and naval stores, from the Confederate States, from and after the tenth day of August next.

Approved August 2, 1861.

No. 221.] AN ACT

To amend the Law in Relation to the Export of Tobacco and other commodities.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the Act passed at the present session, entitled "An Act to extend the provisions of an Act entitled, 'An Act to Prohibit the Exportation of Cotton from the Confederate States, except through the seaports of said States, and to punish persons offending therein,'" approved May 21, A.D., 1861, shall go into effect immediately after the approval of this Act.

Approved August 16, 1864.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

In the Confederate Senate, Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the resolutions relative to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, states that a majority of the Committee favoured the following Bill:—

"Whereas, these States, exercising a right consecrated by the blood of our revolutionary forefathers, and recognised as fundamental in the American system of government, which is based on the consent of the governed, dissolved the com-

pact which united them to the Northern States, and withdrew from the Union created by the Federal Constitution; and whereas, the Government of the United States, repudiating the principles on which its founders, in their solemn appeal to the civilized world, justified the American Revolution, commenced the present war to subjugate and enslave these States under the pretext of repressing rebellion and restoring the Union, and whereas, in the prosecution of the war for the past seventeen months, the rights accorded to belligerents by the usages of civilized nations have been studiously denied to the citizens of these States, except in cases where the same have been extorted by the apprehension of retaliation or by the adverse fortune of the war; and whereas, from the commencement of this unholy invasion to the present moment, the invaders have inflicted inhuman miseries on the people of these States, exacting of them treasonable oaths, subjecting unarmed citizens, women, and children to confiscation, banishment, and imprisonment, burning their dwelling-houses, ravaging the land, plundering private property, murdering men for pretended pretences, organizing the abduction of slaves by Government officials and at Government expense, promoting servile insurrection by tampering with slaves, and protecting them in resisting their masters; stealing works of art, and destroying public libraries, encouraging and inviting a brutal soldiery to commit outrages on women by the unrebuked orders of military commanders, and attempting to ruin cities by filling up the entrance to their harbours with stone; and

"Whereas, in the same spirit of barbarous ferocity, the Government of the United States enacted a law, entitled 'An Act to suppress insurrection, to prevent treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes,' and has announced by a proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, the President thereof, that, in pursuance of said law, 'on the 1st day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within a State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States shall be thenceforward and for ever free,' and has thereby made manifest that this conflict has ceased to be a war as recognized among civilized nations, but on the part of the enemy has become an invasion of an organized horde of murderers and plunderers, breathing hatred and revenge for the numerous defeats sustained on legitimate battle-fields, and determined, if possible, to exterminate the loyal population of these States, to transfer their properties to their enemies, and to emancipate their slaves, with the atrocious design of adding servile insurrection and the massacre of families to the calamities of war; and whereas justice and humanity require this Government to endeavour to repress the lawless practices and designs of the enemy by inflicting severe retribution, therefore the Confederate States of America do enact:

"1. That, on and after the 1st day of January, 1863, all commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the enemy, except as hereafter mentioned, when captured, shall be imprisoned at hard labour, or otherwise put at hard labour, until the termination of the war, or until the repeal of the Act of the Congress of the United States hereinbefore recited, or until otherwise determined by the President.

"2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattos against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattos for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom, under the aforementioned Act of Congress and Proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"4. That every person charged with an offence under this Act shall be tried by such military courts as the President shall direct, and, after conviction, the President may commute the punishment, or pardon unconditionally or on such terms as he may see fit.

"5. That the President is hereby authorized to resort to such other retaliatory measures as in his judgment may be best calculated to repress the atrocities of the enemy."

Mr. Phelan, of Mississippi, submitted a minority report from the same committee, in the form of a lengthy preamble and the following resolution:—

"Be it resolved, &c., that from this day forth all rules of civilized warfare should be discarded in the future defence of our country, our liberties, and our lives, against the fell design now openly avowed by the Government of the United States to annihilate or enslave us; and that a war of extermination should henceforth be waged against any invader whose hostile foot shall cross the boundaries of these Confederate States."

Mr. Hill.—I must be allowed to say for myself that I regard the Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln as a mere *brutum fulmen*, and so intended by its author. It is to serve a temporary purpose at the North. I fear we are dignifying it beyond its importance. As the Senate has concluded to notice it, I am in favour of the simplest and most legal action. We must confine our action within the line of right, under the laws of nations. In my opinion we have the right to declare certain acts as crimes, being in conflict with civilized war, and the actors as criminals; and a criminal, though a soldier, is not entitled to be considered a prisoner of war. While, therefore, I approve the general idea—to treat persons guilty of certain acts as criminals—contained in the Bill reported by the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Semmes), and agree to that report as being the one most favoured by the majority of the Committee, I also in accordance with the understanding of the Committee, propose the following Bill, and ask that it be printed for the consideration of the Senate:—

"1. That if any person singly, or in organized bodies, shall, under pretence of waging war, kill or maim, or in anywise injure the person of any unarmed citizen of the Confederate States, or shall destroy or seize or damage the property, or invade the house or domicile, or insult the family of such unarmed citizen; or shall persuade or force any slave to abandon his owner, or shall, by word or act, counsel or incite to servile insurrection within the limits of the Confederate States, all such persons, if captured by the forces of the Confederate States, shall be treated as criminals, and not as prisoners of war, and shall be tried by a military court, and on conviction, suffer death.

2. That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the 1st day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to incite insurrection and abet murder, and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the Procla-

mation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 22nd day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer.

Mr. Clerk, of Missouri, read a preamble and resolution embracing his views on the subject under consideration. The resolution proposed to recognize the enemy as "savage, relentless and barbarous," and declared that it "is the duty of the Government of the Confederate States neither to ask quarter for its soldiers nor extend it to the enemy until an awakened or created sense of decency and humanity, or the sting of retaliation, shall have compelled our enemy to adopt or practise the usages of war which prevail among Christian and civilized nations."

On the motion of Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, the several bills and resolutions were ordered to be printed.

In the House of Representatives on the same day, Mr. Chilton, of Alabama, offered the following:—

"Whereas, it is manifest that, despairing of the subjugation of the Confederate States, or any of them, the Congress and President of the United States have deliberately set about the work of inciting the slave population of these States to insurrection by declaring them emancipated from and after the 1st day of January, 1863, which action on the part of the said Congress and President is in direct violation of the Constitution which they were sworn to support, in contravention of all laws human and divine, and has been resorted to for the diabolical purpose of involving the slaves and their masters, embracing innocent women and children, in one common ruin, and for the further purpose of maintaining themselves in power by catering to the fanatical spirit of Abolitionism; and whereas each of the States of this Confederacy has enacted laws punishing with death all persons engaged in inciting the slave population to insurrection or rebellion, and there is much stronger reason for inflicting this penalty upon persons who not only voluntarily conspire to perpetuate this horrible felony, but, in addition thereto, come to devastate our land, burn our dwellings, waste our substance, and murder our citizens; therefore, The Congress of the Confederate States do resolve that, so long as the Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, dated the 22nd day of September, 1862, proposing to emancipate the slaves of this Confederacy from and after the 1st day of January, 1863, shall remain unrevoked, all commissioned officers of the United States' army who shall be seized, captured, taken, or arrested within the limits of this Confederacy after the said 1st day of January, 1863, shall be deemed and held voluntarily to have entered the Confederate States for the purpose of maintaining said Proclamation, and of bringing about the result thereby contemplated—of servile insurrection; and the said officers shall in nowise be regarded or treated as prisoners of war, but as felons; and it shall be the duty of the President to cause to be constituted a sufficient number of courts-martial to try said offenders, and, if condemned, to see that they are promptly executed by being hanged by the neck until they are dead.

"2. Resolved, That should said Lincoln's Proclamation continue unrevoked on the 1st day of January, 1863, the President of the Confederate States shall make a proclamation that he will cause these resolutions to be strictly enforced."

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In the Virginian Legislature, Mr. Callin, of Petersburg offered the following:—

"Whereas Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by his recent Proclamation, is acting in stolid contempt of the principles of property in slaves, which is no less consecrated in the Federal Constitution than in ours, and is aiming by said Proclamation to excite servile insurrection in our midst.

"Resolved, therefore, that no person within this State shall be held to have committed any offence against the criminal laws thereof, or shall be tried or imprisoned or be required to answer at any time for an act done in driving from the State or putting to death any person, with or without arms, who may be found on our soil aiding in any way to give effect to the fiendish purpose of said proclamation."

WEST INDIES.

A private letter from St. Vincent, dated October 9, says:—

"St. Vincent is in a state of riot; the negroes have arisen, beaten the managers, burnt and destroyed property, and threatened the usual atrocities—such as possession of property, division of white women, murder of all whites afterwards, &c.—in fact, they say they will make it a second Hayti. But they have been put down for the present by the action of the principal people, who have formed a cavalry corps and dispersed them. The presence of H.M.S. Challenger, for whose assistance a message was sent to Trinidad, secures the town. These rebels are still dispersed over the country, and it will be a difficult matter to bring them to justice. About 100 of them have been taken, and about twenty killed and wounded in the cavalry charges.

"The feeling pervading these people generally is one of extermination for the whites. They want their own way, and desire to relapse into barbarity, are very averse to law and order, except when it suits them specially—nor is British law, as here carried out, at all applicable for beings so low in the order of humanity. In some outlying districts they actually took possession of some estates, one after the other. They hurried, saying, 'Black proprietor, black attorney, manager, and overseer—this field for you, Buddy (a negro word), that for me,' &c. The negroes, however, are slow and undecided in their doings, consequently they gave time for most of the people to escape into town, but the town is full of the greatest villains; and in fact life and property are daily becoming less and less secure in the British West India islands.

"This is a truthful report of the condition of things here, notwithstanding anything that may be written by those persons (officials or others) whose interest it is to make it appear things are going on swimmingly."

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Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

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Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861 213,759 71
Amount of Assets for the year ending
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THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered the
redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street,

Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 252,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861 1,338,506 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHIER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.

Geo. Connelly. **J. N. Nevins.**
John Pemberton. **S. O. Nelson.**
P. Maspero. **C. H. Slocumb.**
P. Pontx. **B. F. Vignard.**
C. Honold. **B. O. Vignaud.**
G. Miltenberger.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company
of New Orleans.

The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of **SIX PER CENT.** in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

THE TRUSTEES.

Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison. **M. Mason.**
A. W. McFarland. **R. P. Hood.**
J. Leiby. **Martin Gordon, jun.**
Jos. A. White. **C. G. Oliver.**
Douglas West. **A. Gohn.**
Mina Augustin.
Omer Guillard.

WEBER BROTHERS,
Commission Merchants,
SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA, C.S.A.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Texas,
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
tissues furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

G. FOWLER,
ENGLISH BOOKSELLER,
(From the Palais-Royal),
279, Rue St. Honoré, (near the Rue Royale.)
PARIS.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company,
New Orleans.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861 \$34,76 11
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861 1,442,359 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1859, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 15th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

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Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXVIII. NOW READY.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Savannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

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VOL. II—No. 29.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 13, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

When every other device fails, the Washington Government amuses its subjects by reporting that General McClellan is "on to Richmond." The farce is no longer particularly attractive. In the first place, the Northern public does not believe the often falsified rumour, and secondly, if McClellan had started for Richmond, and was sure of capturing the Confederate capital, it would not rejoice the Northern heart as the prospect of such an achievement would have done in the days of yore. What the people of the United States feel and know now is, that a single victory, or a succession of victories, will not enable them to conquer and hold the South. They cannot disguise from themselves the sheer impossibility of subjugating the eight millions of the South. Hence, except for the electioneering purposes, military affairs are less regarded than formerly. General McClellan is denounced as a traitor; not that his loyalty is really doubted, but in order to secure a few votes. Above the rumours of war we hear a half-smothered cry for mediation; we hear that the people of New York are anxious to know about the plans for European intervention, for it appears impossible, and is truly difficult, for the North to make peace and recognize the independence of the Confederate States, without the friendly intervention that is involved in recognition of the Confederacy, or an offer of mediation. If the European Powers now proffer their friendly offices, it is probable, judging from the tone of public feeling in the North, that they will be accepted. We are merely reproducing an impression that is at present prevalent in New York, and we do so without offering any opinion as to the chances of peace or the continuation of the war.

The elections, so far as they are published, have resulted in unexpectedly large gains to the Democrats. In a few days we shall know the issue of the contest for the State of New York. Mr. Seymour and his friends profess a determination to carry on the war, but no one believes this profession, and a Democratic triumph is looked upon as holding out a prospect of peace. The speeches of the Democrats are remarkably frank in reference to the conduct of the Lincoln Government.

The advance of the so-called Army of the Potomac in a movement which does not appear to be opposed

and, as usual, the Federal commanders are ignorant of the whereabouts of their enemy. The Northern papers give several versions of the position of the Confederates and of their intended operations. The first reliable intimation that will be received in Washington and New York of Confederate movements will be the report of an engagement, or another change of the Federal "base of operations." If we could place the slightest faith in the assertions of the Northern press, we should conclude that McClellan was taking what he thinks a dangerous course, in deference to the wishes of the Government, or the clamour of the demagogues of New England.

The Lincoln Government, at the time it is threatening the Confederates with confiscation and death, trembles for the safety of Washington. A commission has been ordered to assemble to report upon the plan of the present forts around Washington, and upon the sufficiency of the present defences of the capital.

An attempt of the Federals to destroy the bridge of the Charleston and Savannah Railway has been defeated. The Federals landed at Mackey's Point, a junction of the Broad and Pocotaligo Rivers, about twenty-five miles from Hilton Head. After a well-contested fight the Federals retired, and admit their loss was "very heavy." The following is General Beauregard's official report:—

Savannah, Georgia, October 23.

The Abolitionists attacked in force Pocotaligo and Cossawatchie yesterday. They were gallantly repulsed to their gunboats at Mackey's Point and Bee's Creek Landing by Colonel W. S. Walker, commanding the troops sent from here. The enemy came in thirteen gunboats and transports. The Charleston Railroad is uninjured. The Abolitionists left their dead and wounded on the field. Our cavalry are in hot pursuit.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

The *Richmond Despatch*, referring to this affair, says:—

The fight at Pocotaligo resulted in a complete victory. Our loss is 15 killed and 40 wounded. The enemy's total loss is not less than 200 killed and wounded. The enemy's force consisted of six regiments, with one field battery and two boats' howitzers.

It is reported that the Federals have destroyed the Confederate steam salt works at St. Joseph's Bay, Florida; and it is added, "Georgia and Florida relied upon these works for the supply of salt for the winter's provisions for their troops." We may observe that sufficient salt for the whole of the Confederate States can be readily obtained from the Kanawha Valley.

General Bragg's official report of the battle of Perryville, will be read with interest:—

Headquarters Department, No. 2, Bryantsville, Kentucky, Oct. 12.

Sir,—Finding the enemy pressing heavily in his rear, near Perryville, Major-General Hardee, of Polk's command, was obliged to hold and check him at that point. Having arrived at Harrodsburg from Frankfort, I determined to give him battle there, and accordingly concentrated three divisions of my old command—the Army of the Mississippi, now under Major-General Polk, Cheatham's, Buckner's, and Anderson's—and directed General Polk to take command on the 7th, and attack the enemy next morning. Wither's division had gone the day before to support Smith. Hearing on the night of the 7th that the force in front of Smith had rapidly retreated, I moved early next morning to be present at the operations of Polk's forces. The two armies were formed confronting each other on opposite sides of the town of Perryville. After consulting the General, and reconnoitering the ground and examining his disposition, I declined to assume the command, but suggested some changes and modifications of his arrangements, which he promptly adopted. The action opened at half-past 12 p.m., between the skirmishers and artillery on both sides. Finding the enemy indisposed to advance upon us, and knowing he was receiving heavy reinforcements, I deemed it best to assail him vigorously, and so directed the engagement became general soon thereafter, and was continued furiously from that time to dark, our troops never faltering and never failing in their efforts. For the time engaged it was the severest and most desperately contested engagement within my knowledge. Fearfully out-

numbered, our troops did not hesitate to engage at any odds; and though checked at times, they eventually carried every position, and drove the enemy about two miles. But for the intervention of night we should have completed the work. We had captured fifteen pieces of artillery by the most daring charges, killed one and wounded two Brigadier-Generals, and a very large number of inferior officers and men, estimated at no less than 4000, and captured 400 prisoners, including three staff officers, with servants, carriage, and baggage of Major-General McCook. The ground was literally covered with his dead and wounded. In such a contest our own loss was necessarily severe, probably not less than 2500 killed, wounded, and missing. Included in the wounded are Brigadier-Generals Wood, Cleburn and Brown—gallant and noble soldiers—whose loss will be severely felt by their commands. To Major-General Polk, commanding the forces; Major-General Hardee, commanding the left wing, two divisions, and Major-Generals Cheatham, Buckner, and Anderson, commanding divisions, are mainly due the brilliant achievements of this memorable field. Nobler troops were never more gallantly led. The country owes them a debt of gratitude which I am sure will be acknowledged. Ascertaining that the enemy was heavily reinforced during the night, I withdrew my force early the next morning to Harrodsburg, and thence to this point. Major-General Smith arrived at Harrodsburg with most of his forces and Wither's division the next day, 10th; and yesterday I withdrew the whole to this point, the enemy following slowly, but not pressing us.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BRAXTON BRAGG, General Commanding.

To Adjutant-General, Richmond, Virginia.

It is rumoured that another attack is to be made on Vicksburg, and this time with a considerable body of troops to support gunboats. The Confederates are said to be well prepared for the attempt. It is reported in New York that the Confederates have taken possession of Island No. 10 on the Mississippi.

Amongst the tales told to please the children of larger growth who have implicit faith in the rumours invented by the correspondents of Northern newspapers, is, that there is an intention of sending General Banks with a large force to conquer Texas, and that the Texans are anxiously awaiting "deliverance." We can promise General Banks, if he will only carry the rumour into effect, that he will meet with a very warm reception from a people who, in proportion to their numbers, have done as much as any State in the Confederacy towards filling the ranks of the Southern army.

General Sherman is jealous of the notoriety of General Butler, and desires to show that he can be as tyrannical, in Memphis, though not so vulgarly brutal, as the last-named commander is in New Orleans. We are told by the Northern journals:—"General Sherman has issued stringent orders for the government of Memphis. A Military Commission sits daily to try offenders under the laws of war. Vagrants and other disreputable characters are organized into gangs and set to work in the trenches or on the streets. Citizens are to keep indoors between tattoo and reveillé, unless attending church, places of amusement, or necessary business. After midnight all persons, except guards, must be in their houses. Assemblages of negroes are forbidden, except by permission of the Provost-Marshal." The term "disreputable characters" is very comprehensive, and may include all those who do not think the spoliation of Southern towns by foreign mercenaries a holy work.

General Buell "has ordered that all persons who have actively aided rebellion in Kentucky within the last three months shall be arrested and sent out of Kentucky, and forbidden to return." There is something grand in exiling all but a small minority of the inhabitants of a large State. Who are the naughty people from whom General Bragg obtained 4700 wagons of stores? Who are the naughty people who saw the 4700 wagons being prepared, and did not inform the vigilant Federal commander of the important fact? If General Buell cannot fight, he knows how to imitate "Lincoln thunder."

As a specimen of the respect for law in the North, we are told:—"The Writ of *Habeas Corpus* in the case of Mr. W. H. Winder, who is confined in Fort Warren, issued by Judge Clifford, of the United States' Circuit Court, has not been served, because Colonel Dimmick, Commander of Fort Warren, has refused a pass to the fort." Surely the people must be startled at seeing the writ of the United States' Circuit Court thus practically defied.

The Governor of North Carolina has made the following appeal to the people of his State. To carry on the war of independence, all must make sacrifices; and whilst the soldiers want warm clothing, carpets must be regarded as dispensable luxuries:—

After the most strenuous exertions on the part of its officers, the State finds it impossible to clothe and shoe our soldiers without again appealing to that overflowing fountain of generosity, the private contributions of our people. The rigours of winter are approaching, our soldiers are already suffering, and must suffer more if our sympathies are not practical and active. The Quartermaster's Department is labouring faithfully to provide for them, but owing to speculation and extortion will fall short. The deficiency must be supplied by the people. We shall have an active winter campaign, and how can our troops, if ragged, cold, and barefoot, contend with the splendidly equipped columns of the enemy? The articles most needed, and which the State finds it most difficult to supply, are shoes, socks, and blankets, though drawers, shirts, and pants, would be gladly received. If every farmer who has hides tanning, would agree to spare one pair of shoes, and if every mother in North Carolina would knit one strong pair of either thick cotton or woollen socks for the army, they would be abundantly supplied. A great lot of blankets also might yet be spared from private use, and thousands could be made from the carpets upon our parlour floors. With good warm houses and cotton bed clothing, we can certainly get through the winter much better than the soldiers can with all the blankets we can give them. The colonels of militia regiments throughout the State are hereby appointed agents for the purchase and collection of all such articles as can be spared by our people; who, through their respective captains, are ordered immediately to canvass every county and visit every citizen in their beats for this purpose. A liberal price will be paid for everything where the owner feels that he or she is not able to donate it, and active agents will immediately forward them to our suffering regiments. Expenses will be allowed the officers engaged in the duty, and transportation furnished the colonels or their agents to bring the articles to Raleigh. And now, my countrymen and women, if you have anything to spare for the soldier, in his name I appeal to you for it. Do not let the speculator have it, though he offer you enormous prices; spurn him from your door, and say to him that our brave defenders have need for it, and shall have it without passing through his greedy fingers. Do not place yourselves among the extortioners; they are the vilest and most cowardly of all our country's enemies; and when this war is ended, and people come to view the matter in its proper light, you will find that the most detested Tories are more respected than they. When they tempt you with higher prices than the State offers, just think for a moment of the soldier, and what he is doing for you. Remember, when you sit down by the bright and glowing fire, that the soldier is sitting upon the cold earth; that in the wind which is whistling so fearfully over your roof, only making you feel the more comfortable because it harms you not, he is shivering in darkness on the dangerous outpost, or shuddering through the dreary hours of his watch. Remember that when you come forth in the morning, well fed and warmly clad, leading your families towards the spot where the blessed music of the Sabbath bells tells you of the peaceful worship of the God of Peace, the soldier is going forth at the same moment, perhaps, half-fed, after a night of shivering and suffering, to where the roar of artillery and shout of battle announce that he is to die, that your peace and safety may be preserved. Oh, remember these things, generous and patriotic people of North Carolina, and give freely of your perishable goods to those who are giving all that mortal man can give for your safety and your rights.

Z. B. VANCE.

Raleigh, October 15.

A duel has taken place at Charleston, in which Colonel W. R. Calhoun was shot dead by Major A. M. Rhett.

Besides the difficulty of getting recruits, symptoms of insubordination have shown themselves in the Federal regiments. Isolated cases of insubordination are not so important as the general want of discipline in the Federal forces. The following has been published in the Northern papers:—

Too much laxity prevails with regard to soldiers leaving their regimental camps and wandering beyond the limits of their commands. Hereafter not more than two men of each company will be granted passes to leave camps. Provost Guards will arrest all absentees from camp without proper permits. The reports of recent inspections exhibit a shameful neglect of duty on the part of many officers of the higher as well as lower grades in this army in those lesser details of discipline, failure to attend diligently to which will produce the demoralization of any body of troops. Inspections in many organizations are rarely made, drills are poorly attended and unfrequent, cleanliness disregarded, the care of arms and ammunition but little attended to, and the instruction of officers in tactics and regulations entirely neglected. Brigade and division drills in some cases are laid aside, the general orders published from time to time by the War Department for the instruction and guidance of the troops are not promulgated to the regiments and batteries. The prompt distribution and promulgation of orders is one of the first duties of staff officers, and commanding officers are made responsible that staff officers are not neglectful in this respect. The Commanding General is convinced that some examples of summary dismissals of officers are necessary to ensure attention to this point of duty, before the importance of the subject will be fully realized. He gives notice, therefore, that any neglect in this respect of staff or commanding officers that comes to his notice will secure his immediate recommendation for the summary dismissal of the delinquent.

The Committee, composed "of the best Union men" in Baltimore, appointed to report on charges

of disloyalty and corruption, was broken up by General Wool, and its members arrested. This was going a little too far for the present, and accordingly Mr. Lincoln has ordered the release of the prisoners. The officers of the United States either are guilty of unheard-of tyranny without orders, or the Washington Government repudiates its orders when it is politic or necessary to do so.

The British steamer *Wachuta* has been captured by the Federal gunboat *Memphis*. She was captured after a full day's chase off the coast of North Carolina.

In reference to General Butler's raid upon "the family spoons" placed on board the Prussian vessel the *Essex*, the *Baltic Gazette* contains a letter which thus describes the progress of the affair:—

If the most recent news from New Orleans is confirmed, General Butler, on the 9th ult., after having illegally detained the vessel for twenty-five days, and forcibly removed about \$30,000 worth of valuable property from on board, had set her at liberty. According to the law in this case, the owners of the vessel will not be liable in England for the amount of the valuables in question, as the captain is not responsible for the consequences of an exercise of force by a foreign ruler or his representative, and it will be the business of the interested parties (partly English subjects) to demand at Washington the restoration of their property. However, the owner of the ship *Essex*, by means of the Prussian Minister at Washington, has made a claim on the Government of the United States for the loss caused to him in so shameful a manner, and has claimed the protection, and especially the support, of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin. The amount claimed as compensation is very considerable, and is comprised under various heads, including the maintenance of the numerous passengers during the twenty-five days' detention, the wages and support of the crew of twenty-five men for a month, the loss of the freight on the \$30,000 worth of property removed, the interest on about 60,000 Prussian thalers invested in the ship, loss of time, and other items, so that the total amount of the claim will be about \$25,000."

One of the most curious items of news brought by the last steamer is, that the Federal Governor of North Carolina has proposed to hold a conference with the Confederate Governor of the State, to discuss the position of public affairs, and the aspect of the war.

Even in Chesapeake Bay the Federal shipping is not safe. The Confederates carry on war in a most aggravating fashion. The New York ship *Alleghany*, bound from Baltimore to London, with a cargo of guano, was captured on Wednesday, in Chesapeake Bay, by a party of Confederates from the shore, and burnt. The captain, mate, and pilot were taken prisoners. We presume the New York Chamber of Commerce will protest against such an outrage on the humanity which applauds the conduct of Mitchell and Turchin.

The panic of the New York merchants is increased by the report, widely circulated and generally believed, that the "*Merrimac No. 2*" is ready for sea.

The Northern press is angry with General Mitchell on account of his repulse at Mackey Point and Pocotaligo.

It is reported that Mr. Lincoln "has expressed his surprise and regret at the turn which the elections have already taken." It is natural he should be surprised, for the most sanguine Democrat could not have expected such brilliant success; and if he is inclined to countenance a despotic rule he may well regret the revival of a Constitutional party.

ENGLAND.

The sufferings of the unemployed operatives are aggravated as their numbers increase. No man can now help his neighbour; the ruin of the operatives is dragging down the classes intermixed with and dependent on them; cottage owners have no rents, and shopkeepers no customers; and the muster-roll of paupers lengthens fearfully day by day. Last week the increase was nearly 12,000, distributed as follows:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	2,230	Manchester	2,130
Blackburn	790	Preston	1,040
Bolton	370	Rochdale	1,120
Burnley	450	Salford	450
Bury	370	Stockport	320
Chorley	110	Todmorden	250
Chorlton	720	Warrington	60
Glossop	100	Wigan	70
Haslingden	990		
Liverpool	150	Total	11,780
Macclesfield	60		

Above one-tenth of the whole population of the suffering districts are now paupers, and as many more are dependent on the Relief Committees. Altogether, we may safely affirm that at least one-fourth of the population are without any other dependence than charity, public or private. This is the case in some districts containing a considerable population wholly unconnected with the cotton manufacture, and it is therefore clear that in those places which entirely depend upon it a large majority of the people must be almost starving.

Fever spreads in Preston—fever due solely to hunger and cold. It is said to be of the same nature

as that which made such havoc in Ireland while the potatoe disease deprived the people of their food; in fact, that fatal form of typhus which is the peculiar companion of famine. For this new scourge, be it never forgotten, we have to thank Mr. Lincoln and the Northern people, for whom some men born in England still dare to invoke our English sympathies. There are in Preston 34,000 persons on the books of the Relief Committee; in Blackburn 24,000, of whom some are included in the 21,000 relieved by the Guardians of the Poor. In Stockport 24,000 are receiving relief from the parish or from charity. These unhappy sufferers do not—and scarcely can—receive enough to provide them with such food and clothing as are requisite to keep them in health; and if some further effort be not made, pestilence will, before the spring, have spread throughout the whole of the suffering districts. If the Government will not take courage to cure the calamity, the nation must come to the rescue at once, with ample means of alleviation.

The Mansion-house Committee met on Saturday, the last day of Mr. Cubitt's mayoralty. On that day and on Friday £6700 had been subscribed, and the total of the fund received by this Committee exceeded £125,000. They distributed £8000; making a total of above £68,000. A vote of thanks has been passed to the *Times* for its constant readiness to open its columns to all details relative to the distress of the manufacturing population; and the retiring Lord Mayor was similarly honoured.

The Central Executive Committee met at Manchester on Monday. Receipts exceeding £11,000 were reported; and £30,000 distributed, making £60,000 within the month. The Duke of Marlborough has commenced a collection in Oxfordshire, of which he is Lord Lieutenant. Lord Auckland sends another £1000, making in all £2600, the produce of a collection in his diocese of Bath and Wells. The Bishop of Lincoln has recommended a collection to his clergy. The subscription at Bradford is said to have reached nearly £15,000. Several spontaneous collections among bodies of workmen in prosperous trades have realized small sums.

The following is the weekly report of Mr. Farnall:—

Manchester, November 10.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The distress which pervades the cotton manufacturing district has now reached the Unions of the Fylde and Garstang and the township of Saddleworth; those three places, therefore, are entered in the tabular report which I have the honour of presenting to you. The number of persons receiving parochial relief in these three places is 4252. In the 24 Unions on which I have hitherto reported to you there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief as compared with the number so relieved on the 25th ult., of 11,839. For the week ending the 1st inst. there were 224,712 persons receiving parochial relief in the 27 unions which are now included in this report; in the corresponding week of last year there were 48,426 persons so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 176,286 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 364.0 per cent. The total weekly cost of outdoor relief, both in kind and in money, is now £14,411 5s. 4d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2398 5s.; there is, therefore, an increase of £12,012 19s. 4d. per week, or 501.0 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions is now 11.3; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.4 per cent. The highest percentage of pauperism on the population of any one of the 27 unions is at present 22.3, and the lowest is 4.0. The average amount of outdoor relief per head per week, both in kind and in money, in these unions, is 1s. 4½d., the lowest 1s. 0½d., and the highest 1s. 8d., at Glossop. I have received no returns for the week ended the 1st inst., from the unions of Oldham, Stockport, and Todmorden, and therefore the figures inserted in this week's reports for those unions are the same as those inserted in my previous report. It is, however, right to add that the Guardians of the Todmorden Union meet fortnightly only. I beg to inform you that I have addressed notes to the secretaries of the various local committees of charity, requesting them to report weekly to me, in printed forms (with which I have supplied them), the number of persons, not being paupers, whom those committees aid weekly, and the amount of money which they weekly disburse. I hope, therefore, to be able to insert in each of my subsequent reports to you the important information which may thus be given me.

At a subsequent meeting of the General Committee, the Earl of Derby brought forward the following resolution:—

That, in order to give a more national character to the labours of the Central Committee, and to afford ready means of co-operation to all benevolent persons who may desire to assist in mitigating the distress which has fallen upon the population engaged in the cotton manufacture, a letter be addressed to the Lords-Lieutenant of counties, the mayors of boroughs, and others possessed of local authority or influence, suggesting the appointment of committees for the promotion of subscriptions in their respective districts, and for the transmission of the proceeds thereof from time to time to the Central Committee for distribution; that such committees, when formed, be requested to place themselves in communication with the secretary of the Central Committee, who will be directed to furnish them with every information in his power; that the chairmen of all such committees be invited to become members of the Central Committee, with the full right of attending and voting thereat.

Some debate took place, in the course of which

Mr. Cobden said the wording of the resolution entirely met his approval. What he had wished to suggest was, that the General Committee should be employed in collecting

while the Executive Committee distributed it. He was afraid now, as he had been from the first, if the American civil war went on, a great gulf was yawning before them, into which they had not had the courage to look. We appeared to be advancing in destitution at the rate of nearly 3000 per day. He thought the case of Lancashire was that of a strong man suddenly struck down by paralysis, and unable to help himself. There was a mistake in Manchester being confounded with Lancashire, because the town itself was a great emporium, the merchants of which might yet be able to do something; but the case of Oldham and the manufacturing towns was a very different one. He understood £300,000 would be wanted for clothing before Christmas, which was more than they had yet raised altogether. He would not wait a day in appealing to Manchester and the rest of Lancashire, but appeal to the whole country at once. Manchester and the rest of Lancashire would do its part in time. He mentioned instances in his own knowledge of the noble help given by individual manufacturers. He differed from the noble lord as to the Queen; he did not think they should abstain from asking the patronage of the Queen. He called attention to the suggestion from Birmingham, that no time should be lost in distributing clothing. Typhus fever was no respecter of persons; and to say that England, with abundance of provisions in the country, could not find the means of supporting a mere section of the working community he thought was out of the question if proper efforts were made.

The motion was carried unanimously.

There has been a disgraceful riot at Blackburn; wholly unconnected, however, with the terrible distress which prevails there. Some poachers had been taken in the neighbourhood, and were tried and condemned by the borough magistrates. A mob surrounded the court, and threatened the rescue of the criminals, and a violent attack upon the witnesses for the prosecution. Being defeated in their attempt, they smashed several windows, and proceeded to amuse themselves in the same fashion in several of the principal streets, caring very little to whom belonged the windows that served them as targets. Several of the rioters were arrested. The Relief Committee investigated the matter, and published their opinion that it had no connection with the distress of the operatives; the ringleaders of the riot being the relatives and associates of the convicted poachers, and their misguided followers, chiefly young lads—always ripe for mischief in Blackburn, as elsewhere, when they have nothing to do.

The Lord Mayor's procession and dinner took place on the 10th (the 9th being Sunday). As the Prince of Wales, born on Lord Mayor's Day 1841, has just come of age, his Royal Highness's majority and expected marriage with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark were among the principal topics of the evening. In returning thanks for the toast of her Majesty's Ministers, Lord Palmerston touched slightly and cautiously on American affairs. He said:—

The Lord Mayor has adverted to a topic which must excite the deepest feelings of sorrow on the part of every man and woman in the country. I allude to the distress which unfortunately prevails in a part of our manufacturing districts. Let us hope that the cause of that distress may not long continue, although it must be owned that there is not at present any immediate prospect that more humane feelings and more kindly sentiments are likely to prevail between the contending parties on the American continent; but we may trust that India will supply to a certain degree that raw material which is essential to the industry of our manufacturing population; and if those products which India may send us should be sedulously used in this country, and we be not tempted by the wants of other nations to send that cotton away as fast as it arrives (hear, hear, and laughter), I trust that India may find the means of supplying in some measure the wants which the civil war in America has created.

In the course of a speech worthy of his best days, Lord Brougham vindicated the Lancashire operatives from the charge of improvidence, and declared that the cotton famine was an event which no one could be expected to foresee or provide against. He said:—

I would fain entertain a hope, but I cannot more than my noble friend at the head of the Government, who has admitted that he cannot foresee any speedy termination to the war. (Hear, hear.) The fact is that we, England and France, have looked on with great interest, and with perfect feelings of kindness and friendship towards both the contending parties, for which reason we have not been much liked by either. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) But if there is little chance of any effectual advice being given or an intervention of any other description being resorted to by the Powers of Europe, at least let Americans listen to their own advocates in this country—to us, who supported them half a century ago, when nobody said a word in their favour; to us, who were charged with being almost seditiously, if not treasonably, the advocates of America as against our own country in her disputes with America. (Hear, hear.) Let them listen to our advice, to our strong and earnest entreaties, that they would, as speedily as possible, put an end to this cruel and unnatural war. (Great cheering.) I will tell them, that besides its ordinary evils; besides the waste of blood, the waste of treasure, the suffering of every kind, the misery and anxiety which involve the whole country, and which they ought by every means to put an end to, there is another fear—there is another risk which they run, a risk which they run more and more every month that this cruel contest is continued—I mean the increased numbers of armed men habituated to blood, habituated to rapine and to pillage, to every sort of evil attendant on war, and in whom the habit is becoming a second nature; these men, these multitudes, with arms in their hands, will be increased in numbers, and their habits will become more inveterate every month that the contest is prolonged. Then we shall see the whole of America consist of armed men, brought up in war, and in the habits that war always engenders. There is nothing worse than the tyranny of a tyrant. (Hear, hear.) Yes; there is one thing still worse,

and that is the tyranny of an armed mob. (Loud cheers.) And if that people will continue with arms in their hands, imured to war, incapable of peaceful occupations, habituated to pillage and bloodshed, that habit, I repeat, will become their second nature—they will be the worst kind of tyrants under which men can live—the worst kind of foes that liberty can encounter. For heaven's sake then, for their own sake, for humanity's sake, I trust they will avoid that lot which I have just described—a lot that is at once deplorable and degrading.

Mr. Corrie, late Secretary of the Admiralty in Lord Derby's Administration, and Mr. Buxton, son of the famous Abolitionist, Sir Fowell Buxton, have spoken out on the American war. The former writes to the chairman of a meeting in Ireland:—

The neutrality we have hitherto observed, for which we have received small thanks from the Northern States, has been admitted by Mr. Gladstone to have told practically against the Confederates; and I confess it is a subject of painful regret to me that any part of the weight of this great empire should be placed in the balance against a brave people fighting for independence against fearful odds, and whose heroism and patriotism are so well deserving of our admiration. I believe there is no doubt that it is the influence of England which has hitherto, from a comparatively early period of the war, prevented the recognition of the Confederate States by one, at least, of the great European Powers. If that be so, the greater will be the responsibility attaching to us if we make no attempt to terminate this fratricidal and hopeless struggle.

He thinks the time has come for an effort to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Mr. Buxton says:—

I look to the time when it may be possible for all the European Powers together to offer intervention, not by recognizing the South, but in the way of mediation. At present, however, there seems to be nothing for England but the most absolute neutrality, and she may well be neutral, not only in policy, but in feeling. We have no reason to love the Southern slaveowners. On the other hand, I can discover no real ground for wishing victory to the North.

The following correspondence has taken place relative to the destruction of neutral property on board Federal vessels by the Alabama.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL, ETC., HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

My Lord,—I have been requested by the Council of this Chamber to inform you that they have had brought before them the facts of the destruction at sea, in one case, and of seizure and release under ransom bond in another case, of British property on board Federal vessels (the Manchester and the Tonawanda) by an armed cruiser sailing under the Confederate flag, the particulars of which have, no doubt, been already laid before your lordship. As the question is one of serious importance to the commerce of this country, the Council wish me most respectfully to solicit the favour of your lordship's acquainting them, for the information of the mercantile community, what, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, is the position of the owners of such property in those and other similar cases. Submitting this question, with every respect, to your lordship,

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most obedient humble servant,
THOMAS CHILTON, President.

Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool, November 6.

TO THOMAS CHILTON, ESQ., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LIVERPOOL.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., calling attention to the recent proceedings of the armed vessel Alabama with regard to British property on board the Federal vessels Manchester and Tonawanda, and requesting the opinion of her Majesty's Government with regard to the position of the owners of such property in those and other similar cases which may arise, and I am to request that you will inform the Council of the Chamber of Commerce that the matter is under the consideration of her Majesty's Government. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Foreign Office, November 7, E. HAMMOND.

At a meeting of the Juridical Society, a discussion has taken place on the law of blockade. Lord Stanley, advertent to the recent propositions of Mr Cobden, said:—

There were three questions they would have to consider in advocating the proposed alteration—first, whether they were not equalizing the powers of the combatants, and enabling them to continue the contest; secondly, whether they were not taking away the inducements to neutrals to bring about a peace; and, thirdly, would they not diminish the interest of the people of the belligerent countries in asking for a cessation of hostilities?

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The great topic of the week is the proposal for a joint intervention by France, England, and Russia to urge upon the American belligerents the conclusion of an armistice. The *Morning Herald* announced last week that such a proposal had been or would be made by France; on Saturday, that it had been made, and that Russia had accepted it. The *Patrie* of Monday has the following:—

We yesterday confirmed the news already spread for some days in England of an attempt at mediation projected by France and Russia in America.

The initiative of this step is due to the Imperial Government. The proposition emanating from France has been immediately accepted by Russia, and it is with this important adhesion that the same proposition has just been made to the British Government. What will be the reply of the Cabinet of St. James's? Public opinion is anxious to ascertain it. The joint action of France and of Russia might, perhaps, suffice to assure at Richmond and at Washington the success

of an offer of mediation. France exercises a legitimate influence in America, due to her conciliating and frank policy, and recently to her intervention in the Trent affair. Russia, on her part, still entertains intimate relations with the Northern States, formed by the exchange of services the least forgotten of which date from the Crimean war.

But we do not hesitate to admit that on this occasion the concurrence of England is almost indispensable. The common action of the Cabinets of Paris and of St. Petersburg would be powerfully strengthened by the adhesion of Great Britain, whose political position is especially understood on the other side of the Atlantic.

Yet, if we are to credit the still somewhat vague reports in circulation, the proposition of France and Russia has not met with a favourable reception at London. A Cabinet Council is to be held on Tuesday, and at this Council the Palmerston Cabinet will adopt its resolutions.

The *Times* of yesterday had an article against the project, but intimating that the Government had not yet arrived at a final decision.

The Emperor has received Mr. Slidell at Compiègne.

SPAIN.—The Spanish Government has sent five frigates to the Havannah, and has demanded the punishment of the officers of the Montgomery. It is believed that the American Government will make sufficient reparation—which, indeed, Mr. Seward has always shown himself willing to do, when he dare no longer refuse it.

The latest advices confirm our opinion. The spirited remonstrance of Spain has made the Lincoln Government offer a humble, almost abject apology. The American Minister at Madrid has been instructed by his Government to state that the conduct of the captain of the Montgomery was unpardonable; to offer to punish him; and to give satisfaction to the Spanish Government.

DENMARK.—Though the German Confederation shows a disposition to renew its series of encroachments on the Danish monarchy, and though Lord Russell—without regard to justice, truth, reason, honour, or consistency—has given the support of England to the nefarious schemes of aggression hatched at Vienna and Berlin, the Danes are not disposed tamely to submit to insult, or to endure without resistance the dismemberment of their country. At a dinner given by the King to the Chambers (the Parliament of the "kingdom," not including Schleswig or Holstein) the President of the Upper House addressed his Majesty in a speech full of loyal feeling and patriotic resentment against the foreign disturbers of the peace of Denmark. The King replied:—

My friends, my true friends, receive my thanks for the toast this moment proposed. I heartily thank you for the many good wishes expressed therein. I have taken note of all, and I am confident that my faithful, good, and affectionate Danish people will stand by me (yes, yes) in my endeavours to preserve the integrity of my country. Should it be God Almighty's will that I should be forced to draw the sword, I know that you will all gather around me.

GERMANY.—A conflict on a point of privilege arose the other day between the two Houses of the Reichsrath at Vienna; the Lower having struck out certain items from the estimates of the Foreign Office, which the Upper House thought fit to restore. The matter was compromised by a general reduction of the supplies voted by the amount which the Lower House had struck out.

ITALY.—The policy of M. Drouyn de Lhuys is, it seems, at last declared, and the Italian Government has been distinctly told that it shall not have Rome for its capital. France acknowledges the vigour and good faith with which the Italian Government acted in the suppression of Garibaldi's rash and deplorable attempt; but declines to reward those virtues by abandoning to Italy Rome and the Papacy. At no time did France engage to do anything of the kind; on the contrary, she has constantly expressed a firm resolution to defend Rome against all aggression, and to protect the independence and the sovereignty of the Pope. This is all very well; but if France insists on staying at Rome to protect the Pope, we must hope that she will compel His Holiness to withdraw his protection from the banditti who issue from the Roman States to do in the Abruzzi the work which the Federal armies have been doing in Tennessee and Virginia. The real grievance of Italy is not that the Patrimony of St. Peter is withheld from her, but that it is allowed to be the asylum of hordes of brigands, who plunder and assassinate on Italian soil, and then take refuge beyond the Papal frontier. If the Emperor would give orders for the suppression and condign punishment of Schiavone and his fellows, he would remove the strongest ground of complaint against the occupation of Rome by his troops.

The following remarkable passage occurring in a letter, written by M. de Persigny to the Archbishop of Bordeaux a year ago, has been published by the *Indépendance Belge*:—

We went to Italy, because an interest of the first order, a vital interest for France, did not allow her, without great danger to herself, to abandon the peninsula to Austria. After our victories we proclaimed the independence of Italy, because, in addition to the great consideration of respect for

peoples, France could not, without incurring the greatest danger, assume the invidious, dangerous, fatal character of reducing that country to servitude in her turn. Unfortunately the double necessity we lie under of destroying the dominion of Austria and not replacing it by our own, inevitably brought the Court of Rome into a very serious situation. Unable, long before the Italian war, to govern his diminutive State, unless Italy was under the yoke of Austria or France, the Government of the Pope was thus stricken with impotency in the eyes of all, and thus, out of those circumstances, quite independent of any individual will, has arisen the grave difficulty we have to deal with. It is, indeed, a strange situation. Whilst on the one hand the interest of France requires the free self-government of Italy, without entailing upon us any sacrifice of blood or treasure in a hateful mission, on the other the interest of religion requires that the Pope—whether he be in the enjoyment of his temporal power or no matters not—should be equally independent. Hence the duty for us of neither sacrificing the Pope nor Italy to each other. Hence that double cause which is difficult, but which it is not impossible to conciliate. Hence the criminal hope of parties that the Emperor will allow himself to be pressed into betraying the interests of France by sacrificing either the independence of Italy or that of the Pope.

Mr Partridge has again visited General Garibaldi, and made, in conjunction with Dr. Pirogoff, chief of the medical department of the Russian army at Sebastopol, and perhaps the first authority on wounds in Europe, a careful examination into the state of the wound in the ankle, and the general health of the illustrious sufferer. M. Nelaton, the eminent French surgeon, imagined that he had felt the ball in the wound, but this appears to have been an error; though the doctors differ as to the probability that the ball is still in the wound. These repeated examinations do the patient harm, but his general condition is excellent; he eats, sleeps and looks well. He is troubled with visitors, especially English; but means have been taken to keep the swarm at a distance. Amputation will not be necessary, and with rest, quiet, and good air, the injured limb may probably recover, if not all, yet a great part of its former powers. The General has a bed and a swing for his foot, which have been sent from England; he has also asked for a wheel-chair, which will be procured for him. He has been removed, by the advice of the doctors, to Pisa, and has borne the journey well.

GREECE.—The Greek revolution remains *in statu quo*. Bulgaria, and not Mavrocordato, is the chief of the Government, which has repeated its promises to keep the peace, and has exerted itself to prevent any outrage on the Turkish frontier. The Porte has not taken any of the violent measures which were attributed to it; it has not sent a fleet to the Piræus, and it has not threatened to disperse by force the armed bands collected at Vomitza. But it has prudently ordered the concentration of a strong force, under the name of an army of observation, on its Southern frontier. The astute foreigners and insane Englishmen who are so anxious to deprive Great Britain of her foreign possessions see in the present crisis an excellent opportunity for urging the surrender to Greece of the Ionian Islands, which never at any time belonged to her. It is rumoured that differences of opinion exist between the great Powers, France and Russia being united in pressing the claims of the Duke de Leuchtenberg to the Greek throne, while England, who knows what would be the consequences of a Greek kingdom under the sway of a philo-Russian Prince, in the interests of Turkey and of peace, opposes the Russian candidate. General Grivas is dead.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, November 12.

At the date of our last report, the upward tendency of our market had been checked; the trade had been driven out by the recent advance, and with nominal quotations of 16d. for Fair Dhollerahs, and 24½d. for Middling Orleans, it seemed probable that a smart reaction would ensue.

A dull, lifeless tone has accordingly characterised the market throughout the past week, and with daily sales of 1000 bales, prices have gradually declined, till we are again verging on the lowest point touched a fortnight ago. The sales to-day reached 3000 bales, with a shade more tone, but no improvement in prices; and the increase in the business is attributable to the low prices ruling, which have induced some speculation. Middling Orleans may be quoted 22½d., and Fair Dhollerahs 15d. to 15½d.

Rumours of European mediation in American affairs have been prevalent for some days past; these have mainly emanated from Paris journals, which assert that the French court is willing to join Russia and England in friendly mediation. They further assert that Russia has expressed her willingness to act, if supported by England. The *Times*, however, to-day, contradicts this assertion, and states that she is only willing to lend the friendly advice which she has tendered since the outbreak of the war. At present there seems no possibility of friendly mediation in America; to propose an armistice and a raising of the blockade would so visibly favour the Southern interest, that the Northern Government would

by no means entertain it; and for armed intervention, our Government is not prepared.

The news from America is not of a nature to produce much effect on our market. The grand armies in Virginia have avoided a general engagement, and though McClellan is reported to be advancing, he makes little progress, partly through the want of necessary supplies and the bold front shown by the Confederates, who threaten to take advantage of any false step he may make. Large armaments were in readiness to penetrate the rivers, and the opening of the Mississippi was soon to be attempted. The result of the New York elections of the 4th November is looked forward to with interest; the general feeling here seems to be that even though the Democrats carry the day, as they do not take their seats in Congress for twelve months to come, such a result would have little effect on the duration of the war, though Lincoln's policy might thereby be modified, and some of his most unconstitutional measures rescinded.

Trade in Manchester still continues depressed, and though great firmness is shown by holders, little business can be done at existing prices. The decline here is likely to tempt spinners to come in to a moderate extent, and if so, our market will assume a more steady appearance with greater regularity in prices, but there seems little chance of an immediate advance.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday November 12.

We have to report a very quiet state of things as having pervaded this market since this day week, and as far as yarns are concerned, whether for export or home trade, the advance obtained last week has been completely lost.

The buyers for the German market hold aloof, their orders from their friends amounting to almost nothing.

Gray goods, although not much inquired for, maintain the extreme quotations of last week; there being no disposition shown to concede in the slightest degree, on the part of holders. 36-inch printers might be cleared off in very little time if holders were to yield at all, but the small amount of stock of these goods in Manchester induces no one to press for orders.

To-day our market opened very quiet, and continued so throughout the day. Home trade yarns were offered at a decline of from 1d. to 1½ per lb., but no business resulted.

Cloth was very firm, but we hear of very little actual business.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTER.

The following letter is from an influential Marylander, addressed to a friend in London. It will be found to contain an interesting estimate of the Confederate loss in Maryland, and an account of the conduct of the respective armies in their relations with civilians:—

Baltimore, Maryland, October 4.

I have just returned from the Upper Potomac, where, for the past fortnight, I have been ministering to the sick and wounded, and by your patience, will give you a plain but truthful account of what I saw and heard in the vicinity of the late battles in Maryland. Allow me to preface what I have to say by stating that during my trip I visited Frederick, Buckeystown, Petersville, Burkillsville, Boonsboro, Kudysville, and Sharpsburg; in all of which towns and villages there are hospitals, and it was my custom, when I approached a hospital, to apply to the surgeon in charge for a catalogue of the cases under his care; and therefore I have some confidence in the correctness of the information I may give you.

Official reports, you know, are now regarded in this country as official burlesques of facts, and I am sorry to say that the recent report of so respectable a man as General McClellan has not served to increase my respect for this particular kind of public document. Indeed, sir, as I have gathered up a good many facts touching the results of the recent battles in Maryland, I feel strongly tempted to review General McClellan's report; and as I am not writing to an editor, and therefore need not have the fear of Fort Warren before my eyes, I will just yield to the inclination and allow my pen to proceed.

The first thing I have to say about this report is, that it is a remarkable one; remarkable for what it does not state, and more remarkable for the want of accuracy in what it does state.

Why, sir, General McClellan altogether fails to mention one of the battles of Sunday, a battle in which he lost 500 men and more than one field officer. I refer to the fight at Crampton's Gap. This engagement, while progressing at the same time with that of South Mountain, was nine miles nearer the Potomac, and perfectly distinct from it. The Gap had been left undefended, but as McClellan advanced more rapidly than was expected, General Howell Cobb was despatched from Sandy Hook to take possession of the Gap, and delay General Franklin two hours. This he succeeded in doing, though it was accomplished with the loss of one-half his force, not less than 1000 of the Confederates being killed, wounded, and captured. I walked over the field with —, and saw the spot where the gallant Lamar fell. It was in this brief but fiercely

fought battle that Colonel Mathieson, of the 1st California Regiment, was killed. General Franklin's force numbered 35,000, though not more than half of them were engaged.

Another singular omission in this report, but one that is usual with General McClellan, is that he gives us no idea of the strength of the force he commanded. From information derived from a variety of sources, I have concluded that McClellan had from 125,000 to 150,000 men, while Lee awaited his attack with about 60,000.

Nor did the statements I received from officers and men on both sides accord with General McClellan's report as to the results of the battles. I wandered over the battle-field of Antietam for six miles, with —. He pointed out to me the position of McClellan during the battle, the house to which General Hooker was taken when wounded, the general and even the particular arrangements of the two armies; and as he was in the Confederate camp on Thursday, I have full confidence in his declarations. He told me that it was not true that McClellan held the field on Wednesday at dark. The Confederate army, on the right wing, commanded by D. H. Hill, and also on the left, led by Jackson, so far from losing ground during the day, had actually advanced, while the only ground lost was in the centre, under Longstreet, and that gave McClellan no material advantage. That General Lee held the field till Thursday after sundown, and offered battle to McClellan twice during the day, I heard not only from —, but from half-a-dozen other respectable citizens, as well as from soldiers also. McClellan was surprised when Lee crossed the river. He did not know that he had crossed till after 10 o'clock on Friday morning; and — above alluded to told me that he had great difficulty in convincing the officer commanding the first reconnoitering party sent out, that Jackson was not still on this side lying in ambush for them.

General McClellan estimates the entire loss of the Confederates in Maryland at 30,000, of which number 4000 were killed; 18,742 were wounded, 5000 were taken prisoners, and the residue (nearly 5000) were stragglers gathered up after the battles. What a wide discrepancy between his estimate of the Confederate losses and that made by General Lee, who gives in killed, wounded, and missing, in the three battles, something less than 6000 as the entire damage sustained.

From the statistics which follow, you can judge which estimate I think nearest the truth. I know nothing of the killed; all were interred before I reached either field of strife, but the wounded I did see by hundreds and thousands, and I will let the wounded furnish data for my calculations.

McClellan says he captured 1200 wounded Confederates. In this statement he is about correct.

	Wounded.
There were in Frederick when I was there about	500
At Petersville	38
„ Burkillsville	100
„ Boonsboro, including surgeons and nurses	250
„ Sharpsburg and vicinity	600
„ Buckeystown	7
„ Middiam	8
„ Kudysville	2
Total Confederates in hospitals	1502

Now, from these figures we must deduct 300 sick left at Frederick and points above, which reduces the total Confederate wounded to 1200 on this side of the Potomac. As regards the other side of the river, I cannot speak so definitely. A friend of mine, Dr. —, a volunteer surgeon, received a pass and visited the hospitals in Sheperdstown and vicinity, and he reported to me 1000 wounded there. I saw yesterday that some 400 had reached Richmond from the battles in Maryland; that would make the number on the other side 1400, which added to the 1200 on this side, adds up 2600 as the Confederate loss in wounded in the three battles of Crampton Gap, South Mountain, and Antietam. Now, sir, suppose we grant I have underestimated the wounded on the other side of the river—for as to this side I am satisfied 1200 will include every man—and that, instead of 1400, there are 1800 or 2000 there; then the aggregate Confederate loss in wounded would amount to nearly 3200, which is something less than one-third of 11,222, McClellan's acknowledged loss in wounded. In fact, sir, no Federal soldier with whom I conversed, hesitated to confess that their loss in wounded was far heavier than the loss of the Confederates, but they accounted for it in this way. "The Confederates" said they "use buck and ball cartridges, while we shoot Minieballs altogether and therefore, while more of our men were wounded, many more of theirs were killed." This explanation would be very good if it were true, but I am sorry to assure the newspaper correspondents who have made so much of it, that it is absolutely false. I saw on the edge of the battle-field a dozen large boxes marked U.S., and labelled, Buck and Ball Cartridge. Moreover, many of the Confederates were wounded with round ball and buck shot; my own brother received a buck shot in the face. Nor is that other statement made by visitors to the battle-field, to the effect that they saw more Confederate dead than Federal, to be relied on; for I could prove in a court of justice, by unimpeachable witnesses, that when the Federal army got possession of the field on Friday, they brought up the Confederate dead from the hollows and obscure places, and laid them in piles along the public highway, that the passers-by might receive the impression that fearful havoc was made among the rebels.

Now, if the Confederate loss in wounded was not more than 3000 or even 4000, then, according to the usual proportion,

between the killed and wounded, their killed could not have exceeded 1000. But the Surgeon-general says they buried 3000 dead rebels! So he does, and he also says the Federal loss was only 7800 in killed and wounded, while General McClellan admits that it was 12469, with above 1000 missing. The Surgeon-general also says they captured from 35,000 to 40,000 stand of arms, while General McClellan puts the number as low as 14000; and I happen to know that among these 14,000 there were as many Federal guns as Confederate, for all that were picked up on the field were counted as trophies, no matter to whom they belonged before the battle.

The most amusing thing in the whole report, to one who has been up the country in the neighbourhood of the battle-fields, is the singular manner in which McClellan makes the poor stragglers fill up that magnificent number 30,000. He makes a most generous estimate of Confederate killed and wounded, but still he is short of the desired figures; so he drags out of the mountain fastnesses near 5000 frightened stragglers to fill up the number. I was near a fortnight, wandering at will over hill and dale, riding on horseback and in vehicles, and sometimes walking. I travelled on the public roads, and by the bridle paths which lead over steep mountains and through dark defiles, and I neither saw nor heard of a single straggler who had come from Virginia into Maryland. I did see four boys who had run away in a frolic from Frederick, returning to their mammas, but not a single man who had ever carried a musket as a Confederate soldier. The truth is, sir, General McClellan's friends are constrained to smile at the peculiar manner in which he makes out his 30,000. A Washington paper remarked yesterday, that General McClellan admitted a loss of nearly 15,000, and as the rebels ought to have lost twice as many, he just puts it down at 30,000, though he has hard work to bring up the items.

Is it not strange, too, that the young general does not even hint at the existence of such a place as Harper's Ferry? He tells us, with much particularity, that he captured 13 guns, 7 caissons, 9 limbers, 2 field forges, and 39 colours; but he says not a word of the 73 guns, the 40,000 stand of arms, the \$1,500,000 of contrabands, the 100 tons of powder, and the 12,000 men that Jackson captured at Harper's Ferry; and he preserves an equally wise silence in respect to the result of a reconnoissance in force on last Saturday week, when more than half of those who crossed the Potomac failed to report the next morning. And yet, surely, these things ought to be taken into consideration when we make a summary of what has been done by both armies in Maryland.

Why, then, if Lee was not defeated, did he cross the river? Not because his ammunition was exhausted, or his men discouraged; but because by so doing he could the sooner receive supplies and reinforcements. The case was this with him: His rearguard had been engaged on Sunday; Monday and Tuesday, his troops were under arms, constantly expecting the attack; Wednesday, they fought all day, and Thursday, they stood to their arms during the entire day. Lee's army was in the bend of the river, he had therefore, a very small district of country from which to draw supplies; and besides, during the four days above mentioned they had no time to forage, or even to cook, and thus were very much fatigued, as well as very hungry. Lee was willing to await McClellan's attack on Wednesday, he was also willing to meet him on Thursday; but he was not willing to fight General McClellan's original army twice the size of his own, and the 60,000 fresh troops who came to his support during Thursday and Thursday night. As a wise and prudent man, he therefore, in a manner the most dignified, retired across the Potomac, to meet the supply trains which had been ordered from Winchester. As evidence of the decorum observed in his departure, there was but one old battered field-piece left behind while surgeons and nurses were detached from every regiment to care for the wants of the wounded remaining on this side.

You ask in regard to the comparative morality of the two armies, and wish to know if I heard the reports respecting the good behaviour of the Confederates confirmed. I will let facts speak for themselves. Mr. —, one of the wealthiest and most respectable farmers in Maryland, told me that 25,000 men of Jackson's corps were encamped on his farm, and did not destroy so much as an ear of corn. "But, sir," said he, "these Yankees rob me every night, and have nearly ruined me. Why, sir, they came the other morning and asked for something to eat, and while breakfast was being prepared, they broke open my crib and stole my corn." Another farmer told me that the Confederates came to his house, and wished to buy corn and hay. He replied that he had sold all he could spare, when they turned away and left him. "But, sir, when the Federal army came they took my hay and corn at the point of the bayonet, and besides, stole four of my best horses." I saw a wagon-master ride up to a farm-house and inquire if they had any hay to sell. The lady of the house told him they had none for sale, and very little at all, for the army had taken it all. The wagoner said no more, but seeing two stacks of hay behind the barn, he let down the fence, and filled his wagons with a Union man's hay, leaving no money, nor even a receipt for the property taken. There is a very strong Union man in Frederick, who raises much fruit. While the Confederates were there his fruit was unmolested, but when the Federals returned, depredations were committed every night. Becoming thoroughly indignant, at last the old gentleman applied to the Provost-marshal for a guard to protect his property. The guard did not appear until after dark, and while the proprietor slipped into the house for a light to show them where to take their positions, so as to be safe custodians of his fruit, they stole his rarest peaches. Such are a few of the achievements of the

Yankee troops in the way of self-appropriation. One or two anecdotes illustrative of the inevitable mendacity which characterizes them, from the Commander-in-Chief, General Halleck, down to the humblest soldier, must suffice, as I have already written too much.

The Rev. Mr. —, a gentleman well and favourably known in Maryland, told me that he assisted on one occasion in burying fifty Federal soldiers in one large hole, and when their bodies were covered up their comrades placed a board above them, on which they wrote, *Five Federal soldiers lie here.* Mr. — asked them what they did that for, when they replied, that it was none of his business. At another place, I was told, a board was to be seen, on which is written, *General Anderson and eighty rebels are buried here.* General Anderson certainly does not lie there, for he is alive and among his friends, but slightly wounded; and I very much question whether the eighty rebels could be found.

But before I close, I must tell you of the beautiful humility and heroic piety which seemed to pervade the hearts of all the Confederates I saw. I have never seen a strong religious sentiment so generally prevalent as I find it among them. Of twenty men with whom I conversed one afternoon, seventeen were professors of religion, and the eighteenth said he was a man of prayer, and looked to God as his protector. A plain, unlettered Georgia boy said, "In all my intercourse with these Yankees, I have never heard them allude once to what God can do. They talk about what twenty millions of men can do, and what hundreds of millions of money can do, and what their powerful navy can do; but they leave God out of the calculation altogether; but, sir, the Lord is our trust, and He will be our defence." The Rev. — was with me during a part of my tour. He was asked on one occasion to lead in prayer, in a barn filled with wounded, near Sharpsburg. After a season of most solemn and affecting devotion, a young man called the rev. gentleman to his side, and said, "I am dying, sir, but I am not afraid to die, for I hope to go to heaven. Nor am I sorry that I have been slain in battle, for I would willingly sacrifice a dozen lives if I had them, for such a cause as we are fighting for."

Time and again I heard the 124th Psalm quoted: "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

They are not given to vaunting themselves; there is nothing at all of the spirit of bravado about them; and so far from manifesting a ferocious disposition, they very frankly confess they are tired of the war; but at the same time they are animated by a determined resolution that, God helping them, they will never be subjugated. When one of them was asked if he did not fear that the prodigious armies now organizing against them would utterly overwhelm them, he replied, that "with God above, and General Lee at their head, they feared nothing that man could do." History, sir, furnishes no legends more touching and glorious than are exhibited in the sacrifices and endurance of the Southern people. Such a people merit the admiration of the world, and deserve to achieve their independence.

Pardon me for saying so much, but incident after incident arose in my mind, and so clamoured for relation that I could not sooner stop.

KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following list of casualties in the regiments named, during August and the beginning of September, has been published in the Richmond papers.

List of the Killed and Wounded of the Third Brigade, (A. P. Hill's Division) since August 8, 1862.

45TH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Company A, August 9.—Wounded: Private J. Kent. August 29.—Wounded: Captain M. R. Rogers, Privates James Swearingane, E. Hicks, M. Evers, R. Potter.

Company B, August 9.—Wounded: Sergeant James Rodney; Privates O. Goodwin, C. M. Gentry. August 29.—Killed: Private P. T. Heidle; Wounded: Private J. T. Harvell. A. T. Nobles. August 30.—Wounded: J. Pierson.

Company C, August 9.—Killed: Privates P. Carroll, J. Blow, S. Simmons. Wounded: Privates J. C. Sheffield, W. Simmons, Thos Musselwhite, J. H. Forehand, Jackson Kribb, J. N. Mercer. August 29.—Wounded: Privates Geo Lane, Geo Washburne.

Company D, August 9.—Wounded: Corporal Carter; Privates W. W. Stewart, G. M. Martin, J. G. Bennet. August 29.—Killed: G. J. Whitley. Wounded: Captain White; Privates J. R. Hunt, D. F. Thornton. September 1.—Wounded: Private H. F. Whatley.

Company E, August 9.—Killed: Privates W. B. Rose, S. H. Dwight, F. M. O'Neal. Wounded: Captain W. J. Wallace, Lieut. W. W. Huff, Sergeants J. A. Cameron, J. H. Thompson, Privates J. T. Dwight, S. T. Lawson, J. F. Loyd, H. Nesler, E. C. Shirley, W. R. Shepard, R. Watson, Y. S. Worsham, W. Waters. August 29.—Wounded: Privates J. Griffith, J. Nesler, W. S. Riley.

Company F, August 9.—Wounded: Private M. Morton. August 29.—Killed: Private W. Smith, W. Spear, J. Avant, James Kelly, C. Barden. Wounded: Lieut. Morgan, Sergeant Hunt; Privates J. R. Pitts, W. Johnson, J. A. Brooks, S. Early.

Company G, August 29.—Wounded: Lieut. T. Newell; Privates H. Holder, H. J. Hall, N. Rice, F. Barnes, W. Pitman.

Company H, August 29.—Killed: Lieut. B. B. Brown. Wounded: Lieut Roundtree; Privates John Mattox, W. P.

Polton, W. W. Buff, John M. Harrell, A. J. Smith, M. Sheppard.

Company I, August 29.—Wounded: Private O. G. Jones. Company K, August 9.—Wounded: Private G. D. Drew, Jas. Walker. August 29.—Wounded: Private Jas. A. Moore.

Company F, August 29.—Missing: Private Thos. Wood. Company D, August 29.—Missing: Private J. M. Redding. Company I, August 29.—Missing: Private A. Gun. Company K, August 29.—Missing: Lieut. W. R. McKrarry, Sergeant Knight; Privates A. F. Knight, T. T. Lewis. Company B, August 29.—Missing: Privates N. R. Bryan, W. H. Bush, S. N. Bush.

35TH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Company A, August 9.—Killed: Private W. M. Bentley. Wounded: Corporal Wm. Holcomb; Privates K. Thomas, R. Thomas, J. H. Wortley, M. V. Sanford, F. M. B. Strippling. August 28.—Wounded: Sergeant A. J. Bentley (by bomb); Private W. M. Chancell. August 29.—Wounded: Privates J. M. Wray, J. W. Little, J. Baggot, G. W. J. Watson, A. Ballar, J. T. Pike, A. Jordon (since dead), R. Thomas. Company B, August 9.—Killed: Private W. Hill. August 28.—Wounded: G. W. Street. August 28.—Wounded: Lieut. W. L. Peck, Sergeant J. T. Almond, Privates John Pitts (dead), J. D. Butler, S. H. Humphries, T. Haycock, J. Born, J. C. Grenade, T. J. Hyatt, W. Athey, F. Kimbrell, W. J. Turner, J. W. Johnson, G. Wells. August 30.—Wounded: Corporal C. N. Born, Privates W. Reagan, C. C. Henderson (since dead). September 1.—Wounded: Privates Z. Z. Swan, Wilson Reagan.

Company C, August 9.—Killed: Private J. W. Nealey. Wounded: Privates T. E. Patterson, M. V. Jennings, Sergeant S. D. Dalley. August 29.—Killed: Private U. W. Jellers. Wounded: Privates Wm. McWhorter, M. M. Daniel, Lieut. O. E. Condon.

Company D, August 9.—Killed: Private M. M. Scoggin. Wounded: E. B. Griggs, M. Bailey, M. A. Wings, J. Wallace, H. Cassels. August 29.—Wounded: J. Webb, W. H. Thompson, Corporal A. H. Roberts. August 30.—Wounded: Sergeant-major J. Johnson, Sergeant J. B. Hester, Corporal B. P. Dean. Missing: John Grant.

Company E, August 9.—Killed: H. W. Allen. Wounded: Lieut. J. F. Morris, Corporal L. M. Williams. August 30.—Killed: Lieut. John Melford, Privates J. F. Nixen, J. L. Lewis. Wounded: G. W. Johnson, W. J. Spethiss.

Company F, August 9.—Wounded: J. O. Whitworth, August 29.—Wounded: Captain T. T. M. Evany, Privates Jasper Ester, George Kirk, D. R. M. Daniel. August 29.—Missing: Privates L. G. L. Dutton, Wm. Bewer.

Company G, August 29.—Killed: J. J. Dial. August 30.—Private R. F. Thompson. September 1.—Wounded: Private S. T. Needham.

Company H, August 29.—Wounded: Privates D. S. Harris, J. T. Carlisle, R. M. Cook. August 30.—Killed: Private E. R. Bailey.

Company I, August 9.—Wounded: Privates T. R. Morton, J. M. Henderson. August 29.—Killed: Lieut. J. R. Stewart. Wounded: Privates R. Hutchinson, R. J. Davison, J. M. Henderson, H. J. Hicks. August 30.—Wounded: Privates B. Yeagan, N. H. White, A. J. Davis.

Company K, August 29.—Killed: Privates A. M. Passmore. Wounded: Corporal D. Rorie, Private J. T. Hines, P. L. Peters. August 30.—Wounded: Privates J. C. Grant, J. A. Hale, W. Poiland.

14TH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Col. F. Price, commanding Regiment, wounded August 9. Company A, August 9.—Wounded: Lieut. Perdue; Privates R. Mitchell, R. E. Wright. August 29.—Wounded: Sergeant R. W. McGinty; Privates T. S. Sanford, T. V. Smith, J. R. Watkins, R. Rooke, G. Mitchell.

Company B, August 30.—Killed: Private D. M. Perdue. August 9.—Wounded: Private J. R. Young. August 29.—Killed: Private W. Wheeler. Wounded: Privates Thomas Sharp, E. Nixon, D. Welsh, W. B. Jones. Missing: Private Joel Harthorn. September 1.—Wounded: Sergeant W. H. Dykes; Private Dixon.

Company C, August 9.—Wounded: J. W. Holloway. August 29.—W. R. Rullard.

Company D, August 29.—Killed: F. Roger. Wounded: Captain Fielder; Private L. E. Kass. August 30.—Lieut. Putman.

Company E, August 29.—Killed: Sergeant T. E. Kellogg; Private A. L. Reese; J. R. Thomas. Wounded: Lieut. J. R. Patterson; Private S. R. Jones; J. W. Taylor. Missing: Corporal R. P. Stakes; Private M. L. Stagarill.

Company F, August 29.—Wounded: Sergeant Davis; Private F. L. Flanders; J. B. Smith; J. W. Walker.

Company G, August 9.—Wounded: J. Jones. Missing: Lewis Warren. August 29.—Wounded: J. C. Lunsford; J. Getter. September 1.—W. W. Passey; E. Vicery.

Company H, August 9.—Killed: Corporal L. C. Lee. Wounded: Private J. Maddox; W. Register; O. J. Scarbrough.

Company I, August 29.—Killed: Captain R. W. McMichell. Wounded: Sergeant H. C. Thaxton; Private J. H. Andrews; Corporal A. Johnston; Private J. A. Evans; J. H. Herring; J. D. Rhoad; J. W. Cambell. Missing: George Garner; James Johnson.

Company K, August 9.—Wounded: M. Black. August 29.—Corporal T. T. M. King; Private J. E. Baller; J. M. Ruck; R. A. Ellis; J. J. Ferguson.

40TH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Commanding Regiment, Colonel S. L. M. Manning wounded.

Sergeant Major H. W. Lawson, wounded. Company A, August 9.—Killed: W. L. Lon; J. B. Stenson; John Goodwin.

Company B, August 9.—Wounded: Capt. Wilcox; Privates J. Steadwell, H. Spicers. August 29.—Wounded: Privates J. H. Bowen, Wm. Anderson, J. McEachen, Allen McLeod, J. Stewart, W. Parker, J. Saturday. Killed: J. W. Bowen, Hiram Bowen.

Company C, August 9.—Killed: Wm. McCoy. Wounded: Capt. Jordan; Privates W. Hitchcock, W. D. Jordan, W. H. Reufal, Jos Duggan. August 29.—A. Adkins, E. Burgamy, A. Welch, J. E. Garner, J. Harrison.

Company D, August 9.—Wounded: Privates John C. Morgan, James Beckwith, W. L. Moore, R. Rhodes. August 29.—Private O. Jordan. August 30.—Private W. King. August 28.—Private Robert Ogletree. Killed, August 29.—Privates G. Fallen, J. T. Grier.

Company E, August 9.—Killed: Privates J. Ham, J. Fitzgerald. Wounded: Privates G. W. Plair, E. Gibbs, W. Gibbs, W. Young, W. H. York. August 29.—C. N. Lee, D. Cason, W. Cason. Killed: Private W. L. Reid.

Company F, August 9.—Killed: Private S. H. Townsend. Wounded: Lieuts. T. Wilcox, — Young; Privates James Walker, D. Smith, J. Troup, George Luke. August 29.—W. Whitley, G. W. Fussil, J. Grantham, Daniel Purvis, L. Lewis.

Company G, August 9.—Wounded: Private James Jordan. August 29.—Capt. J. T. Chappell; Privates W. H. Wright, C. W. Cross, — Hightower, W. S. Fuller, S. Passer, John Birch. Killed: August 30.—J. D. Wolf.

Company H, August 9.—Wounded: Capt. T. W. Newsome; Private A. C. Robinson. August 29.—Privates E. S. Bland, E. Prescott. August 30.—Private L. F. Godfrey. August 29.—Lieut. G. W. Roughden; Private L. Jackson. Killed: facing either.

Company I, August 9.—Killed: William Henry Frazier. Wounded: William H. Raunelf, J. R. Jackson, F. Moot. August 29.—J. Beckners, J. F. Moot.

Company K, August 9.—Killed: Private J. W. Baker. Wounded: Privates W. R. Sapp, J. M. Fenn, J. F. Collins, J. Flemming, T. Lee. August 29.—Killed: Lieut. G. W. Gainer, Private J. A. Highton. Wounded: J. D. Bradshaw, W. H. Warchman, Jno Moreland, L. B. Snider, R. M. Walker, W. W. Daniel. Commanding regiment, Major Rivers, wounded, September 1.

LETCHER ARTILLERY.

August 29, during the shelling at Warrenton Springs.

Wounded—John Murphy, Thomas Jones.

Three horses killed and two wounded.

The battery was also engaged at Manassas, but received no damage.

Lieut. Wm. Norwood, A. A. G., wounded at Cedar Run, August 9, 1862.

E. L. THOMAS,
Colonel commanding Brigade.

The following is a list of casualties in the 1st Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, in the engagements of August 29, 30, and September 1, 1862:—

August 29.—Field and Staff—Killed: none. Wounded: none.

Company A.—Killed: none. Wounded: Sergeant Cruland, Corporal Dicks; Privates James P. Nolan, A. Bankman, S. B. Bates, Lt., D. F. Bell, Wise Keel, J. L. Tool, W. H. Tyler, W. H. Woodward, E. Wooly. Total, 11.

Company B.—Killed: Private W. T. Goggins. Wounded: Lieuts. John C. McLemore and Thomas A. Lyles, Corporal J. V. Robuck, Privates A. S. Caldwell, H. H. Camp, W. P. Hunter, Wm. Lowery, Erskine Lyles, E. C. McCoy, J. M. Plumer, W. A. Rice, Jos. Summers, G. Thomas. Total, 13.

Company C.—Killed: Sergeant L. A. Smith. Wounded: Corporal S. C. Hook, Privates P. Tallant, Charles Poet, A. Glancy, Charles Dougherty, E. Edward, C. Pollock, P. M. Ruff, G. W. Sanders, B. S. Riggs, W. Wilson. Total, 11.

Company E.—Killed: Privates W. G. James, Dempsey Cribb, H. L. Crawford. Total 3. Wounded: Lieut. Z. B. Smith, Privates G. E. Goodyear, W. A. Taylor, W. E. Capps, Foster Boatright, John H. Elvington, H. Pinckney Ford, D. Pinckney Hayes, John A. Leach, John N. Nobles, J. H. Norton, Pinckney Robers, Dennis Rogers, Solomon Sanderson, Aquilla Scott, Andrew Scott. Total, 16.

Company F.—Killed: Sergeant Lawrimore, Privates John Skipper, Joseph Williken. Total, 3. Wounded: Lieut. G. R. Longdon, Corporal Edward Gore, Privates Thomas Fipps, John King, P. Floyd, Wm. Keurtin, Wm. Smith, D. W. Smith. Total, 8.

Company G.—Killed: Jasper Hally. Wounded: Lieut. John H. King, Sergeant T. F. William; Corporals C. N. Gardiner, H. Tomkins, W. M. Whatley, Privates T. H. Williams, T. N. Branson, W. H. Holloway, R. P. Holloway, T. R. Tite, Thomas Weeks, A. Harris, W. Stewart, J. E. Harter, J. W. Brooks, W. H. Thompson, J. Parkman. Total, 17.

Company H.—Killed: Privates C. H. Comstock, Andrew Goettie, James Baile, W. F. Bee. Total, 4. Wounded: Sergeant A. Fantillor, Corporal S. P. Wigg; Privates William Valentine, Andrew Barton, L. G. Ballot, Thos. Easterling, H. C. Godlin, N. Grant, Charles Hurley, Charles H. Munnerlyn, Henry Wetherford, Josiah Smith, M. M. Hutson, T. F. Jones. Total, 14.

Company I.—Killed: none. Wounded: Wm. G. Chisolme, Thos. Hoffenden Samuel Magill, W. S. Addison, J. Luke, Green B. Fuller, Jas. G. Taylor, Geo. A. Gny, Felix Gunn. Total, 9.

Company K, Killed: Private Daniel Coffee. Wounded: Lieut. Thos. McCrady, Sergeants Richard Matthews, Domineck Spellman, Corporal John Bateman, Privates J. J. Carroll, Daniel Callahan, John Casey, Richard Hartley, J. Kenilick, M. O'Neill. Total, 11.

Company L.—Killed: Lieut. John Munro, Sergeant E. H. Darby, Privates L. B. Crisp, T. H. Fleetwood, W. W. Hays, N. Hayward, J. J. Peck. Total, 7. Wounded: Captain C. D. Barksdale, (since dead.) Sergeant W. C. Ragan, Corporal E. J. Martin, Privates C. J. Atwell, J. McClellan, H. C. Palmer, P. A. Reilly, T. G. Shepherd, J. Stedman, M. R. Tharin. Total, 11.

August 30th, 1862.—Killed: none. Wounded: Major E. McCrady, jr.

The regiment did not enter into the engagement of August 30th, but were exposed to the enemy's fire during part of the forenoon.

September 1st, 1862.—Company A.—Killed: none. Wounded: none.

Company B.—Killed: none. Wounded: none.

Company C.—Wounded: Privates P. M. Ruff, Jesse Lee,

Company E.—Wounded: Private A. Huggens.

Company F.—Wounded: Sergeant James P. Gore.

Company G.—Wounded: Private B. Burton.

Company H.—Wounded: None.

Company I.—Wounded: Private J. R. McLure.

Company K.—Killed: Private Patrick Cummins. Wounded: Private Jas. Burns, John Fleming, Michael May, Peter Smith.

W. P. SHOOTER, Captain Commanding.

Jas. Armstrong, Acting Adjutant.

Casualties in the 14th Virginia Regiment during the engagements of August 24, 27, 29, 30, and September 1, 1861.

Company A.—(Lieut. Stakes commanding).—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. Stakes, slightly; Privates Ingram and Sampson, severely; Sergeant Hall and Private Meers.

Company B.—(Lieut. Franklin commanding).—Killed: Lieut. J. S. Leader and Private R. E. Lampkin. Wounded: E. D. Ficklin, slightly.

Company C.—(Lieut. Newton commanding).—Killed: Private W. Hall. Wounded: Privates W. Rock, slightly; Z. Rock, slightly; R. Reynolds, slightly; B. Kent, slightly; H. Dameron, slightly; J. Boothe and S. Headley, slightly.

Company D.—(Lieut. Peyton commanding).—Killed: Sergt. Morris. Wounded: Corporal Frauee, slightly; Privates Anthony and Hall, slightly.

Company E.—(Lieut. George commanding).—Killed: V. R. Clark. Wounded: Sergeant L. G. Rice and Private O. O. Bryant (slightly).

Company F.—(Lieut. Timbs commanding).—Killed: Private France. Wounded: Privates France (slightly), Haroum, (slightly), Kent (slightly), Lewis and Sutton (slightly), M. Blundon (severely).

Company G.—(Captain Bowie commanding).—Killed: None. Wounded: Private J. F. Haynie (slightly).

Company H.—(Lieut. Stewart commanding).—Killed: Private Vaughan. Wounded: Sergeants W. H. Lee and Henderson (slightly); Privates Pitts, Willey, Pitman, and Sebree (slightly).

Company K.—(Captain Davis commanding).—Killed: Sergeant H. R. Walker and Private R. Kildoe. Wounded: Sergeant Holliday (slightly), Corporal Clark (severely).

List of Casualties of 13th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, in the engagements of 29th and 30th of August, 1862. Casualties of the 29th ult.—Field and Staff—Killed: Adjutant W. D. Goggars. Wounded: Colonel O. E. Edward (slightly, on breast), Lieut. Colonel T. Stobo Farrow (slightly, on clavicle), Major B. T. Brockman (severely, through leg).

Company A.—(Captain Bowden commanding).—Killed: M. B. Milam and G. H. Horton. Wounded: Captain R. D. Bowden (in leg), Lieut. W. D. Copeland (slightly), Sergeant W. R. Jones (severely), Corporal R. W. Bobo (slightly), W. J. Anderson, N. C. McCrady, J. C. Ray, G. S. Simson (severely), J. F. Bell (mortally), W. B. Clifton, J. Duncanson, L. T. Henderson, E. Hellams, A. E. Nelson, W. L. Palmer, A. Smith and A. C. Young (slightly). Killed 2, wounded 17, aggregate 19.

Company B, Captain Brockman, Lieut. S. J. Green, commanding. Killed: D. J. Smith. Wounded: Lieut. Grego (slightly), Sergeant J. F. Stokes (mortally), Sergeant J. D. Leonard (slightly), Sergeant W. R. Kendrick (severely) H. E. Brown, J. Williams, J. T. Dillard, W. R. Vaughan, E. N. Green, J. Right, P. B. James, M. M. Knight, L. Morgan, J. W. Wilson (slightly), W. H. Gaston, W. T. Ray, P. B. Sizemore (severely). Killed 1, wounded 17, aggregate 18.

Company C.—(Captain Duncanson, Commanding).—Killed J. F. Harman, Robert Smith, W. C. Sexton, W. L. Swatzel and M. L. Thomas. Wounded: D. M. Cohen, L. F. Mason (slightly), F. M. Fowler, R. W. C. Gossett, E. G. Gains, A. P. Harman, W. M. Johnson, A. McAbee (severely). Killed 5, wounded 8, aggregate 13.

Company D.—(Captain Annt, Lieut. S. L. Weir, Commanding).—Killed: Sergeant J. W. Caldwell, C. C. Clump, J. W. P. Harmon, J. Halfacre. Wounded: Corporal L. H. M. Boozer, W. Higgins, W. J. Kelley, F. M. Setsler, R. S. Whaley, G. H. Cromer, W. K. D. Harman (slightly), J. Spears, D. M. E. Wicker (severely). Killed 4, wounded 9 aggregate 13.

Company E.—Captain Wofford, Lieut. Thorn, commanding. Killed: none. Wounded: Lieut. W. T. Thorn, severely, Sergeant J. P. Turner, severely, T. Childers, J. Webb, G. B. Cash, slightly, P. A. Potter, J. H. Davidson, M. Burnett, U. Mullins, severely. Total, 9.

Company F.—Captain Compton, Lieut. Dewberry, commanding. Killed: A. Blackwood. Wounded: S. B. Hall, P. Andrews, G. Morrow, J. Turner, F. Say, slightly. Killed, 1. Wounded, 8. Total, 9.

Company G.—Captain Lester, Lieut. Fellers commanding. Killed: P. B. Cook, S. P. Guattlebaum, F. W. B. Bobb. Wounded: Lieut. J. B. Fellers, severely, S. A. H. Wheeler, slightly, G. L. Bobb, J. K. Y. Brown, A. B. C. Dominick, F. Moss, severely, W. A. Bedenbaugh, W. H. Sheely, Sergeant J. H. Counts, J. T. P. Crosson, slightly. Killed, 3. Wounded, 10. Total, 13.

Company H.—Captain Eichelberger. Killed: H. Swartz, S. N. Banknight, A. O. Eagle, J. A. Epting. Wounded: Captain P. A. Eichelberger, slightly, A. M. Sease, J. M. Clark, J. L. Slice, J. N. Slice, A. M. Stodemyer, J. B. Stuek, M. Singley, slightly, J. F. Slice, J. N. Slice, A. M. Stoudeley, J. C. Lee, severely. Killed, 4. Wounded, 11. Total, 15.

Company I, Captain Smith. Killed: Captain A. K. Smith, R. W. P. Gossett, T. J. Reaves. Wounded: Lieut. R. M. Crocker, slightly; W. Allen, S. Boswell, J. Boswell, F. Hembury, J. George, severely; A. C. Crocker, L. Linder, W. T. Thompson, J. Allen, slightly. Killed; wounded 11; aggregate 14.

Company K (Captain Meetze).—Killed: J. F. M. Lucas, J. Wessinger. Wounded: Sergeant W. H. Counts, severely; J. B. Clump, mortally; H. N. Corley, T. Dent, W. H. Hallman, J. Howell, J. P. Leaphart, H. N. Banknight, slightly; J. C. Drafts, J. J. Lown, J. R. Miller, C. Price, J. E. Rawl, W. Taylor, J. J. Hoover, severely. Killed 2; wounded 15; aggregate 17.

Casualties of August 30.—Company E.—(Captain Wofford, Lieut. Dewberry, commanding).—Wounded: S. M. White (slightly).

Company F.—(Captain Compton, Lieut. Dewberry, commanding).—A. Burns (severely).

Company K.—(Captain Meetze, Lieut. Lepard, commanding. Wounded: Sergeant J. J. F. Harmon (slightly).

Grand totals: Killed, none; wounded, 3; casualties, 3.

O. E. EDWARDS,
Colonel 13th Regiment S. C. V.

List of Casualties of 13 Regiments S. C. V. in the Engagement of September 1.

Company —(Captain Brockman).—Wounded: B. P. Neill, J. Y. McFall, G. W. Senn, J. P. Kinnard (slightly). Total, 4.

Company E.—(Captain Wofford).—Wounded: H. Owens, J. Henderson (slightly). Total 2.

Company F.—(Captain Compton).—Killed: T. Golightly, A. Pearson. Total, 2. Wounded: J. Staggs, J. Barnett (slightly). Total, 2.

Company G.—(Captain Lester).—Wounded: D. F. Holloway, D. H. Taylor, W. Jennings, J. H. Stockman, P. W. Counts (slightly). Total, 5.

Company H.—(Captain Eichelberger).—Wounded: Lieut. J. C. Sease (slightly) T. Summers (severely). Total, 2.

Company I.—(Lieut. Smith). Wounded: J. Thompson, (slightly).

Company K.—(Captain Meetze).—Killed: Lieut. W. C. Leppard, J. J. Wingard, W. W. Hammond. Total, 3. Wounded: W. L. Mellor, H. Gaitman, J. A. Hook, D. H. Taylor, W. Poole, H. T. Dooley (slightly). Total, 6.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 31.

The "decree" requesting the brokers to strike gold from the stock list, has caused some of the timid holders to sell out their hoardings, thinking that the premium will decline, and that they may re-invest on better terms; hence there has been a fall in the quotations, which will shortly be followed by another smart advance, for so long as Treasury notes continue to be issued and not redeemed, they make the precious metals more valuable, until the period is reached when paper currency gets to be worthless, and genuine dollars and sense again rule supreme in conducting the transactions of life.

The elections in this State take place in three days, and will no doubt result in the triumph of the Democrats. The extraordinary success of the Southern rights men in carrying Pennsylvania so handsomely, will contribute much to the achievement here. In fact, people are becoming bolder every day in their expressions against Lincoln, Seward, and Company; each rising of the sun causes us to see more men who are going to vote in the right way. With a Democratic Governor in New York, and the fall of the war curtain in the keystone State, peace will begin to dawn upon this unhappy land.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 11.

The chief event of the week, in a political point of view, is one deeply interesting to all Americans, and to all who are indirectly and directly mixed up with the present struggle, who suffer from its consequences, and to whom its cessation would bring instantaneous relief. France, having secured beforehand the co-operation of Russia, has proposed to Her Majesty's Government to join her in an offer of mediation between the United and the Confederate States. In making this proposal, the French Government is understood to have drawn attention to the conclusion it had arrived at some time back, that the South had fully established their claim to be recognized as an independent nation, and to the opinion it then expressed, that the recognition of the Confederate States should precede negotiation for a suspension of hostilities, which there was every reason to hope would end in a pacification. The French despatch then goes on to state that the Imperial Government, bearing in mind the friendly feelings which existed between the Cabinets of Washington and St. Petersburg, had invited the co-operation of Russia, being not unnaturally disposed to think that the recommendation of an armistice, with a view to further negotiations would be received with deference at Washington. Russia had assented to this proposal. At this point versions differ. According to one report the Court of St. Petersburg has not accepted unconditionally, but insisted in the co-operation of England as a *sine qua non* of her adhesion. On the other hand, it is stated that the acceptance of Russia is unfettered by any condition whatever.

Parisian dabbles in politics never condescend to take time, space, or any disturbing cause whatever into consideration, and profound and ingenious has been the speculation which this first decisive move on the part of France has given rise to. In some quarters it is stated (and written and printed) that in the event of England again replying *non possumus* the two great naval powers of the Continent will, as the poet says, leave—

Britannia boudant sur son trone.

and propose their mediation, all negotiations to be preceded by an armistice. In the event of these terms being refused by the North, what will happen? The *Debats*

observes (with its usual sarcastic ill-nature) that the bargain would be all in favour of the South, and that the Northerners would be great fools to accept terms which, in the event of the negotiations being broken off, would enable the South to recruit itself with arms, ammunition, stores, and so forth. This shows lamentable ignorance of the respective position of the belligerents. It is perfectly evident, from all the accounts which have reached Europe, that a party which is daily gaining in strength and popularity, is forming in the North, which is thoroughly sickened with the war. The North may be superior to the South in the point of mere numbers, but every impartial mind has long since come to the conclusion that this is not a war to be decided as a mathematical problem. Every Southerner that shoulders a musket is fighting *pro aris et focis*, and is worth, at least, ten of the German or Irish mercenaries which the Unionists employ to fight their battles. In point of mere numbers, the French, from 1792 to 1793, were contemptible when compared to their enemies, but there are peculiar times in the life of a nation where, every man becomes a soldier, and feels that he has a personal stake in the issue of the contest he is engaged in—no ordinary army that ever was collected would have gone through the hardships which Southern patriotism has cheerfully endured, much less conquered under the circumstances which have attended most of the great Southern victories. In the South, every man is a soldier. In the North, people cut off their forefingers to avoid being drafted. It is a knowledge of these circumstances, it is what the French call a "sound appreciation of the situation," that has prompted the Emperor of the French to bring forward his proposal at the present time, being well aware that what between the Southern armies in the field, and a Democratic majority in the Congress, President Lincoln's Government is threatened with a fearful collapse, and that, therefore, foreign intervention at the present juncture cannot be unacceptable to the Government of Washington, whom it may save from the disgrace of a defeat, whilst it may spare the South further effusion of blood. The moment for intervention is admirably chosen. It remains to be seen whether the British Government will allow itself to be convinced by the arguments laid before it, and whether, in the event of its stubbornness remaining unshaken, the French Government, which has taken the initiative of so important a step, will allow its intentions to be frustrated by the obstinate obstructiveness which, in the latitude of Downing-street, is decorated with the name of a "spirited foreign policy."

The other events of the week are singularly unimportant and uninteresting. The Court continues at Compiegne, where visitors of every shade of public opinion succeed each other. The hopes of the friends of Italy have been raised by the fact of an invitation having been sent to Cavaliere Nigra, the Italian Envoy. It appears, however, his Excellency was invited only for one day. The absence of Prince Napoleon from the Court festivities is much commented on; but, is nevertheless very easily explained. A great number of Ultramontanes are at present at Compiegne, and His Imperial Highness, who does nothing by halves, could not expect to relish society where the virtues of the Pope, and the greediness and covetousness of his father-in-law, are the favourite topics of conversation. Lord Cowley has a general invitation, and spends much of his time between Paris and Chantilly, seldom, however, passing the night at his mansion in the Faubourg St. Honoré.

It is generally believed that M. Drouyn de Lhuys will lay down his portfolio at the new year, and proceed to London to relieve M. de Flahault of the burthen of the Embassy, which proves too heavy for his declining years. *On dit*—that his successor will be M. Thouvenel, but the odds are in favour of Walewski.

The Emperor comes to town on Saturday, to be present at the opening of the Boulevard du Prince Eugène, a splendid new thoroughfare, cutting through the revolutionary Faubourg du Temple, and connecting the Place du Trône at the top of the Faubourg St. Antoine with the Boulevard du Temple.

The Greeks continue remarkably quiet; some uneasiness is felt at a proclamation of Grivas, who appears to be the only fighting man in the country, and who seems bent on a war with Turkey. The Ottoman Government has informed the provisional Government that if any suspicious gathering takes place on its frontier, it will occupy the town of Vonitza by way of a material guarantee for the good behaviour of its turbulent neighbours.

In Italy matters continue at sixes and sevens. The banditti continue to have it all their own way in the kingdom of Naples. The ex-King continues at Rome, where his last public performance has been to superintend the

distribution of prizes at a donkey-race. The ex-Queen continues at Augsburg in an ursuline convent, but has *dit on* promised to return to her husband before the 1st of April next, the period she had originally fixed upon for the *redintegratio*.

GENERAL STUART.

The Northern papers have published the following account of this distinguished cavalry officer:—

General J. E. B. Stuart is the son of the late Archibald Stuart, for several years a member of the House of Representatives of the United States from the district which then embraced the county of Patrick, in Virginia, where, we believe, he was born. At a very early age he gave token of a quick and active mind. His father died ten or twelve years ago. His mother yet lives.

James E. B. Stuart entered the Military Academy of West Point in the year 1850. Among his contemporaries at that institution were Ambrose P. Hill, Henry Heth, George H. Stuart, T. H. Holmes, Beverley H. Robertson, and N. George Evans, Seth M. Barton, Alfred Cumming and Thomas S. Rhett, of the rebel army; and Burnside, Viele, Wilcox, Cogswell and others of greater or less repute in the Union army. Among his immediate classmates were Colonels John Pegram, George W. Custis Lee and John B. Villepigne, now well known in the rebel service; and Major Greble, of the Union artillery, who was killed in the first battle of the war at Great Bethel. In the Union army, the highest rank attained by Stuart was that of first lieutenant; but this was in the 1st Cavalry, a regiment noted for its officers, of which General Sumner was colonel, and Major-General Joseph E. Johnston, of the rebel army, lieutenant-colonel.

There are doubtless on file in the pigeon-holes of the War Department, at Washington, official reports of many encounters with the savage, recording in a curt, dry, cold manner, enterprises which, in the glowing narrative of a Walter Scott or an Alexander Dumas, would vie in interest with the stories of chivalry. One of these only, in which Lieutenant Stuart bore a part, has been recorded in our newspapers; but the account is as short and unsatisfactory as possible. On July 29, 1857, at a time when we were absorbed with the Atlantic telegraph and other exciting matters in the "piping times of peace," Colonel Sumner encountered a force of 300 braves of the Cheyenne tribe, strongly posted upon Solomon's Fork of the Kansas River, and, after a sharp struggle, put them to flight in great disorder. In this combat Lieutenant Stuart was severely wounded.

At the outbreak of the present war, Lieutenant Stuart resigned his commission, and offered his sword to the cause of the South. It is unnecessary to refer to his exploits since that time. They have been laid before the public. With his rapid rise from a colonelcy to the command of a brigade, and soon after to the rank of a major-general of cavalry, our readers are familiar. Perhaps the most striking and successful of all his expeditions were the Pamunkey raid through McClellan's lines, in which the rebel Captain Latane was lost, and the recent descent upon Catlett's Station, where he gathered up the official correspondence and full dress uniform coat of General Pope. As a cavalry officer, General Stuart combines with his West Point training much of the *elan* of John Morgan and Turner Ashby. Ready for any enterprise, his military motto seems to be that of the French leader—"*De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace*"—and his raid yesterday into Pennsylvania seems to have surpassed his previous acts of audacity.

In the old army Stuart was universally known under the nickname of "Beauty Stuart," as reflecting upon his personal appearance. The lower part of his face is overflowed by a torrent of reddish-brown beard; but, according to rebel authority, his eye is bright and mobile, his movements are full of grace, his address is pleasing, his port lofty, and his horsemanship perfect.

COUNTERFEITING CONFEDERATE NOTES.

In the Confederate Senate, Mr. Clay called up a Senate Bill to punish and repress the importation of notes purporting to be notes of the Confederate States.

Mr. Clay said an immense number of these counterfeit notes had found their way into the bank, and the amount in private circulation could not be computed. Wherever the Federal armies have invaded our country, continued Mr. Clay, these notes have been scattered, and I am told that among those found dead on the battle-field of Manassas, in the late battles, scarcely one was searched in whose pockets were not found these notes. They have already impaired the faith of our people in Tennessee and in North Alabama, in the money obligations of the Government, to such a degree, I am told, that many loyal people refuse to take anything purporting to be a Treasury note. I regard this as one of the most dangerous, it may be one of the most destructive, blows made against our Government. Its aim and tendency is to destroy all faith in the currency of the country, to destroy the credit of the Government itself, and to disable it from raising and supporting armies. I trust gentlemen will give the bill some attention, and if any amendment can be suggested which will provide a surer and speedier punishment for this offence, that it will be proposed.

Mr. Brown opposed the mode of trial as liable to work injustice in many cases. He wanted to know if men were to be executed without any record being made and kept of their trial, and for which the bill made no provision.

Mr. Clark thought no method could be too speedy and summary for the trial and punishment of the unscrupulous Yankee scoundrels.

Mr. Clay said he was willing to have the bill so amended, as to allow the testimony to be recorded, but he did not consider it as a right to the offenders. They had no right to the privileges or immunities of the Constitution of the Confederate States. This Constitution was framed for the protection of the rights of citizens, and wherever accorded to foreigners it was by treaty stipulations, or by the comity of nations. There was no comity between the people of the United States and ourselves, and, furthermore, the offences which they now commit against us are done with the complicity of their Government. There is no parallel and no example to the nefarious, infamous, and atrocious work which is now being carried on to undermine and destroy the credit of the Government. It was charged that, during the last century, the English forged the French assignats, and whenever an English or allied soldier was found with the evidence of guilt upon his person, he was shot without trial; and the English Government did not protest against it, but only against the accusation that the counterfeits were manufactured within the limits of and with the knowledge and connivance of that Power. But here are enemies proclaiming through their press, in their two most populous cities, that they are engaged in counterfeiting the moneyed obligations of our Government, in the open day, and in the hearing of their Government, and with, I understand, its consent. They are endeavouring to assail us in a manner in which they can do us the most injury; for I think we have far more to fear from their frauds than their forces. They are as superior to us in low cunning as they are inferior in courage. Wherever their armies have entered our territory, they have scattered these counterfeits. The correspondents of their newspapers speak in exultant, jubilant strains of the successes of their cunning on the simple credulity of our people. One of their correspondents, I recollect, writing from the army of General Pope, in the county of Culpeper, represents that almost the entire stock-in-trade of the country merchant had been purchased by Yankee soldiers with counterfeit Confederate notes printed in the United States. The newspapers of Lynchburg represent that the Yankee prisoners confined there were all provided with such notes. In the city of Memphis, soldiers arrested for passing these notes had been discharged by the Yankee Provost Marshal, on the ground that there was no Confederate Government, and hence there could be no counterfeiting its money obligations. We are constrained to take some measures for protection against these outrages. There is a limit. I have found in the history of nations no other example of this mode of carrying on war. We must suppress it by severe and summary punishment. I fear, like the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Brown), that but few criminals will be brought to judgment, for I apprehend they will leave these notes behind them when they go into battle, knowing their fate if caught with them. They come among us as felons in the garb of soldiers. They come not only with arms in their hands, but counterfeits in their pockets. I choose to try them as felons, since they have elected to assume that character.

Mr. Maxwell said counterfeiting was not an offence of a military character, and could not be tried by a military court. It was an offence against society and the civil government, and as such must be tried by a civil court.

Mr. Semmes held that the Constitution applied only to our citizens, or the citizens of nations with whom we are at peace, and none other were entitled to its protection.

The bill, after being amended, passed.

COMMODORE WILKES.—The *Belfast News-Letter* furnishes a rather singular explanation of this valiant Federalist's antipathy to England. It says that Wilkes was the commander of the United States' expedition fitted out some years ago, in common with similar expeditions by England and Russia, to discover the North West Passage. The American expedition sailed first, and Sir John Ross, who did not sail for a few months afterwards, met it on its return. Captain Wilkes then gave all the information he had acquired (or all he chose to give) to Sir John Ross, along with a chart of his progress. This chart was carefully preserved by the English navigator; but subsequent experience proved that it was altogether fallacious, as Sir John Ross's ships actually sailed over places which were described as mountains in the chart by Captain Wilkes. Sir John Ross, in his official report to the English Government, naturally enough exposed Wilkes' ignorance. He showed that his conclusions could not be depended upon—that they were, in fact, often nothing else than fictions. Hence, it is added, the bitter antagonism of Wilkes, and his desire to insult the British flag.

THERE has been a series of strikes among the working men of New York for increased wages, in consequence of the depreciation of the paper currency, and the alarming and rapid rise in the price of the necessities of life. The demands of the working men have been acceded to.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1862.

The Armistice Proposed by France.

For a week past it has been generally understood that important propositions were submitted to the acceptance of her Majesty's Government by the Emperor of the French, in reference to American affairs. Reports conflicted as to the exact nature of these propositions, and the attitude which Russia was alleged to have assumed in regard to them. According to our usually well informed Paris correspondent, and the most reliable intelligence we have been able to collect, it may be regarded as definitely ascertained that France has invited England and Russia to join her in proposing to the American belligerents an armistice of six months, during which all active hostilities by land and by sea, and therefore the blockade of the Southern ports, should be suspended. The response of the two Governments is as yet a matter of conjecture. We are inclined to credit the report that Russia has made her concurrence contingent upon that of England. An unconditional acceptance on her part, as the supposed friend of the Northern Government, would, indeed, have a significance which could not attach to the action of either France or England. She is, moreover, the only European Power which can be assumed to have a direct interest in the success of the North, and the restoration of the American Union to its former colossal dimensions. The chief responsibility of the ultimate rejection or adoption of the French proposal, will no doubt rest, as a similar responsibility has long rested, upon this country. The fact that while the Conservative journals of this city a week ago published the intelligence, and made it the theme of severe comments upon the party in power, the Ministerial organs maintained a strict silence—broken only after a Cabinet Council had had the subject under consideration—although in the meanwhile the French press had discussed it under every aspect, and in a more or less authoritative manner, leads to the suspicion that the proposal of France is not palatable to that portion of the Cabinet which has hitherto had the exclusive direction of our American policy. It is believed that the Council of Tuesday did not arrive at any decision; and it would, therefore, be gratuitous to advance either censure or approval on the probable Ministerial action.

Yet, on the adoption or rejection of the invitation of France depends at this moment the question of peace or continued war. The armistice has much to commend itself even in a military point of view to both parties. The South it would relieve of the pressure of the blockade, and of the annoyances which threaten it, with the autumnal rise of the rivers, from the enemy's favourite and most effective engines of warfare. To the North it would afford that breathing time for the drill and reorganization of its raw levies which it so sadly needs, and is not likely to obtain in any other manner, judging by the attitude of the Confederate armies. But the real importance of the armistice to both parties is the certainty that it

would lead to peace. There is a *vis inertia* in the moral as in the material world, and in both it is equally difficult to give an impetus and to stay it when once given. No man believes that had the North foreseen the consequences of its rash undertaking, it would have ventured upon the preposterous attempt of subjugating a determined and united people of eight millions of Anglo-Saxons, occupying nearly half a continent. Having entered upon the undertaking, it finds it as difficult to stop of its own accord, as for a man falling headlong down a precipice. Once stopped by foreign interposition, it is inconceivable that it would renew the attempt in defiance of its dearly-bought experience of the last year and a half. It is how and where to stop that forms the Gordian-knot which the revived peace party of the North has neither the ability to untie nor the power to cut. The war fever, like a flame without fuel, must cool in the six months cessation of hostilities, and the Democrats, immensely strengthened in numbers, would have had time to reap the substantial advantages of their recent victories. New men, not personally committed to the fatal policy of their predecessors, would sit in the seats of power when again it should be proposed to renew the war. The South we leave altogether out of consideration. Engaged purely in a war of self-defence, no obstacle of her creation need be feared in the way of an honourable peace.

Is the armistice likely to be accepted? The South, we believe, unless there were overwhelming military reasons to the contrary, would accept it, if only to testify to the sincerity with which she desires peace. The North, it must be remembered, is not now the North of a year or even six months since. Then the whole people seemed smitten with a common blindness, and every sound of reason was drowned amid the clamour of tumultuous passions. Now we see a return to moderate counsels. States which were among the foremost in their support of the war, condemn the policy of its promoters. The party of war and the party of peace have fairly measured strength, and the only advantage of the former is the actual possession of the Government machinery. In the face of such a reaction as has been manifested in Pennsylvania and in the West, it seems doubtful whether the rebuked President will dare to follow the advice of his more reckless councillors. It is not improbable, even, that he might gladly avail himself of the opportunity as a refuge from difficulties with which he can no longer cope. At worst, he would be forced into compliance by the Democratic opposition, rendered irresistible through this timely assistance from abroad.

Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the good effects of this proposal, supposing it to be made by the three Great Powers named, this much seems beyond all doubt—that it can do no harm. To speak of danger to either of the parties proposing it, from the infuriation of the North, is a greater insult to the dignity of those countries than to the intelligence of the Americans. No sane man in the United States ever thought of adding a war with Europe to that already on their hands, and the recent elections prove that a fair moiety of the people of those States have not gone utterly mad. It is not true that this interference of Europe would reunite the now divided parties in the Northern States, and rekindle the ardour of all for the war. If this were so, the enemies of Southern independence should be the most eager for European action, and its friends should deprecate a step so fraught with fatal consequences to their cause. Everybody knows that the reverse is the truth. In what other manner the proposal of an armistice can have injurious consequences, either to those who propose it or to the belligerents, we cannot imagine. The least that can be said of it is, that it may and probably will do good, and cannot possibly do harm. The time for making the effort is singularly well chosen, and a fearful responsibility towards civilized mankind will rest upon those who shall wantonly reject this most promising opportunity for the pacification of America.

The Resurrection of the Democratic Party in the United States.

Without awaiting the result of the New York election held on the 4th inst., we may justly congratulate our readers upon the change which has evidently come over the spirit of the dreams of the Northern people. Nineteen months ago, a nation of twenty-one millions—seized, as it seemed, by an epidemic madness—rallied around President Lincoln when he proclaimed a crusade against the South. Distinctions of party were forgotten in the common fury, and those who had been the last to become converted to the war policy were, as new converts always are, the loudest and noisiest in their zeal. To-day, a majority of the voters of four large States, the States which might not inaptly be termed the "Border States" of the North, have condemned at the ballot-box the policy of the President of their choice. A party which only a few months ago appeared too insignificant in numbers and too cowardly in spirit to be aught but a cringing vassal to its conquerors, has suddenly sprung into new life, and in the same instant achieved this great triumph over the terrorism and power of patronage of a heretofore-unchecked absolutism. Of all the recent events in America, this resurrection of the Democratic party is the least expected, and by far the most important in its bearings upon the issue of the war. Whether New York has elected a Democratic Governor or no, this much is certain, that the Washington Government no longer commands an undivided allegiance within its own proper jurisdiction; that its policy is henceforth the policy of a party, not of a nation; and that in every step of its administration it has henceforth to contend against an enemy at home, too formidable to be overawed by threats or crushed by acts of violence.

Even the superficial observer of American politics must be impressed by the significance of an open and direct attack upon the men who have swayed the destinies of the country since the inauguration of the war, and who until now were supposed to wield undisputed and undisputable power. Still more significant is it that the attack should be based upon the very measures by which they hoped to perpetuate and consolidate this power, and that it should succeed in the States which have heretofore lent them the most efficient support. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the fact that Pennsylvania, which is chiefly responsible for President Lincoln's election, and the Western States, which have furnished the most and the best soldiers for the Southern crusade, repudiate at the ballot-box the Emancipation Decree, which invokes servile war in aid of the Union, and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, by which the last safeguards of their own liberties were to be the price of conquest over the liberties of others. A superficial observer may argue that the repudiation of these excessive measures does not necessarily imply a repudiation of the war itself, since the repudiators profess equal zeal in its continuance with their defeated opponents. He knows little of American parties who accepts their open professions as evidence of their real intentions. A party fighting under great disadvantages seldom exposes the whole of its designs, or jeopardizes success by undertaking too much at once. The attempted restoration of the Union is the strong point of Mr. Lincoln's Administration; its success and the measures adopted in desperation are its weak points. An adversary naturally selects weak points for his attack. But it is impossible to attack Mr. Lincoln and his advisers without indirectly attacking the war policy itself, so completely are they and that policy identified. To contend that the war must be conducted in accordance with constitutional forms is to contend that the war must end, for the most ingenious sophist could not discover in the Federal compact any warrant for its prosecution. It is because the Constitution did not provide for such an emergency as the secession of nearly half the States, and because, by the admission of his predecessor, the pro-

visions of that instrument rendered coercion of the seceders impossible, that Mr. Lincoln feels himself justified, nay, compelled to disregard it. If the forcible restoration of the seceded States was a duty above and beyond the Constitution, then his violations of the law are defensible *ex necessitate rei*; if the preservation intact of the Constitution was his first and greatest duty, then the war is condemned as unrighteous by the terms of the law itself. Mr. Lincoln, or the most reckless of his defenders, never claimed that the President had a constitutional right to emancipate slaves held under the laws of any State; but he issues his proclamation as the military measure of a Commander-in-chief deemed necessary by the exigencies of the war. *Inter arma silent leges*, is the only defence of the Washington despotism, and in justice to it be it said, that it has never seriously attempted any other. When, therefore, the Democrats or Constitutionals select as the object of their attack the most glaring of these violations of the law, they know full well the inexorable logic of their argument, but they spare the national *amour propre* the grating sound of a disagreeable truth by resorting to a less offensive circumlocution.

To understand more precisely the position of the Democratic party, it is necessary to consider their antecedents and the import of their party tenets. As in other countries, so in America, the name of a party is always more or less arbitrarily chosen, and seldom affords a cue to the principles of those who assume it. Thus, though the name of "Democracy" was often used very effectively with foreign immigrants full of the ideas of 1848, it never had in practice the signification attached to it in Europe. Though knowing on occasion how to flatter the masses, the Democratic party of the United States was democratic only in name. Its fundamental principle was "State Rights;" that is, the jealous defence of the reserved privileges of the several States against the centralizing tendency of the Federal Government. A rigid construction of the Constitution precluding the exercise by the central Government of any powers not specially and distinctly conferred in that instrument, was the characteristic policy of the party, and that which distinguished it from all others, under whatever name. As the North, numerically the stronger, had the most to gain by centralization, while the South saw its only safety in the prerogatives of State sovereignty, the Democrats may not unfairly be designated as *par excellence* the party of the South. It is unnecessary here to enter into the causes of the rupture between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party during the last Presidential canvass in the United States, by which the bulk of the voters of each wing voted for different candidates, thus facilitating the election of Mr. Lincoln. Suffice it that in this rupture the Northern Democrats did not abandon their distinctive party tenets of State Rights and strict construction of the Federal compact; but, on the contrary, claimed a more faithful adherence to these tenets than their Southern namesakes. Their contest with the Black Republicans—of which they bore the brunt unsupported by the South—was marked by extraordinary efforts and by an animosity which could not be said to exist to the same extent between the extreme sectional antagonists. The most astounding phenomenon of the Revolution has been the ease with which these animosities seemed to be forgotten amid the wild enthusiasm which proclaimed war upon Secession, and it was this unexpected and unaccountable defection of its Northern allies which prostrated the best-founded hopes of the South for a peaceful separation. The reappearance of the Democratic banner, with its old mottoes, is the infallible token that this enthusiasm is past, which for a time caused party differences to be forgotten, and that the people of the North are again divided among themselves and arrayed against each other as they were previous to April 10, 1862. Without the consent of the Democrats war was impossible then; without their consent war is equally impossible now. It will enable the reader to form some idea of the numerical strength of this party in

the North, when he is reminded that in the last Presidential election the popular votes in the North stood, in round numbers, 1,500,000, against 1,800,000 for Lincoln. Despite this near approach to equality, the Democrats did not carry a single Northern State. What immense gains they must have made since may be estimated from the fact that, as far as the result of the Fall Elections is ascertained, they have already carried four of the largest and most influential members of the Union.

We do not assert that the success of the Democratic party is equivalent to immediate peace. The North has gone too far to secede or even stop at once of its own accord and unaided from abroad. But this success is the first and most hopeful symptom of a change. It was natural to expect that continued unsuccess in the subjugation of the South would give rise at last to weariness and despair. Somebody must be the first to see that, however desirable the object of the war, it had become unattainable, and to advise resignation where perseverance was henceforth fruitless obstinacy. The few to see this and to so advise would grow into a party; the party, in course of time, would rise into power. This was to be expected in the ordinary course of events, unless we supposed the Americans to be made of different stuff from other human creatures. It has come sooner than we anticipated, and the party of good sense and of soberness has displayed a far greater strength than we should have ventured to predict. The key to the solution of the American problem is now found, but the key must be used ere the problem itself is solved, and the solution must come from abroad. The Democratic party of the United States, however anxious for a termination of the war, will not for many weary months to come be able to achieve its object, or, indeed, to devise for its own guidance a practical plan of peace. But its revival under such promising auspices invites the friendly assistance of foreign Powers, and is a safe guarantee to those Powers that there is such a general return to good sense as to ensure temperate consideration for their advice. The men who have just condemned Mr. Lincoln's policy at the ballot-box may not be strong or wise enough to repair at once the old follies in which they were once accomplices, but they have shown the wisdom and the strength to prevent the commission of new ones.

General Bragg's Kentucky Expedition.

Of the many misconceptions respecting the character and results of belligerent movements in America, not the least curious are those in reference to the late expedition of General Bragg in Kentucky. It has been assumed the adventure was a failure in a military point of view; whereas it was crowned with success; and further, in some quarters it has been thought that the supposed failure proved the absence of Southern feeling in Kentucky; whilst, in fact, the affair, in a remarkable manner, testifies to the loyalty and devotion of the brave Kentuckians, though any proof of their intense Southern sympathy was unnecessary. Lately, the misrepresentations of the Washington Government respecting the war have been more than ever unscrupulous. Military gains would undoubtedly have secured many votes for the Lincolnite party in the elections, but they were not forthcoming. If however, Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, and generals cannot command, they can invent, success. On paper they can win any number of victories, and slaughter, rout, and capture as many millions of Confederates as they think proper. No one, even in the United States, believes the reports of the Federal Government, for the fictions are so monstrous, that they cannot be altogether credited and accepted even by the most credulous. Yet, with a tremendous discount, they get a limited circulation on both sides of the Atlantic. It takes some time to impress upon the public mind that the Government stoops not only to gross exaggeration, but to the concoction and official circulation of falsehoods that

are unadulterated with a particle of truth. Moreover, in Europe, the clumsy forgeries of the North respecting Kentucky have obtained some little currency on account of the attitude of the Border States—an attitude that is, however, natural, politic, and loyal to the Southern cause. It may, we think, be useful if, with the utmost brevity, we recall the main incidents of the late movements in Kentucky, especially as the most cursory survey will enable us to prove incontestably the success of the exploit, and the absurdity of deducing therefrom a want of Southern sentiment among the Kentuckians.

The object of General Bragg was not to conquer Kentucky, nor did he enter that State for the purpose of fighting the Federal army under General Buell. This is apparent from the great disparity of forces at Perryville—a disparity that was not the result of Federal reinforcements. The Cause for Mr. commander brought on the battle of Perryville in order to check the progress of the enemy, which, if unchecked, might have frustrated the purpose of the expedition. We shall not discuss the details of that battle, or be at the trouble of showing the impertinence and mendacity of the Federals in claiming it as a victory. Subsequent events confirm the official report of General Bragg, which will be found in our Notes on American news.

A part of the army of Virginia entered Maryland for supplies, and the army of General Bragg entered Kentucky for the same purpose. No attempt was made to co-operate with the Southern forces in that State, but all the energy of the troops was directed to getting together supplies; and certainly the business done, considering the time engaged in it, was surprisingly large. Before the battle of Perryville the Confederates had collected 4700 wagons loaded with provisions and clothing, 8000 head of cattle, and 1000 mules and horses. Even success can scarcely justify such a venture. If at Perryville the Confederates had not checked, or rather repulsed the enemy, they would have had to abandon their invaluable stores; for unless unmolested, they could not carry off such an amount of luggage; and if they had elected to remain in Kentucky the defence of such a mass of stores would seriously, if not fatally, have crippled their strength. No doubt there is much truth in the Northern assertion that "The Perryville battle was brought on prematurely, and against the orders of General Buell, whose plans for enveloping the whole of Bragg's army were thwarted and his pursuit of the rebels delayed by that circumstance." No doubt, if the Confederates had consulted the convenience of the Federal commander, they would have waited until General Rosecranz had co-operated with him, and so have placed the Confederates, encumbered with baggage, in a difficult and critical position. The army under General Bragg, as soon as the stores were brought together, was an army for convoy, and its business was to avoid fighting, except in case of need. The Confederate commander perceived the state of his enemy, and by a brilliant dash at Perryville, so effectually covered his march that he left the State with his invaluable acquisition of much needed supplies—as much needed, be it observed, in some parts of the North as in the South. We submit that more brilliant success never crowned a military movement. The Southern army went to Kentucky to obtain stores, and they obtained them in prodigious quantities; and they did so in spite of an opposing force vastly superior in numbers being at hand. Although the charge brought against General Buell of treason to the Union is utterly false, we are not surprised at its being preferred. It does seem extraordinary that, with a much larger army, the Federal general should not have been able to prevent the Confederates carrying off their prize. It is amusing to note in what an awkward fix this affair placed the Lincoln Government. Pending the elections in the West, it would not do to confess to any failure, however palpable, and so the Federal defeat at Perryville was called a victory, and the triumphant expedition of General Bragg was called a Confederate disaster. But this would not satisfy the people of Washington and New York, and therefore General Buell, who had

gained such a splendid victory and annihilated the Confederate army, was to be relieved from his command.

The suggestion of Kentucky being cold to the Southern cause is answered by the success of the enterprise. If the Kentuckians had been neutral, or cold, or rather; if they had not been heartily interested in the welfare of the South, General Bragg could not have obtained a title of the stores he conveyed into Tennessee. The Kentuckians have been zealously engaged for a long time past in preparing these stores, and when they were ready General Bragg embraced the first opportunity of removing them. Kentucky has done well for the Confederate States.

With regard to the assertion that General Bragg did not succeed in raising Kentucky, it will be sufficient to remark that Kentucky was acquired most effectively long before General Bragg entered the State. The object of the expedition was stores, not recruits, and if, as the Northern journals state, 5000 Kentuckians joined Bragg's army, it is a very gratifying manifestation of zeal. It must be remembered that the Border States are in a peculiar position. It is impossible for the Confederates to defend the whole of their frontier from invasion, as it is for the North to defend theirs from such exploits as the Pennsylvanian incursion of General Stuart; and which would not have reflected any discredit on Northern generalship and resources, if it had not been performed in the presence of a large Federal army. It is therefore reasonable that the people of the Border States should reserve some of their strength for the defence of their own territory, and in so doing they render an essential military service to the South. No Southerner doubts the Secession sentiment and devoted loyalty of the Kentuckians to the Confederate States; and if there was any doubt of it in the minds of foreigners, it must be removed by considering the circumstances and success of General Bragg's recent expedition.

The Confederate Army.

In our 27th number we published a report of Mr. G. W. Randolph, the Confederate Secretary of War, dated August 12. It is a dignified and instructive State Paper. It is distinguished by the utmost frankness and candour. The good points of the enemy are commented on without reserve, and the faults of the Confederate army, so far from being concealed, or at least excused, are paraded, with a demand for their correction. The Southern Government has nothing to conceal from Europe, or even from the North, except the plans of campaign. It confidently relies on the favour of Heaven and the patriotism of the people. The Confederate States have had a hard fight for national existence; not that they were ever near to being subjugated by the hated foe; but to sever themselves from the dominion of the North needed efforts and sacrifices which have taught the world that in the Confederacy heroism is co-extensive with manhood, and we should be flagrantly unjust not to add, with womanhood. When Mr. Gladstone asserted that President Davis, assisted, of course, by the leading men, had made the South a nation, he gave utterance to a truth of which the full meaning is hardly understood and appreciated. The will of the people must be directed, or it will never achieve or secure national independence. The permanent organization of the Southern army is the most indisputable evidence of the separate nationality of the South. This task, that demanded the statesmanship which combines the genius to devise and the unbending will to execute, was not accomplished without considerable difficulty and opposition.

Mr. Randolph strongly contrasts the condition of the respective armies at the time the Federals entered Virginia. In the South there was no want of zeal and determination. The enthusiasm which had induced the people to separate from a Union that involved their political and social degradation, and the loss of their wealth, had been intensified by the invasion of their country, yet the

latitude allowed from the want of laws calculated to give the Chief Magistrate those controlling powers which are indispensable in the time of war, retarded the discipline of the army, "impaired its efficiency, and rendered it incapable of accomplishing what otherwise might have been achieved." Whilst at a critical juncture the armies of the Confederacy were thus "passing through successive stages of disorganization to dissolution," what were the Federals doing? Mr. Randolph tells us the armies "of the enemy, recruited and reorganized, had reached a high state of efficiency, and were ready at the opening of the campaign to enter upon it, with every guarantee of success that numbers, discipline, complete organization, and perfect equipments could afford." Under such circumstances, the Confederate Secretary of War, so far from being surprised that the Federals gained some successes, is amazed that they were not much more successful. The Army of the Potomac was double in numbers, and in all other respects, "except courage and good cause," superior to the Confederate army. If the Federals had not been amused for months by preparations for taking fortifications which the Southerners never intended to defend, their campaign in Virginia would have been very different to what it was; and if the Confederate States were not a unit, if there had been any "Union sentiment," any traitors in her to betray the weakness of the Southern army, the South would have had to suffer from greater hardships and dangers than those from which she has been delivered.

Such a condition of affairs was intolerable, and the Richmond Government took immediate measures to remedy it. A Conscript Act was recommended to and passed by Congress. The beneficial effects of this enactment were soon manifest. The levies were distributed over the Confederacy in proportion to the inhabitants of each State and county; the organization of the army was more centralized; and there was a regular system of recruiting, which guaranteed that the efficiency of the army would not be impaired by the lapse of time and the loss of life and health incident to warfare. It will be found that President Davis, notwithstanding the urgency of the case, did not in any way exceed his constitutional functions. Notwithstanding the urgency of the case, he would not move without the authority of Congress. The Conscript Act, however, did not escape unfavourable criticism, both in Congress and out of doors. It was passed by a large majority in the Legislature, and a very small minority of the people found any fault with a measure that was at once necessary, moderate, and constitutional. So far from the Confederate Government endeavouring to silence they seemed to court discussion. Governor Brown, of Georgia, addressed a long letter of remonstrance to President Davis, and to which the President replied by an elaborate, temperate, and lucid exposition of the motives that prompted him to propose the act, of the constitutional character of the new law, and of its concord with the most extreme views of State rights; and both letters were given to the press for publication. The staple of Governor Brown's argument was, that the Conscript Act was unnecessary; but a few months proved the fallaciousness of his opinion. "Four months," says Mr. Randolph, "have not elapsed since its passage, and the present condition of the army and of the country sufficiently prove its wisdom. Four months ago our armies were retiring weak and disorganized before the overwhelming force of the enemy, yielding to them the sea-coast, the mines, the manufacturing power, the grain fields, and even entire States of the Confederacy. Now we are advancing with increased numbers, improving organization, renewed courage, and the prestige of victory, upon an enemy defeated, disheartened, and sheltering himself behind defensive works and under cover of his gunboats. A military system which has done so much in so short a time should be cherished and perfected, and its defects speedily corrected." Too much praise cannot be accorded to the firmness of the Government, the wisdom of the Legislature, and the patriotic willing-

ness of the people to submit to a law that imposed new but not galling restrictions on individual action.

Another striking passage in Mr. Randolph's report is the announcement that the War Department had prohibited "the reception of unnaturalized foreigners as substitutes." In the great battle of independence, in the contest for home and country, only citizens are to take part. Foreign mercenaries are not to be employed in repelling the invading hordes of foreign mercenaries. What a marked difference from the conduct of the North. The Federal armies are largely composed of Irish and Germans, and Federal regiments are commanded by officers who know nothing of the English language except the word of command. Whilst the Confederates, numerically inferior, refuse all foreign aid, the Federals are seeking, by false pretences and bribes, to obtain from Europe more supplies of "food for powder and pestilence;" and the Orleans Princes having deserted them in the hour of trial and defeat, they are willing and eager to engage the services of Garibaldi. The difference in the constitution of the armies will go far to explain the neutralization of the numerical superiority of the North.

Mr. Randolph objects to substitution unless the conscript is as serviceable to the public at home as he would be in the field, and he declares that in his opinion, "it is unwise to injure the public service for the benefit of individuals, and therefore no substitution founded merely on considerations of private interests should be tolerated." A rule so rigid as this is unknown in Europe, and is only justified by the exigencies of invasion, and the attempt by a powerful enemy to subjugate the country. The South expects every man to do his duty, not by substitution but *in propria persona*. At such a crisis strength and health, limb and life, as well as property, must be freely ventured in the cause of liberty and independence.

The passages in the report which refer to the supplies of the army cannot fail to gratify the friends of the South. At the commencement of the war the Northern troops were splendidly equipped, whilst the Southern forces constituted the worst equipped armies that ever went forth to battle for national existence. The want of the material of war excited the commiseration, not to say the contempt, of European military critics, who did not understand, and therefore could not appreciate, the indomitable energy of the Southerners that was sure, sooner or later, to overcome every obstacle. We confess that, making every allowance for the united determination, the superior intelligence, and the patriotic devotion of the Southerners, as well as for the indigenous resources of their country, we are amazed at the rapidity with which want has been changed to plenty. In spite of the blockade, arms and ammunition have reached the South from abroad; but the quantities thus obtained are contemptible compared to the vast amount of warlike stores which the Federals have procured from Europe. A much more prolific source of supply has been the frequent captures of Federal arms and ammunition. So great has been the booty, that whilst it has enriched the South, it has impoverished the North, notwithstanding her former abundance, and temporarily crippled her military movements, although the European markets are open to her. Above all, the Confederates, not relying on supplies from abroad or from captures, have established factories for arms and ammunition; and having all the materials, they are engaged in the construction of a navy, which, judging from the past, will, though consisting of fewer ships, form a formidable antagonist to the Federal navy. Amongst the many successful efforts to become independent in all things, is the establishment of the Nitre Bureau. The Confederate Secretary of War says, "A Nitre Bureau has also been organized, and under its able and indefatigable head, Major J. M. St. John, is doing good service. The production of Nitre is already 1000 pounds a day, and there is good reason to think it will reach 3000 pounds a day, and supply our consumption. The Bureau has been directed to turn its attention to the mining of such material as are

required for the army, and will do much to develop their production." Verily, and in a most liberal sense, the Confederates are proving themselves as independent as any nation on earth, and far more independent than the majority of the nations whose independence is justly recognized by the great Powers of Europe.

Mr. Randolph, towards the conclusion of his report, devotes a short paragraph to acknowledging the services of the troops. To some persons it may seem scant praise, but patriotism feels that any commendation for duty done is superfluous. The Confederate Secretary would not represent his gallant countrymen if he gave more than a brief and Spartan-like expression to the feelings inspired by the heroism of the Southern army. The services rendered by the Southern army "are infinitely above all compensation," and the most eloquent eulogy, the most telling expression of gratitude, is all but silent appreciation. Mr. Randolph proposes that officers and men who distinguish themselves in battle shall receive medals, and no one will quarrel with the proposition to confer such meet rewards for valour. No monument will be necessary to record the prowess of the soldiers of the South. The country, redeemed from political thralldom, and saved from the domination of the North, will bear testimony to posterity of the patriotism of the present generation of Southerners, and of the Divine blessing that crowned with success their noble efforts to save their native land from ruin and degradation.

Anonymous Journalism.

We believe that Englishmen in general are well satisfied with the character and condition of the English press; and are little disposed to consider that, in those respects in which it differs from the press of Continental countries, it stands in need of any defence, explanation, or apology. And yet it can hardly be denied that the presumption is against anonymous writing. It would seem, at first sight, that a man's written, like his spoken words, should be his own, and that he should be directly and unmistakably responsible for them. And it lies with an anonymous press to establish the rightfulness and prudence of the contrary rule; first and chiefly, by its conduct, and secondly, on fitting occasion, by argument. Few persons are disposed to deny that the conduct of respectable English journals is such as to justify their claim to conceal the names of their writers; they are not merely less fettered, but as temperate and careful in their criticisms on men, books, and measures, as are the best newspapers in those countries which refuse this privilege to the press. It may be worth while to say a few words in explanation of this fact; to point out briefly why it would be impossible to establish in this country the rule that articles should be signed by their writers; what are the advantages which are derived from the actual practice; and what are the inconveniences which attach to it, and which do not exist where writers append their names to everything they publish.

Firstly, it must be remembered that in England a prejudice is entertained against professional men—lawyers and physicians—who engage in any extra professional pursuits. Now, independently of the fact that many young barristers and doctors maintain themselves by their pens during the dreary years which elapse before they acquire a practice sufficient to occupy their time and defray their expenses, and that to deprive them of such a livelihood would be a cruelty to them and an injury to society—it is the fact that many of the best papers that appear in the magazines and weekly journals are written by these men, who do not write enough to wear out the first freshness of their minds, and whose essays, though perhaps less artistic, are often more valuable than those of the laborious tribe

"Who daily scribble for their daily bread."

These writers, to whom writing is not the business of life, but an assistance in preparing for that business, can only write *sub rosa*. Were their names to be attached to their articles, their professional prospects would be injured by a prejudice no doubt absurd, but too strong to be easily overcome; and therefore the abolition of anonymous writing would deprive them of their bread, and the press of their services. This would be a serious misfortune; a still more serious one would be the immediate silencing of all writers holding official situations, which would deprive the public of several of its most useful instructors. Some journals would be all but extinguished by the sudden enactment of a law similar to that of France and those, too, are perhaps the ablest and most influential of our contemporaries. Official men can only write from behind the veil. It is exacted of them that they shall in no sense be party men; this being the condition of that permanence of the Civil Service which secures for each successive Ministry the support and assistance of a thoroughly trained staff, informed of everything that has passed under the cogni-

zance of their departments up to the last moment (of which the incoming Minister is of course ignorant), completely masters of their business, and headed by some of the most efficient administrative statesmen of the country. If these men appended their signatures to articles reflecting on the policy of the Ministry of the day, it could hardly be expected that their chiefs should tolerate it; if they wrote in defence of the existing Cabinet, they could hardly hope to retain office under the Opposition, when its leaders in their turn succeeded to power. They would be identified with a party, and obliged to go out of office with it. At present their writing for journals not violently opposed to the Government, under certain well-understood limitations, is tolerated; and their contributions are, of course, of the very highest value. It would be difficult to find in the rule of signature any gain which would compensate for the enforced silence of those whose practical knowledge and experience in political business gives to their thoughts a statesmanlike sobriety, and ensures in their suggestions an attention to what is possible and would work well, that are not to be looked for from men whose theories have never been brought to the test of practice—who, in one word, have never been "in harness."

But besides gaining writers who would otherwise be lost to it, the press gains in its general tone and character by the suppression of individual peculiarity, prejudices, and passions, which result from the absence of signatures. The tone and temper of an article is not that of the writer, but that of the paper; and newspapers are never so individual, never so irritable, perverse, and crotchety as the best of writers are apt at times to be. The editor may have crotchets of his own, and occasionally these creep out; but they are kept under control by the traditional opinions and tendencies of his journal, and by a due regard to the interests of the proprietor. To the crotchets of writers he is not likely to be very indulgent; no one who has ever written for newspapers but has complained of the pitiless mutilation of his favourite passages by the editorial pen, and tried in vain to smuggle some darling dogma, some pet paradox, into the columns of some journal, which, having its own set of dogmas and paradoxes made ready to hand, and as firmly established by tradition as the Thirty-nine Articles or the Augsburg Confession by ecclesiastical law, rigorously excludes the heresy, while it mercifully tolerates, employs, and pays the heretic. Again, anonymous articles are of necessity moderate and sober; first, because no two men's passions are exactly alike, and because the editor is pretty sure to moderate the expression of the writer's feelings, while the writer is not very vehement in expressing those of the editor; and secondly, because a gentleman feels that he is bound to write temperately, and be on his guard against personality, when he writes anonymously, and because the tone of the press is given by writers who are gentlemen. Some persons, smarting under well-deserved censures, cry out against anonymous criticisms, as reckless and unfair, and assume, as a matter of course, that men would be more careful what they say if they said it in their own names. We do not doubt that this would be the case with the complainants. But they are so abusive when they sign their abuse, that if they wrote anonymously it is not likely that any respectable organ would insert their lucubrations. And we protest against their right to judge others by themselves. We affirm, without fear of contradiction, that with few exceptions anonymous reviewers are more temperate and more just than the authors who complain of them; that the anonymous writers of political criticism are more moderate than the demagogues who revile them from the platform; and that the least temperate, honest, and gentlemanly language that finds its way into journals of reputation is contained in letters bearing the signature of the writer—for the simple reason that the editor will admit such letters when he would be scandalized at the idea of allowing the same thing to be said in a leading article for which he would himself be answerable, and by which the credit of the newspaper might be affected.

It should never be forgotten that though anonymous writers may be irresponsible, anonymous writing is not. Legally the publisher, morally the editor, is answerable for everything that appears in any periodical. And the character of a respectable journal is generally a better guarantee for the quality of its contents and the truth of its assertions than would be the character of its individual writers. Of the latter, one or two may be deficient in truth, temper, or sense, and might, if they wrote on their own responsibility, be careless as to the veracity of their assertions or the propriety of their language; might, in fact, be reckless of their own reputation. A newspaper never is so. Its reputation is its value; its credit for truthfulness, decency, and moderation of language, is worth to the proprietor so many hundreds or thousands per annum, and to those connected with it, from the highest to the lowest, is a source of honour and influence among their own acquaintance. We believe, therefore, though at first the assertion may seem somewhat paradoxical, that anonymous writing really tends to secure the public against recklessness or untruth, to improve the character of the press, and to enhance its usefulness.

Let us turn for one moment to the little knot of men from whom proceeded the last serious assault that has been made in this country on anonymous journalism—the clique that gives its tone to *Macmillan's Magazine*. No one denies that Messrs. Kingsley, Hughes, and Ludlow are very able men; no one can suspect them of any of the lower and meaner forms of literary dishonesty. But they are among the most reckless, perverse, and untruthful of English writers—too impatient to under-

stand the opponents they insult, and the doctrines they controvert; too prejudiced to be bound by the rules of common sense; and too egotistical to be in any degree controlled by the taste of educated and the convictions of thoughtful men in general; and too violent and hasty in their espousal of any cause which enlists their sympathies; and too eagerly credulous of any statement which suits their views, to be sufficiently careful as to the truth of the assertions they make. In the able and angry article which Mr. Hughes, some months ago, wrote against the use of the anonym, there occurred a signal proof of the insufficiency of signatures as a guarantee for care or veracity. Mr. Hughes gave the lie direct to an anonymous writer in the *Saturday Review* on the subject of Trades-Union crimes. The fact happened to be that the reviewer spoke the truth; that what Mr. Hughes said was not true; and we must leave it for Mr. Hughes to explain how it was possible that he should not have known that it was not true. We have not the least idea who wrote the article impugned. But, unless the insulted writer were a clergyman or a man of exceedingly calm temper, it was plainly fortunate for Mr. Hughes that articles in the *Saturday Review* are anonymous. It would be difficult for a writer so assailed by name to refrain from putting to the proof the "muscular Christianity" of the very estimable gentleman whose temper so far outran his discretion and sense of literary decorum. We are quite sure that had Mr. Hughes' article been anonymous no journal with a character to lose would have dared to insert it.

There is no doubt that professional journalists are in some ways losers by the anonymousness of the press. They cannot make a reputation; they have not, as French journalists have, the opportunity of achieving literary distinction, and carving their way to political power. But they enjoy many compensating advantages. They are enabled to be impartial; to keep aloof from close party ties, and to say what they think on many subjects, instead of being confined to that set of subjects only on which they thoroughly agree with some one influential party or newspaper. For instance, there may be men who on questions of domestic policy are moderate Conservatives; who on European politics are moderate Liberals; who share Mr. Beresford Hope's views on America; and who in religious matters could find no expression for their opinions but in the *Westminster Review*. Now, it would be impossible for such men to say their say on all these subjects in their own names. If our readers do not see the impossibility, it would be difficult to explain it to them; but no man practically acquainted with journalistic work will doubt that in such a case a law obliging signatures would confine a writer to one set of subjects, and silence him on all the rest. Writers would then, like politicians, become mere partisans; they would be absolutely Tories, or Whigs, or Radicals; and such a thing as an independent newspaper would become an impossibility. Therefore, while we wish that there existed journals in which the practice of signature was general, and while we admit that it affords opportunities of distinction and of self-elevation to journalists which are now denied them, and might do something to raise the dignity of the profession, we cannot think that its general adoption in this country is any more desirable than it is likely.

The Lord Mayor's Show.

Few of us deserve success, but we all expect to be successful. Nobody applies the moral of the countless sermons he hears upon the "vanity of human wishes" to himself. All men think all men born to be unlucky but themselves; at least, it is so until youth and early manhood have passed away, and then the most fortunate are the most ready to declare that so far from greatness and fortune being indispensable to happiness, those unknown to fame and those who have "neither riches nor poverty," are the most to be envied. When a barrister receives a call—unless he has been eating his terms merely to qualify himself for one of the numerous appointments that are limited to barristers of ten years' standing quite irrespective of their fitness for office—he has a vision of the Woolsack in the distant future, or at least he feels certain of a puerile judgeship, and pities the unfortunate barrister who gratefully accepts the position of a County-Court judge. When the medical student is walking the hospitals, he looks forward to the time when he shall be one of the famous few to whom the sick and the nervous crowd to tell their sufferings and present their guineas. Or, to come to a case which more immediately concerns this article, we should like to know if a youth was ever apprenticed to a trader carrying on business within the sound of Bow-bells, who did not hope to follow the example of the immortal Whittington, and become Lord Mayor of London? And let us add, by no means an unworthy ambition. We know that my Lord Dundreary, and the unennobled Dundrearies who represent suburban gentility, sneer at civic honours; but the sneer that is prompted by empty-headedness is, to speak algebraically, worth less than nothing. We are ready to maintain against all comers that to be the Chief Magistrate of the first city in the world is an honourable and proud position. The Lord Mayor has changed with the changing times. He no longer has the remotest influence in making or unmaking kings. He is no longer the champion of popular liberty, though he is the representative of that municipal freedom that is the foundation of our liberty. But he still has honours, which are not more barren than such things generally are. He is an *ex officio* member of the

Privy Council. If anything happens to royalty, or peace or war is declared, the Home Secretary forthwith communicates the event to the functionary who is popularly supposed to be the King of the City, because when the Sovereign visits the city he can formally shut the Gates of Temple Bar, though, by the way, he is obliged to open them when the Sovereign demands admission, under the penalty of formally rendering himself liable to be hung, drawn, and quartered. The Lord Mayor has the privilege of feasting her Majesty's Ministers, and all sorts of distinguished people. So great is his influence that if an election for a Member of the City of London occurs, he has an excellent chance of getting into the House should he aspire to Senatorial honours. The Lord Mayor represents English hospitality, and does it in a style that ought to silence foreign critics, who are so ignorant and so daring as to assert that there are better things on earth than turtle soup—we mean the City of London turtle, that is so temptingly fat and green. But we need not trouble ourselves to reply to the Dundreary contempt for the Corporation of the City of London. It is different with respect to the Lord Mayor's Show, or, as genteel journalists designate it, "the procession."

We admit that the show is not practically useful, nor is it exceedingly imposing; but it is an old custom, and we can see no reason why it should be abolished. Is one holiday per annum too much for the good people of London? Is the loss of a few hours' custom to a few shopkeepers not compensated for by the profit they make, or the obligations they confer by the loan of their windows to children and adults, the latter of whom protest against the show, as being childish, and yet view it with more than childish eagerness?

Take it all in all, it is a motley, yet unique show. A few years since an ambitious Lord Mayor engaged the whole of the corps attached to Astley's Amphitheatre to take part in a kind of mask or pageant, in which the extent and character of English commerce was supposed to be portrayed. The affair was a failure, and succeeding Lord Mayors have returned to the old programme such as that of Monday last.

If we had to give Americans an idea of it, and who, so far from having seen the annual show hundreds of times, like the celebrated old dame, renowned in city circles, have not seen it once, we should perhaps partially succeed, if we were to say it resembled, in its incongruity, an election procession in the States. There are countless banners on which appear the arms of the members of corporations past and present. No doubt the ancestors of these gentlemen, like the ancestors of Sydney Smith, if ever they had occasion to use wax, made the impression with their thumbs, from the lack of arms; but, fortunately, in this country money can procure anything under the sun, but happiness. Let a Mr. Smith rise from the position of a shoe black to be a man of wealth, and the College of Heralds will, for a moderate fee, procure him arms and a crest, and for an additional fee, invent a pedigree proving that the founder of his family came over with William the Conqueror. Besides the banners of individuals, are the flags of Companies—of the Civic Guilds, which are no longer necessary to protect trade, but which, in this Conservative country, still flourish. These Companies have their halls, in many instances very handsome buildings, and enjoy revenues which might reasonably excite the envy of the petty potentates of Germany. It is considered rather fashionable to be a fish-monger; the Duke of Cambridge and many distinguished statesmen belong to that guild.

It does not seem out of place that the volunteer force of the city, the worthy successor of the train bands so unkindly laughed at by the author of "John Gilpin," should be present at the show, or that a guard of honour of Royal troops should take part in the inauguration ceremony, but it is exceedingly curious that there should be half-a-dozen "ancient knights mounted on chargers, in full steel armour, with lance, each attended by two esquires mounted, and bearing the battle-axe and mace of the knights." Our only objection to this part of the show is, we are informed the armour is heavy and distresses the ancient knights, who are either amphitheatre actors or privates in the Horse Guards. Mingled with this pomp are the sombre-looking carriages of the Common Councilmen the Aldermen in their carriages, attended by the beadies of their respective wards. The Aldermen are calculated to disappoint the spectators. In the City of London they are not chosen by weight, and instead of realizing the popular conception of "gross fat men," incline to that habit of body which Julius Cæsar thought dangerous. The Sheriffs appear in great state, and are rather in favour with the roughs of the crowd, from their connection with public executions. The Sheriffs witness executions, and if Jack Ketch should refuse to perform the ceremony, they are legally bound to do the disagreeable work themselves. Closely following the Sheriffs comes the late Lord Mayor, in a coach that is too profusely gilt to make the beholder pity his fallen greatness. Last of all appears the hero of the day. In an unwieldy, painted, grotesque vehicle, drawn by six horses, sits the Lord Mayor; opposite to him his Chaplain; and looking out of either window is the Sword Bearer and the Common Crier. There is, it must be confessed, something exceedingly droll about the make-up of the State Carriage and its occupants. His Civic Majesty may sigh for the comfort of the omnibus "knifeboard." The unsouped receive him with shouts of applause, which he acknowledges by exercising the muscles of his neck in a series of bows intended for the shouting crowd, but which appear to be directed to the aforesaid Sword Bearer and Common Crier. All this may be called by gentlemen who wish to be thought

grave, an absurd spectacle; yet if the Right Hon. Baronet, who has so well described the procession and ovation of "Rienzi" would in the same style, and without undue poetical licence, describe the Lord Mayor's Show, it would seem quite as romantic and as historically symbolic. And the author of "Rienzi" might write a telling passage about the spectators. An English holiday crowd is certainly rough, somewhat ragged, but quickwitted and imperturbably good humoured. Besides the street spectators, there are the countless eager, happy faces of children, which fill the windows from Guildhall to Westminster. That sight alone makes the show pleasant, and if the Lord Mayor is not a very ill-natured man, he must feel nearly as much gratification at the pleasure he gives to a multitude of children as he does from entertaining her Majesty's Ministers at the great Civic banquet.

Reviews.

A BOOK ON BUDGETS.*

A real history of the finance of the last twenty years—a work which should enter fully into the plans of successive Ministers, the motives which actuated them, and the opposition they met with; which should discuss their principles, their objects, their results, and the causes of their success or failure—would be the task of half a lifetime, and would occupy many bulky volumes. Its value could hardly be overrated. But probably it is yet too soon for such a history to be written; and in the meantime we have cause to be grateful for the clear and succinct record of facts which Sir Stafford Northcote has given us. Such a record was much wanted, and Sir Stafford Northcote was the man to undertake it. He is the ablest among the rising men of the Conservative party, and has been Secretary of the Treasury. He is free from that bitterness of personal animosity which is too often the characteristic of Mr. Gladstone's leading opponents; and it would be difficult to judge from his book to which party he actually belonged. He is sparing of comment, and still more sparing of censure; being always ready to make full allowance for the difficulties of the situation.

The history of modern English finance begins with the accession to power of Sir Robert Peel in 1842, on the resignation of Lord Melbourne. The warmest friends of that nobleman and his Whig colleagues have been compelled to admit the singular administrative incapacity which distinguishes that party. "All the Talents," in one year of office, very nearly ruined the power and prestige which England had acquired under Mr. Pitt; and in the ten years of almost unbroken Whig rule which were inaugurated by the Reform Bill, the inability of a Cabinet containing some of the most brilliant talent, the widest and most statesmanlike minds, and the most honoured gentlemen of England, to administer affairs in a businesslike, effective, and satisfactory manner was still more remarkable. And in finance their weakness was unparalleled. In a time of profound peace, while they had kept our armaments at a dangerously low level, so that the peril of the country when a quarrel with France was impending in 1840 alarmed all rational and thoughtful men, they had contrived, by reckless improvidence and helpless mismanagement, so to embarrass the finances, that every one of the five last years had produced a heavy deficit; and they had no notion of any vigorous effort to extricate themselves. The following figures show the extent of their incapacity:—

Deficit 1837-38	£1,428,000
" 1838-39	430,000
" 1839-40	1,457,000
" 1840-41	1,851,000
" 1841-42	2,350,000
Total in five years	£7,516,000

Being an average of a million and a half per annum. In 1840, Mr. Baring (now Sir F. Baring) had done his best to repair the revenue by adding 5 per cent. to all the Customs' Duties, except those on corn, and to all the Excise Duties; but the experiment proved a lamentable failure. In 1841 he proposed to try the very opposite course, and attempt by a large reduction of duties to obtain from increased consumption an increase

of revenue. On this budget the Whigs were ejected from office, and Sir Robert Peel succeeded them. In the spring of 1842 he brought forward that budget which has ever since given the tone to our financial policy. He had two things to do; first, to restore the balance between income and expenditure; secondly, to repair the condition of the revenue, which was then most unsatisfactory. The people were heavily burdened, and the Exchequer was inadequately provided. The Whigs had never had the courage to undertake a statesmanlike revision of our financial system as a whole. They had taken off taxes here as the popular clamour dictated, and put them on there as the necessities of the State compelled them. They had contrived to give us not merely a chronic deficit but an inelastic revenue. Sir Robert Peel had to cure the deficit, and restore elasticity to the revenue. And for both purposes he had recourse to that which was and is the most unpopular of all taxes—a direct tax on income. That tax he fixed at 7d. in the pound, or £2 18s. 4d. per cent. With difficulty he extorted the consent of the House, in which he had a large majority, to his scheme; but with the aid of the Income Tax, an increased export duty on coal, and an addition to the excise on Irish spirits, he expected to have a large surplus. He made use of this to reduce a multitude of Customs' Duties, especially those on timber and on coffee, to repeal the export duties on British manufactures; and to reduce the duties on stage coaches. He might have gone further, but that his predecessors had left him the expensive legacy of a war in India and another in China. Since that time, few years have passed in which some such cause of expenditure has not contributed to increase our burdens, and perplex successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Peel only proposed that the Income Tax should endure for three years. By that time he conceived that our finances would have righted themselves, and he should be able to dispense with an instrument which most statesmen strongly condemned, except as a last resort in time of war, and which he himself did not think fit to form a permanent part of our financial machinery. He expected from it £3,770,000 a year: it produced above £5,000,000. But inasmuch as he only received one-half of it in the year—while, by a strange oversight he had expected to receive the whole—and as the Customs and Excise fell short of his estimate, he found himself landed in a formidable deficit.

The next year produced a more favourable result. It paid off the deficit of 1842-3, and left a surplus of £1,400,000 more, which went to strengthen the balances in the Exchequer. The result of the two years, therefore, proved Sir Robert Peel's plan a complete success. In March 1844 a surplus of £2,376,000 was anticipated, and Mr. Goulburn, Sir R. Peel's Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Robert being really the Financial Minister), brought forward his plan for the conversion of the 3½ per cents. to 3¼ per cents. for ten years, and afterwards to 3 per cents.—a measure rendered possible by the fact that Consols had risen from 89 to 99. The operation was entirely successful. By paying off dissentients, the capital of the debt was reduced by £250,000—not a sixpence was added to it—and the annual saving was £625,000 up to 1854, and £1,250,000 afterwards. In this year only £400,000 of taxation was remitted.

In 1845 the Income Tax had expired. Still, as half-a-year's tax was still to be collected, there was a considerable prospective surplus; the surplus of the preceding year having reached £5,000,000. But, as next year the half-year's Income Tax would not fall due, there might probably then be a deficit, especially as it had been found necessary to increase the Navy Estimates by a million. Sir Robert Peel therefore advised the renewal of the Income Tax for three years more, and the repeal or reduction of Customs' Duties to the amount of nearly three millions and a half. The principal items of relief were as follows:—

Modification of Sugar Duties	£1,300,000
Repeal of all Export Duties	118,000
" 430 Customs' Duties	320,000
" duty on Cotton Wool	680,000
" Glass Duty	640,000
" Auction Duty	250,000
	£3,308,000

Some efforts were made, but in vain, to obtain a readjustment of the Income Tax, and the Ministerial budget was passed. The result converted an anticipated surplus of £672,000 into a real surplus of £2,380,000.

Next year the Corn Laws were repealed, the duty on corn reduced to 1s. per quarter, protective duties on manufactures reduced or abandoned, and the imposts on tallow and timber largely reduced. The duty on meat and live animals was abolished, and that on all other

* Twenty Years of Financial Policy; a Summary of the Chief Financial Measures passed between 1842 and 1861, with a Table of Budgets. By Sir STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bart., M.P. for Stamford. (London: Saunders, Otley and Co. 1862.)

agricultural produce greatly reduced. Altogether about a million of revenue was sacrificed. Nevertheless, the budget promised a surplus, and its promise was more than fulfilled, the estimate being £777,000, the result £2,465,000, besides an additional revenue of £300,000 obtained by the equalization of the duties on slave and free sugar.

Before going out of office, as he was speedily forced to do by the Protectionists, Mr. Goulburn summed up the results of four years of administration. His *resume* exhibited the following results:—

Balances in the Exchequer increased by ..	£5,000,000
Average amount of deficiency bills decreased by ..	4,000,000
Capital of the debt decreased by	7,000,000
Annual charge of the debt decreased by ..	1,500,000
New taxes imposed, amounting to	5,624,000
Taxes repealed or reduced, amounting to ..	8,206,000

Thus a relief of above two millions and a half had been given to the taxpayer; the expenditure increased, the debt and its burdens reduced; the efficiency of the public services improved, and the Exchequer strengthened, during a period not more prosperous or peaceful than that in which was accumulated a deficit of seven millions and a half.

The Whigs came in again. They enjoyed a year of financial prosperity, thanks to Sir Robert Peel, and to the vast expenditure created by railway speculation. Then came a commercial crash and the Irish famine. A bad harvest came in with the Whigs, in 1846, and another in 1847; and in the spring of 1848, instead of a surplus, there was a deficiency of nearly a million, besides the eight millions borrowed for the relief of Ireland, and besides the expense of a Kaffir war. For 1848-9 their estimates showed, exclusive of Income Tax, which had expired, a revenue of about forty-six millions, and an expenditure (including that of the Kaffir war) of fifty-four millions and a half, leaving a deficiency of eight and a half millions. Lord John Russell proposed to renew the Income Tax for two years at 1s., and for three more at 7d.; but this was refused by the House, and the Income Tax was renewed, as in 1845, for three years at 7d. An enormous deficit was of course anticipated; but that which actually resulted was only £269,000. The next year, 1849-50, produced a surplus of two millions and a half. In 1850 the Exchequer on bricks was abandoned, and the Stamp Duties were modified; the result being a similar surplus. Three millions were lent out of the Exchequer on mortgage; the repayment to be applied to the extinction of debt. In 1851 the agriculturists were demanding redress, and had been defeated by a narrow majority; and the Income Tax had again expired. The Government proposed the renewal of the Income Tax, the substitution of a house-tax for the oppressive and anti-sanitary Window Tax, the reduction of the duties on coffee, on foreign timber, and on agricultural seeds. They anticipated a surplus of £250,000. Defeated on a non-financial question, Lord John resigned; the Conservatives could not form a Ministry, and he returned to office. The House Tax was reduced, modified, and limited to houses of more than £20 rental. Great efforts were made to improve the structure and alter in some degree the incidence of the Income Tax, but in vain. Its evils and injustice were found to be inherent, and it was renewed without alteration for one year. The result of the year was a surplus of £2,177,000.

The Conservatives came into power early in 1852; and merely proposed a renewal of the Income Tax for another year; which was perforce agreed to. In December of that year Mr. Disraeli introduced his budget for 1853-4, which was rejected by a majority of nineteen. He proposed to reduce the Tea Duty; to divide by half the Hop and Malt Duties; to extend the House Tax to houses of £10 rental, and increase its rate; to renew the Income Tax, extending it to funded property and salaries in Ireland, and to incomes of £100 from industry and of £50 from property, and reducing the rate of taxation on incomes derived from farming, trades, professions, and Government pensions and salaries. The weak points of the budget were the halving of the Malt Duty; which it was affirmed would have done no good to any but the brewers, and the unsatisfactory and illogical treatment of the Income Tax.

Our most recent development of financial policy may be said to date from 1853, when Mr. Gladstone first became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Coalition had a powerful majority; nevertheless, his scheme was mutilated by the compulsory abandonment of the Advertisement Duty, and a proposed system of trade licences. He renewed the Income Tax, extending to all incomes in Ireland, and to all incomes of £100 a year and upwards. It was to be fixed at 7d for two years, 6d for two years more, and then for three years at 5d; and was to expire

in April 1860. Incomes under £150 were to pay 5d. for the whole period. The duties on Irish and Scotch spirits were raised; a succession duty was imposed on real property, which proved very much less productive than Mr. Gladstone hoped; the Soap Duty was repealed; the Assurance Duty reduced; and the debt due from Ireland remitted. Several minor reductions were made in the Inland Revenue Department. Mr. Disraeli's plan for the reduction of the Tea Duties was adopted; the Customs' Duties on 123 articles were swept away, and those on 133 more were reduced. The remissions were above three millions and a half, of which two and a half were to fall on the current year. An attempt to convert a portion of the five hundred millions of Consols and the eight millions South Sea debt into 2½ per cent stock, was frustrated by the course of events.

The next three years were years of war. Their result was an extra expenditure of seventy-six millions, an extra taxation of forty millions, and an increase of debt of forty-one millions, leaving the Exchequer richer by five millions than at the commencement of the war. Sir G. C. Lewis made great efforts to provide a sinking fund for the redemption of the debt incurred during the war, and to pay off the Exchequer-bonds issued by Mr. Gladstone in 1854. But, by the joint assaults of his two predecessors in office he was foiled; the sinking fund was abandoned, the exchequer-bonds were renewed, the Income Tax was reduced to its former amount, and there was a deficiency in April 1858 of a quarter of a million. Soon afterwards the Government were defeated on the Conspiracy Bill, and Lord Derby succeeded them.

Mr. Disraeli found a deficit of nearly four millions; of which three and a half were incurred by obligations to repay the debt of the Russian war. Those obligations were swept away; the debt was allowed to remain unreduced; and to provide for the remaining deficiency, the duties on spirits were equalized in the three kingdoms at the English rate, and a penny stamp imposed on bankers' cheques. The result was a surplus of £800,000; the Income Tax being allowed, according to law, to fall to 5d.

In 1859 it was judged necessary to augment the expenditure by five millions, in presence of a war in Italy, and of a rapid increase of the French navy. An abridgment of the malt credits produced £780,000; the Spanish Government paid in unexpectedly a quarter of a million it had long owed us; the Income Tax was raised to 9d., and the extra 4d. levied in the first half-year; and the financial year 1859-60 closed with a surplus of a million and a half—the last surplus we have seen. It should be remembered that Mr. Gladstone returned to office in 1859, though not until too late to do more than adopt the estimates of his predecessor.

In 1860 he had to announce a policy of his own. He had made a treaty with France which bound him to sacrifice Customs' duties to the amount of £1,737,000 during the year, in return for reductions of duty on English imports into France. Besides the loss to the revenue entailed by the treaty, Mr. Gladstone proposed to sacrifice the Paper Duty, worth £1,300,000 a year, and Customs' Duties worth another million. There were to fall in Long Annuities of above two millions a year; the Income Tax was reimposed at 10d., on such conditions that five quarters' tax—two at 5d. and three at 10d.—were to be levied within the year; while the credits allowed on Malt and Hop Duties were again shortened.

Next year the Paper Duty was repealed, sacrificing within the year £665,000. The Income Tax was fixed for a year at 9d. The war duties on tea and sugar were again renewed. And the result, as announced in 1862, was a deficit of 1,442,000, besides an expenditure of £970,000 on fortifications, provided for by loan.

Thus far we have followed the author, and in endeavouring to present a summary of the contents of this useful work, we have not deemed it necessary to consider the views and opinions of Sir Stafford Northcote. The following table exhibits concisely the history of the Exchequer from 1842 to 1861; but we must warn our readers not to arrive at hasty conclusions from the appended figures. Causes it is impossible to foresee, and contingencies so remote that it would be absurd to provide for them, frequently falsify the estimates of the Budget. The business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by the House of Commons, whether the amount be extravagantly large or economically small, and if he does so without straining the resources or diminishing the trade of the country—if his measures do not impede commercial and in-

dustrial progress—he is a safe and efficient Finance Minister:—

Financial Year.	Chancellor of Exchequer.	Estimated Revenue.	Estimated Expenditure.	Real Revenue.	Real Expenditure.	Surplus.	Deficit.	Remarks.
1842-3	Mr. Goulburn	£51,450,000	£50,819,000	£48,745,460	£51,167,236	2,095,498	2,421,776	Income Tax laid on.
1843-4	Ditto	50,150,000	49,387,645	52,885,125	50,737,697	2,095,498	2,421,776	Debt paid, not estimated for.
1844-5	Ditto	51,390,000	48,643,170	54,417,615	48,075,179	63,424,436	6,347,257	Conversion of 3½ Stock.
1845-6	Ditto	50,692,000	49,692,000	52,009,324	49,628,724	2,380,600	2,380,600	Customs' duties remitted. Irish distress.
1846-7	Mr. Goulburn, Sir C. Wood.	51,650,000	50,873,000	54,473,762	51,708,571	2,765,191	2,765,191	Irish distress and Kaffir war.
1847-8	Sir C. Wood	52,515,000	52,183,077	53,082,757	55,175,042	3,092,285	3,092,285	
1848-9	Ditto	52,130,000	54,161,256	53,017,733	53,287,111	2,538,502	2,538,502	
1849-50	Ditto	52,262,000	52,916,696	52,916,696	50,378,417	2,538,502	2,538,502	
1850-1	Ditto	51,530,000	50,763,582	53,057,053	49,882,322	3,174,731	3,174,731	
1851-2	Ditto	51,172,000	50,247,171	52,468,319	50,291,323	2,176,966	2,176,966	
1852-3	Mr. Disraeli	51,625,000	51,163,000	52,243,218	50,782,476	2,460,742	2,460,742	
1853-4	Mr. Gladstone	52,578,000	53,083,000	54,774,905	51,250,120	3,524,785	3,524,785	
1854-5	Ditto	63,506,000	63,039,000	59,406,154	65,692,962	6,196,808	6,196,808	
1855-6	Sir G. C. Lewis	67,139,000	86,034,000	65,704,491	88,428,345	22,723,854	22,723,854	
1856-7	Ditto	71,740,000	81,113,000	72,334,062	88,428,345	3,274,605	3,274,605	
1857-8	Ditto	66,365,000	65,474,000	67,881,513	70,378,839	247,346	247,346	
1858-9	Mr. Disraeli	63,920,000	63,610,000	65,477,284	64,663,882	813,402	813,402	
1859-60	Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone.	69,460,000	69,207,000	71,089,669	69,502,289	1,587,380	1,587,380	
1860-1	Mr. Gladstone	72,248,000	73,534,000	70,283,674	72,822,059	2,538,385	2,538,385	
1861-2	Ditto	70,283,000	69,875,000	69,674,479	72,086,485	2,412,006	2,412,006	Collection of revenue expenses first introduced. 2½ millions debt due not redeemed. Surplus due to non-repayment of debt. Re-construction of navy.

SHORT NOTICES.

English Women of Letters. By JULIA KAVANAGH (Hurst and Blackett).

It is a very trite observation, that Queen Elizabeth was a loveable sovereign and an unamiable woman; and, perhaps, the habit of ruling destroyed the private graces of womanhood. We confess to the old-fashioned opinion that the proper sphere for woman's work, unless under exceptional circumstances, is home. There she excels and is without a rival. Her influence, too, upon the world is greater when exercised in the name of wife or mother than it is under other circumstances. We do not regret there have been English Women of Letters, and we are duly sensible of the value of the contributions ladies now living have made to our stores of literature, but we really wish the private histories of literary ladies were kept from the public. Such biographies seem to give rise to prejudices it is difficult to overcome. It appears to us that a woman who embraces a public career, either consciously or unconsciously, makes a sacrifice nearly equal to that of taking the veil. No one can get up from the perusal of "English Women of Letters" without to some extent endorsing our sentiments.

The Science of Memory Simplified and Explained. By J. H. BACON. (Bateman.)

Practice is the simplest and only method of improving the memory. Most boys get their chief exercise in learning Latin and Greek. Cobbett improved his memory by teaching himself French. Some persons attain the same object by mathematical studies, and others by the constant exercise of the faculty of observation. The inventors of systems of artificial memory suggest a somewhat different mode. They bid their disciples recollect dates and facts by associating them with the furniture of a room or letters. Instead of one, two things have to be remembered—the arbitrary sign, and what the sign stands for. With “artificial systems” the pupil will get the minimum of benefit for the maximum of labour; from the ordinary and natural plans he may obtain substantial advantages. If we make a boy procession in grammar, we strengthen his memory, impress upon him the first principles of philology, and instruct him in the elements of logic. The lad who rides Mr. Bacon's hobby-horse gets exercise, but he makes no progress.

Our Feathered Families: a Popular and Poetical Description of the Birds of Song, and their Congeners, which are found in Great Britain. With Practical Hints for the Breeding, Rearing, and General Management of Song-Birds in Confinement. By R. G. ADAMS (Hogg and Sons.)

We are much obliged to Mr. Adams for a book about the history, peculiarities, and treatment of the feathered tribes; and especially of the families comprised under the title of “Birds of Song.” Mr. Adams gives a very complete account of our “home pets,” as also of those with which the general public is unfamiliar. As a pleasing gift-book for the young, and a useful guide for the amateur naturalist, we can confidently commend this work to our readers.

THE SOUTHERN TROOPS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The subjoined Northern account of the affair is taken from the *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, of October 10:—

The following letter was written by the Honorable A. K. McClure, of Chambersburg, Franklin county, to a friend in Philadelphia, who has furnished it for publication:—

CHAMBERSBURG, October, 1862.

My Dear Friend,—I have had a taste of Rebel rule; and, although not so bad as it might have been, my rather moderate love of adventure would not invite a repetition of it. I reached here on Friday evening to fill several political appointments in the county; and when I got off the cars the telegraphic operator called me aside, and informed me that he had a report from Greencastle, of the rebels entering Mercersburg.

We agreed that it was preposterous, and thought it best not to make the report public and alarm our people needlessly. I supposed that a few cavalry had crossed the Potomac to forage somewhere on the route leading to Mercersburg, but never, for a moment, credited their advent into that place. I came home, and after tea returned to the telegraph office to ascertain whether the rebels had been over the Potomac at any point, and I was there met by two reliable men who had narrowly escaped from the rebel cavalry seven miles west of that place. The telegraph wire had also been cut west, and it was then manifest that we had but an hour to prepare for our new and novel visitors.

Our people were confounded with astonishment at the brilliant audacity of the rebels penetrating twenty miles in General McClellan's rear; but however reckless or well-devised on their part, the fact and the rebels were both staring our people in the face. The rain was pouring down in torrents, and in a little time citizens were seen running to and fro, with their muskets; but there was no organization, and no time to effect one. Colonel Kennedy attempted to improvise mounted pickets for the several roads on which they might enter, but he had scarcely got his forces mounted until the clattering of hoofs was heard on the western pike, and in a few minutes the rebels advance was in the centre of the town. They stated that they bore a flag of truce, and wished to be taken to the commandant of the post.

I had just got word of the movement to Governor Curtin and General Brooks at Hagerstown, when I was sent for to meet the distinguished strangers. A hasty message to Hagerstown and Harrisburg, stating that the town was about to be surrendered, closed telegraphic communication, and Mr. Gilmore, the operator, prepared at once for the advent of his successors, and struck out along the line toward Harrisburg with his instrument. I went up town to meet the flag of truce, and found a clever-looking “butternut,” dripping wet, without any mark of rank, bearing a dirty white cloth on a little stick. He politely stated that he sought the commander or authorities of the town, and in the name of the general commanding the Confederate forces, he demanded the surrender of the village. He refused to give his name, or the name of the general commanding, and he could not state under what terms they would accept a surrender. As I had no command, other than the scattered and bewildered home guards—all brave enough, but entirely without drill or organization—and about 300 wounded men in the hospitals, I acted with the citizens as one of them; and it did not require a protracted council to determine that we could not successfully resist cavalry and artillery. So we concluded that the venerable village had to be consigned over to rebel keeping. We had been kindly allowed thirty minutes to decide, at the end of which time, we were informed, rebel artillery would demand submission in rather unpleasant tones. Colonel T. B. Kennedy (colonel by political brevet, like myself) Judge Kimmell, provost-marshal, and your humble servant, mounted three stray horses, and fled in with the rebel escort, amidst a thunder of cheers for the Union, and groans for the rebels, to

meet we did not know whom, and to go we did not know where. Without umbrellas or overcoats, we had the full benefit of a drenching rain, and I must admit that we were treated with the utmost courtesy by our new associates. They conversed freely, and without manifesting any degree of bravado.

After travelling a mile westward we were brought to a halt by a squad of mounted men, and informed that General Hampton was one of the party, to whom we should address ourselves. It was so dark that I could not distinguish him from any of his men. Upon being informed that we were a committee of citizens, and that there was no organized force in the town, and no military commander at the post, he stated, in a respectful and soldier-like manner, that he commanded the advance of the Confederate troops—that he knew resistance would be vain, and he wished the citizens to be fully advised of his purpose, so as to avoid needless loss of life and wanton destruction of property. He said he had been fired upon at Mercersburg and Campbelltown, and had great difficulty in restraining his troops. He assured us that he would scrupulously protect citizens—would allow no soldiers to enter public or private houses, unless under command of an officer upon legitimate business—that he would take such private property as he needed for his Government, or troops, but that he would do so by men under officers who would allow no wanton destruction, and who would give receipts for the same, if desired, so that claims might be made therefor, against the United States' Government. All property belonging to, or used by the United States, he stated, he would use or destroy at his pleasure, and the wounded in the hospitals would be paroled.

Being a United States' officer myself, I naturally felt some anxiety to know what my fate would be if he discovered me, and I modestly suggested that there might be some United States' officers in the town, in charge of wounded, stores, or of recruiting offices, and asked what disposition would be made of them? He answered that he would parole them, unless he should have special reasons for not doing so, and he instructed us that none such should be notified by us to leave town. Here I was in an interesting situation. If I remained, there might, in General Hampton's opinion, be “special reasons” for not paroling me, and the fact that he had several citizens of Mercersburg with him as prisoners, did not diminish my apprehensions. If I should leave, as I had ample opportunity afterwards to do, I might be held as violating my own agreement, and to what extent my family and property might suffer in consequence, conjecture had a very wide range. With sixty acres of corn in shock, and three barns full of grain, excellent farm and saddle horses, and a number of best-blooded cattle, the question of property was worthy of a thought. I resolved to stay, as I felt so bound by the terms of surrender, and take my chance of discovery and parole.

The committee went through the form of a grave but brief consultation, somewhat expedited, perhaps, by the rain; and we then solemnly and formally surrendered the town upon the terms proposed. True, the stipulations were but verbal, and but one side able to enforce them; but the time, the weather, the place, and our surroundings generally, were not favourable to a treaty in form, and history must therefore be without it. We asked permission to go a little in advance of his forces to prepare our people for the sudden transition from the Stars and Stripes to the Stars and Bars. General Hampton permitted my associates to do so, but detained me to pilot his advance guard at once to the telegraph office. I performed the duty assigned me with no great compunctions, as I had seen Mr. Gilmore, the operator, begin to “fix up” for them fully an hour before, and the rebel that outwits him must make a very early start. Messrs. Kennedy and Kimmell proceeded to town to get the people to retire peaceably, and prevent any provoking demonstrations; and so the rebel rule began in Chambersburg. They marched in very orderly, and most of their force started out different roads to procure horses, forage, and provisions.

I started in advance with them for my house, but not in time to save the horses. I confidently expected to be overrun by them, and to find the place one scene of desolation in the morning. I resolved, however, that things should be done soberly, if possible, and I had just time to destroy all the liquors about the house. As their pickets were all around me, I could not get it off. A barrel of best old rye, which Senator Finney sent me to prove the superiority of the Crawford county article over that of Franklin, was quietly rolled out of a cellar side-door, and a good-sized hole bored into it. A keg of Oberholtzer's best, sent me several years ago, but never tapped, followed Finney's testimonial to Crawford county distillation; and a couple cases of Presbury's best Girard House importation had the necks of the bottles taken off summarily, and the contents given to the angry storm. I finished just in time, for they were soon out upon me in force, and every horse in the barn—ten in all—was promptly equipped and mounted by a rebel cavalryman. They passed on towards Shippensburg, leaving a picket force on the road.

In an hour they returned with all the horses they could find, and dismounted to spend the night on the turnpike in front of my door. It was now midnight, and I sat on the porch observing their movements. They had my best corn-field beside them, and their horses fared well. In a little while one entered the yard, came up to me, and, after a profound bow politely asked for a few coals to start a fire. I supplied him, and informed him as blandly as possible where he would find wood conveniently, as I had dim visions of camp fires made of my palings. I was thanked in return, and the mild-mannered villain proceeded at once to strip the fence and kindle fires. Soon after, a squad came and asked permission to get some water. I piloted them to the pump, and again received a profusion of thanks.

Communication having thus been opened between us, squads followed each other closely for water, but each called and asked permission before getting it, and promptly left the yard. I was somewhat bewildered at this uniform courtesy, and supposed it but a prelude to a general movement upon everything eatable in the morning. It was not a grateful reflection that my beautiful mountain trout, from twelve to twenty inches long, sporting in the spring, would probably grace the rebel breakfast-table; that the blooded calves in the yard beside them would most likely go with the trout; and the dwarf pears had, I felt assured, abundant promise of early relief from their golden burdens.

About 1 o'clock half a dozen officers came to the door and asked to have some coffee made for them, offering to pay liberally for it in Confederate scrip. After concluding a treaty with them on behalf of the coloured servants, coffee was promised them, and they then asked for a little bread with it. They were wet and shivering, and seeing a bright open wood fire in the library, they asked permission to enter and warm themselves until their coffee should be ready, assuring me that under no circumstances should anything in the house be disturbed by their men. I had no alternative but to accept them

as my guests until it might please them to depart, and I did so, with as good grace as possible.

Once seated around the fire, all reserve seemed to be forgotten on their part, and they opened a general conversation on politics, the war, the different battles, the merits of generals in both armies, &c. They spoke with entire freedom upon every subject but their movement into Chambersburg. Most of them were men of more than ordinary intelligence and culture, and their demeanour was in all respects eminently courteous. I took a cup of coffee with them, and have seldom seen anything more keenly relished. They said they had not tasted coffee for weeks before, and then they had paid from \$6 to \$10 per pound for it. When they were through they asked whether there was any coffee left, and finding that there was some, they proposed to bring some more officers and a few privates who were prostrated by exposure to get what was left. They were, of course, as welcome as those present, and on they came, in squads of five or more, until every grain of browned coffee was exhausted. They then asked for tea, and that was served to some twenty more.

In the meantime, a subordinate officer had begged of me a little bread for himself and a few men, and was supplied in the kitchen. He was followed by others in turn, until nearly 100 had been supplied with something to eat or drink. All, however, politely asked permission to enter the house, and behaved with entire propriety. They did not make a single rude or profane remark, even to the servants. In the meantime, the officers who had first entered the house had filled their pipes from the box of Killickinick on the mantle—after being assured that smoking was not offensive—and we had another hour of free talk on matters generally. When told that I was a decided Republican, they thanked me for being candid; but when, in reply to their inquiries, I told them that I cordially sustained the President's emancipation proclamation, they betrayed a little nervousness, but did not for a moment forget their propriety. They admitted it to be the most serious danger that has yet threatened them, but they were all hopeful that it would not be sustained in the North with sufficient unanimity to enforce it.

Their conversation on this point bore a striking similarity to the speeches of Frank Hughes and Charles J. Biddle; and had you heard them converse, without seeing them, you would have supposed that I was having a friendly confab with a little knot of Pennsylvania Breckinridge politicians. Of the two, I am sure, you would have respected the rebels the most; for they are open foes, and seal their convictions with their lives, and they openly avow their greater respect for open, unqualified supporters of the war over those who oppose every war measure, profess fraternal sympathy with the South, and yet say they are in favour of preserving the Union. They all declared themselves heartily sick of the war, but determined never to be reunited with the North.

At 4 o'clock in the morning the welcome blast of the bugle was heard, and they rose hurriedly to depart. Thanking me for the hospitality they had received, we parted, mutually expressing the hope that should we ever meet again it would be under more pleasant circumstances. In a few minutes they were mounted and moved into Chambersburg. About 7 o'clock I went into town, and found that the first brigade, under General Hampton, had gone towards Gettysburg. General Stuart sat on his horse in the centre of the town, surrounded by his staff, and his command was coming in from the country in large squads, leading their old horses and riding the new ones they had found in the stables hereabouts. General Stuart is of medium size, has a keen eye, and wears immense sandy whiskers and moustache. His demeanour to our people was that of a humane soldier. In several instances his men commenced to take private property from stores, but they were arrested by General Stuart's provost guard. In a single instance only that I have heard of did they enter a store by intimidating the proprietor. All our shops and stores were closed, and, with a few exceptions, were not disturbed.

There were considerable Government stores here; some 200 pairs of shoes, a few boxes of clothing, and a large quantity of ammunition captured recently from General Longstreet. It was stored in the warehouse of Wunderlich and Neale. About 11 o'clock their rear-guard was ready to leave, and they notified the citizens residing near the warehouses to remove their families, as they were going to burn all public property. The railroad station-house, machine shops, round-house, and the warehouses filled with ammunition were then fired, and the last of the rebels fled the town. In a little time a terrible explosion told that the flames had reached the powder, and for hours shells were exploding with great rapidity. The fire companies came out as soon as the rebels left, but could not save any of the buildings fired because of the shells. They saved all others, however.

So ended a day of rebel rule in Chambersburg. They took some 800 horses from our people, and destroyed, perhaps, \$100,000 worth of property for the Cumberland Valley Railroad Company, probably \$5000 for Wunderlich and Neale, and \$150,000 for the Government. Our people generally feel that, bad as they are, they are not so bad as they might be. I presume that the cavalry we had with us are the flower of the rebel army. They are made up mainly of young men in Virginia, who owned fine horses, and have had considerable culture. I should not like to risk a similar experiment with their infantry. I was among them all the time here, and was expecting every minute to be called upon to report to General Stuart; but they did not seem to have time to look after prisoners, and I luckily escaped. But from the fact that I cannot find a horse about the barn, and that my fence is stripped of paling to remind me of the reality of the matter, it would seem like a dream. It was so unexpected—so soon over—that our people had hardly time to appreciate it. * * *

If they should recross below Harper's Ferry, they will owe their escape to the stupidity or want of energy of our military leaders, for they were advised in due season of the rebel route.

Hoping that I shall never again be called upon to entertain a circle of rebels around my fireside, believe me,

Truly thine,

A. K. MCCLURE.

The same journal also gives:—

THE CONFEDERATES AT CHAMBERSBURG BANK.

Mr. Ascher Smith, the cashier of the Chambersburg Bank, was in Chambersburg at the time the rebels entered the town, and has furnished the following particulars regarding occurrences that came under his personal observation during the occupancy of the town by them. Mr. Smith was in the bank about 6 o'clock on the evening of October 10, attending to some business connected with the institution, and in company with two of the bank clerks.

He at first thought about packing up and making his exit with his family from the town. He had proceeded to the balcony of the bank in company with the two clerks, and

had scarcely arrived there before about 1600 cavalry occupied the streets, filling them completely.

Shortly afterwards, an officer of very fine appearance and splendidly dressed, came up and asked him if he was connected with the bank. He stated he was the cashier. He was then asked if the gentlemen with him were also connected with the institution (alluding to the two clerks). He replied in the affirmative. The officer, whose manner throughout was very polite and considerate, stated that it would be necessary for him to examine the bank, and immediately stationed guards around it.

On entering the institution, accompanied by a guard, and the cashier, and the clerks, he asked if any valuables were deposited there. Mr. Smith said there had been, but hearing the rebels were in the neighbourhood, they had all been removed from the town. The officer then asked Mr. Smith if he knew who he was; on being replied in the negative, he said, "I am Colonel Butler, of South Carolina. I am instructed to make an examination of the bank, and report to General Stuart my success." The guard placed over the bank were all South Carolina troops, belonging to the Hampton Legion. They were all well dressed, and generally speaking, fine-looking men. Shortly afterwards Colonel Butler said, "I understood before coming that the money had all been removed, but I hear there are some Government securities still in the bank." He then asked for the keys, which were reluctantly delivered, and the examination proceeded with. Mr. Smith informed him there were no Government securities, and the examination made was of a very slight character. All the doors were opened, and Colonel Butler merely looked in, without making a very minute search.

In one portion of the bank about \$200 in specie was discovered, which the Colonel passed by, remarking that he would not disturb it, and that he had more than that in his possession at the time. During the conversation that ensued, and throughout which the rebel colonel was very affable and polite, he asked Mr. Smith if he was married. Mr. Smith said he was, and intimated that his family was close at hand. Colonel Butler told him that his family should not be harmed, and desired him to quiet the fears of any citizens he met with, and to report any misconduct of the troops under his command. After some further conversation the colonel left the bank.

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE PROPOSITION FOR AN ARMISTICE.

The Morning Herald, November 5.

"The Government of this country," says the Duke of Somerset, "would be only too glad if they could see an opportunity of assisting to put an end to the American war." We believe that this has for some time past been true of a portion of the Cabinet; we hope that his grace does not speak without warranty in affirming it now to be true of their hitherto dissentient colleagues. If so we feel assured that the nation will be content to waive inquiry into the reasons which have so long induced them to resist all attempts to arrange a joint action for that purpose, and to accept their late repentance in full satisfaction of its demands. It is absurd to tell us that no such attempts have been made. It is well known that France has all along been desirous to interpose her good offices; and that, if her desire has not been formally communicated to our Government, it has been because they have taken care that such a communication should not be made. But we have reason to believe that this faint shadow of an excuse is about to vanish. The Emperor of the French either has made, or is on the point of making, a proposal to Her Majesty's Government that France, England, and Russia shall jointly recommend to the belligerents a suspension of hostilities. Such a suspension, of course, means a negotiation for peace, and a negotiation for peace under such auspices as must tend to bring it to a speedy and successful conclusion. It rests entirely with the Government of Great Britain to say whether such an effort shall be made to deliver Lancashire from starvation, the North from bankruptcy and tyranny, the South from desolation and misery, and the world from a war which is as much a scandal to humanity as a scourge to America. The guilt, the madness of a refusal would be so obvious that we will not believe, until positively assured of it, that the present Ministry, irrational and inconsistent as their policy has hitherto been, will persevere in the fatal folly which has already entailed so much suffering on their innocent countrymen. If they should so persevere—if the obstinacy of Lord Russell should once more override the judgment of his wisest colleagues—if the Radical section of the Cabinet should still prevail against the voice of humanity and conscience, and against the interests of England, then on the Ministers, and on them alone, will rest the awful responsibility of the starvation of Lancashire, and it may be of the final ruin of the most important manufacturing industry of England. Already, on Mr. Cobden's own showing, a dishonourable policy is costing us from fifteen to twenty millions a year; it is starving, degrading, demoralizing half a million of honest, intelligent, industrious labourers, of whom we have much reason to be proud. It is to be believed that, when an opportunity offers of terminating this mischief and misery by the cheap sacrifice of the empty name and pretentious nonsense of "non-intervention," our Ministry will persist in a course which the opinion of America ascribes to cowardice, and which that of Europe stigmatises as imbecility.]

It may be said that, even if an armistice should be proposed by the Three Powers, it will not be accepted by the belligerents. Even were that the case nothing would be lost by making the attempt. It is absurd to say that the Government of the United States might make the proposal a *casus belli*. Even Mr. Seward and the rabble of ignorant Abolitionists who now seem to direct his policy are not silly enough to conceive that such a proposition affords them any ground of complaint, or could be otherwise resented than by an insolent answer; nor can they be mad enough to think of quarrelling with Three Powers any one of which could cope with them on equal terms even if they had no other enemy. War with the North is, then, not one whit more likely after the proposal has been made than it is to-day; nay, it is far less likely, inasmuch as the joint action would unite the mediating Powers in their American policy, and prevent the Washington Cabinet from entertaining the idea of getting up a quarrel with England singly. Nor is war—so long as it be not the result of any impatience, unfairness, or error on our part—more alarming or more to be deprecated than the present peace. It would relieve us at once; and ultimately, as compelling a speedy peace, it would be a gain to America. But the North would not follow up its rejection of the offer of the European Powers by a declaration of war; while that offer

would put us thoroughly in the right, and give us a moral vantage-ground for any further action that might be deemed advisable. Again it is by no means unlikely that the belligerents might consent to an armistice. The Confederates would almost certainly do so. They would gain time to render their defences more efficient. They would prevent the North from availing itself of its naval superiority during the season when the rivers are full, and when its gunboats can co-operate with armies, which without such co-operation are invariably beaten. They would, moreover, incur a heavy moral loss by refusing; and though the people—proud, hot-headed, and sensitive—would, perhaps, care little about losing the good opinion of Europe, the able and prudent statesmen at the head of affairs are wiser and cooler than their countrymen. The South, then, even if she did not desire an armistice for her own sake, would accept it in order to entitle herself to the goodwill and good offices of those who propose it. The North might prove less tractable. The reasons which prove it an advantage to the Confederates, who stand on the defensive, would of course lead the invaders to deprecate it. But their army is in process of reconstruction; their finances are in disorder; their government is insecure, and possesses neither the confidence of the people nor its own. The Democrats are gaining ground; they are said to have carried a majority of the elections in the Keystone State; they have carried Ohio and Indiana; they are almost certain of Illinois, and our correspondent "Manhattan" evidently believes that they will carry New York. If these five States should declare themselves against Mr. Lincoln, the prosecution of the war would become, for his Government, an impossibility, and it is not improbable that he may choose to strike out a new policy before the opposition has time to complete its arrangements for impeding that which he has hitherto pursued. Moreover, resistance to the combined request of Europe would appear, to all prudent men, a doubtful and hazardous obstinacy; the fact that Russia, the old ally of the Union appears as one of the intervening Powers would go far to disarm American jealousy of France and England, and it is not impossible that the armistice might be as popular as it would be politic. Therefore we do not deem its acceptance by both belligerents an impossibility.

Of course the mere acceptance of an armistice would not bind either party to anything further. It is probable that some, at least, of the Southern ports would be opened and a certain amount of cotton would be released and find its way to England—enough, probably, to keep us going until the question of peace or war was finally settled. No hostile operations could be undertaken, and probably some check would be imposed on the infamous brutalities of the scoundrel Butler. In other respects matters would, we suppose, remain *in statu quo*. But the armistice would neither be proposed nor accepted save in the hope that it would, and in the intention that it should, lead to peace. Negotiations would be commenced, possibly under the auspices of the intervening Powers, perhaps independently; and, if undertaken with an honest desire on the part of the aggressor to come to terms, it is not likely that the settlement would be difficult. It is probable that the North would, under such circumstances, obtain a better frontier than it would ever extort by war. The South would never give up Maryland to the force of the enemy; she might be induced to submit the destiny of that State to European arbitration; while North-Western Virginia and Northern Missouri—which under a peace settled in America must probably share the fate of the larger portions of those States which are intensely Southern—might by European diplomatists, careless of the forms of American law and the doctrine of State unity, be given to the country with which they are naturally allied. Peace, and peace on fair terms, may be probably secured by the course which is now advised by the French Government. If the English Ministry stand in the way of so excellent a result they will incur, as they will assuredly deserve, the censure of history, the condemnation of posterity, the scorn of foreign Powers, and the anger, deep and bitter, of their wronged and wretched countrymen.

The Times, November 10

The Paris journal *La Patrie* has, for some days, affected to be exclusively informed upon a subject on which there is much less mystery than our contemporary would have us believe. *La Patrie*, as will be seen from the extract which appeared in our second addition of yesterday, asserts that an attempt at mediation in America has been projected by France and Russia, and has been submitted to England, with a view to the joint action of three Powers. This journal further states that this proposition, "emanating from France, and immediately accepted by Russia," contemplates an armistice for six months, and the suspension of all operations by sea or land during this period. Negotiations are, of course, to be in the meantime set on foot to terminate the war. "Yet," says *La Patrie*, "if we are to credit the still somewhat vague reports in circulation, the proposition of France and Russia has not met with a favourable reception at London." The French public is, however, informed that a Cabinet Council was to be held on Tuesday (yesterday), and at this Council the Palmerston Cabinet would adopt its resolution. Thus it is sought to create an impression throughout Europe and America that France and Russia are most anxious to terminate the civil war in America, and see their way to the accomplishment of that good work, but that England stands aloof, and is about either churlishly to refuse, or very reluctantly to afford a sluggish co-operation.

There is in the statement of our French contemporary some truth mixed with very considerable error. France is, no doubt, as France has been from the commencement of this war, very anxious to interfere. France wants the American cotton as much as we do; perhaps, looking at the state of our stocks, even more. France, also, is less patient under the exercise of extreme belligerent rights than we are. It is, we believe, quite true that France has communicated a circular diplomatic note to the Courts of London and St. Petersburg, inviting a joint action for the purposes stated by *La Patrie*. Russia, however, has no special interest in this question. Russia wants no cotton; her great staple is flax, and she is rather benefited by the scarcity of cotton in the markets of the world. Russia, so far from "immediately accepting the proposition of France," has, we have reason to think, by no means committed herself in the matter. The announcement in the *Journal de St. Petersburg* is anything but that of an intention to interfere in this strife. It is simply to the effect that foreign Powers have no right whatever to interfere in America, and that Russia can do no more than she has already constantly done, that is, tender advice in a friendly spirit. This seems to us to be a very different thing from "joint action," which, if it mean anything, must mean the putting

forward a substantive proposition for acceptance or rejection by the belligerents, and the pressing that proposition upon them by some prospect of subsequent action against the belligerent which shall reject it, or in favour of the belligerent which shall accept it. Our information is not to the same effect as that of our French contemporary, and we are not convinced that the Government of St. Petersburg is prepared to go with France into the very dangerous and far-drafting policy of American mediation.

No very exclusive information was required to know that a Cabinet Council was to be held yesterday, nor to know that the French Note must form a portion of the matters to be discussed. But, until the Cabinet discusses and decides, any statement as to the favourable or unfavourable reception in London of this proposition must necessarily be premature. Nor is it very likely that at the first Cabinet Council held after the recess any "resolutions" would be adopted upon a subject so important as that with which we are now dealing. We believe, therefore, that this project of intervention is not nearly so far advanced as the French press would have the world believe, and that the true state of the case is that France is ardent in the matter, Russia unwilling but not absolutely averse, and England unsanguine, but anxious for a real opportunity.

Has that opportunity, however, yet arrived? What does France desire that Europe should propose to these belligerents? What hope can we have that the Federal Government would submit to a suspension of arms by sea and land for six months? Such an armistice would undoubtedly be very convenient to the South, very convenient to England, and very convenient to France. The South, relieved from the blockade of their coast, would be able to exchange their now valueless millions of cotton bales for sugar, salt, tea, coffee, calico, broadcloth, leather, and every other article not contraband of war, under the want of which they now so desperately suffer. England would be able to set her mills to work. France would recover her lost customers for her silks and wines and her Paris articles, and would also obtain the cotton which she now buys through us at fabulous prices. Both the mediators would find their account in such a mediation. But what would the North get by it? To her it would be a request to allow us to tie up her right arm. We are to ask her to allow her enemies to reprovise themselves, and to restore their credit by the export of their cotton; and we are to ask her at the same time to cut herself off from her most promising field of operations for a whole year. The season for the employment of the Northern gunboats is about to recommence; the spring will bring the possibility of a second invasion of the South. Yet we are to ask the North to forego their best opportunities, and to remain inactive till the heats of summer again drive their armies northwards and render the banks of the rivers inaccessible to their gunboats. If the North is determined to make peace, and is anxious only for an excuse, then, indeed, this or any other mediation would be feasible. But there is no evidence that the struggle is yet arrived at that point. If we go into this matter as a European league and draw upon ourselves insult, we shall be compelled to vindicate our honour. We cannot back out under such circumstances, and we cannot tell how far events may carry us.

All this and much more has to be considered, and we hope will be very carefully considered before we join any league such as that now proposed. At present we are quite free, and we have done no harm. To-morrow we may be closely bound and may do no good. Of course, no one can tell what private information our Government may have received; but we cannot see any public ground for great expectations of immediate results. If the North are ready to give up their blockade, they would undoubtedly rather give it up to France and Russia in conjunction with us than to us alone; but if they are to be forced to give it up, we hope we shall not be one of the party which is to compel them. This French note is matter for serious consideration, but we cannot think that it offers any good ground for sanguine expectation of an immediate return of prosperity to our manufactures, or of the sudden resumption of our old commercial intercourse with the two nations which once formed the United States.

The Times, November 13.

We observe that our contemporary, *La France*, has thrown aside the inaccurate statement of *La Patrie* as to the adherence of Russia to the French proposition for an armistice, and is content to argue that it would be very wrong in Russia and England not to accede to the French project. Our information was that Russia had refused to have anything to do with this project of an armistice, and the assertion to the contrary is now abandoned. All the story, therefore, of the adhesion of Prussia and of the Northern Powers, and perhaps of Austria and Spain, to this European mediation falls to the ground. It is simply a proposition made by France, and not yet backed by any other Power. *La France* thinks that "the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg will have great difficulty in justifying to the public opinion of the world a refusal to join in the proposed enterprise." How that may be we need not now argue, for the contingency has not yet occurred; but when it is further remarked that if Mr. Lincoln should refuse the armistice, "the mediating Powers would thenceforward have the right to consult only their own interests," we see in this French proposition not only mediation, but intervention, and forcible removal of blockade and war.

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WILLIAM H. BARNES,
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Amount of Premiums for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 213,759 71
Amount of Assets for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue of 1859.
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Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street,

Amount of premiums for year ending 31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December, 1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned premiums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent. interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Company. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the first day of August next.

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TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months ending 30th April, 1861..... \$31,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April, 1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent. of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861. Twenty per cent. 20th September, 1861. Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on and after the 12th day of August next.

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In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free speech and a free press, every interest—political, social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent commercial, however remote, however small the class to which it addresses itself—has long had its recognized representative in Journalism, through which it seeks to obtain a share of the public attention. The one solitary exception has heretofore been in the case of the Confederate States of America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual blockade which excludes them from communion with the rest of mankind, than from the commercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed supplies. The disruption of the American Union—despite repeated warnings—started Europe without at once awakening it to a full consciousness of the reality and importance of the event. So little had the internal politics of America entered into the routine of European thoughts, that even now—when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by far the greater portion of the intelligent European public. When the catastrophe occurred, the Northern States had the ear of the Governments and of the peoples; and so zealously have they retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and distorting was the medium through which alone the South's voice could be heard, that Europe may fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of the English press has treated the weaker party in that spirit of fair play upon which every Englishman prides himself; and, as the struggle progressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a perplexing subject, which stands in honourable contrast to the slipshod and indecorum of American Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern interests and Southern opinions, to which the Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the public at large might look for reliable intelligence of the progress of events, and for valuable indications of the manner in which the South itself views and weighs the importance and bearing of those events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The measure of success which may reward the effort will necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the friends, and of the private, as well as official, representatives of the South in Europe. This co-operation has been most generously accorded us. There is a large amount of Southern intelligence which reaches Europe through various private channels. Still more important information is obtained from Northern sources, which finds no outlet through the muzzled press of those States. Much of such valuable material has already been placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our arrangements are such that our friends may rely in this respect upon a scrupulous and sound discretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible misapprehension—that it is not the sole object. Literature and General News—in fact, every ingredient of a Weekly Journal—will command our earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that liberal patronage which is promised us in advance. "THE INDEX" will be represented by competent Correspondents at the different capitals of the Continent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of the character of a Magazine, without departing from its proper sphere as a Review of current events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and practically familiar with the subject and all questions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is necessarily committed to the advocacy of the principles of Free Trade.

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II—No. 31.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 27, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

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ESS ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

At eleven o'clock on the night of November 7, General M'Clellan received at headquarters an order from President Lincoln relieving him of his command, and appointing General Burnside as his successor. The event was quite unexpected, not only to the army but in Washington. It is true that the Republicans had stated that if Mr. Seymour was elected, the Democratic general would be disgraced, but no one ever credits the assertions made in the election. For once the Lincoln Cabinet acted with promptitude and, we may add, boldness; the details show that General M'Clellan was hated; and that the motives of action were to deprive him of power and disgrace him. He was given no time for reflection or consultation, and at midnight he was ordered forthwith to give up his command. Further, besides leaving his command, he was ordered to report himself at Trenton, so that he might remain in the neighbourhood of the army. At the moment he was called upon to prove his loyalty to the Federal Government by giving up his command, and which it is more than probable he would have retained in defiance of the President, he was immediately obeyed the mandate, and he gave his command to General Burnside, who refused to accept it, not only on account of his responsibility, but because of his personal regard for his late chief; but he ultimately did so, at the urgent request of General M'Clellan. The official act of the late Commander of the Army of the Potomac was to issue the following

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, Camp near Rectortown, Virginia, Nov. 7.
Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac.—An order from President Lincoln devolves upon Major-General Burnside the command of this army. In parting with you I cannot but express my love and gratitude I bear to you. As an army you have been under my care. In you I have never found a fault. The battles you have fought under my command will live in our nation's history. The glory of our mutual perils and fatigues, the graves of our fallen in battle and by disease, the broken forms of our wounded and sickness have disabled, the strongest of which can exist among men, unite us still by an indissoluble tie. We shall ever be comrades in supporting the rights of our country and the nationality of its people.
G. B. M'CLELLAN,
Major-General, United States' Army.
There is a studied coldness about the farewell

order that must be exceedingly annoying to Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates. There is no commonplace about duty to the constituted authorities, and M'Clellan claims the army as being formed and constituted by his care. He reminds the soldiers of the ties between them and him, but not a word about any allegiance to their constitutional Commander-in-chief. Finally, he speaks of the army supporting the Constitution; well knowing that if it does so it must oppose the Government, which has violated all the main principles of the Constitution. The farewell order is dignified and proper, but to the Lincolnites it must seem very sarcastic and bitterly contemptuous in its tone.

General M'Clellan would have left immediately, but it was impossible to get through the business in less than three days. On the evening of the 9th all the officers belonging to headquarters assembled at his tent to bid him farewell. The only toast given was "The Army of the Potomac," by General M'Clellan. The omission of the President's name on such an occasion is remarkable. On the 10th, General M'Clellan, accompanied by General Burnside, visited the various army corps. "As the General rode through the ranks the torn and tattered banners of the veteran regiments were dipped to greet him, while the thousands of soldiers gave vent in continuous rounds of cheers and applause to their feelings."

A commander never received a mere flattering ovation from his soldiers, and it has always been the good fortune of M'Clellan to be exceedingly popular with the troops. On the 11th, General M'Clellan left the camp, and proceeded to New Jersey. Everywhere on his passage he was received with enthusiasm, and preparations were made to give him a grand reception in Trenton.

The following is the order issued by General Burnside in assuming the command:—

In accordance with General Orders No. 182, issued by the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. Patriotism and the exercise of my every energy in the direction of this army, aided by the full and hearty co-operation of its officers and men, will, I hope, under the blessing of God, insure its success.

Having been a sharer of the privations and a witness of the bravery of the old Army of the Potomac in the Maryland campaign, and fully identified with them in their feeling of respect and esteem for General M'Clellan, entertained through a long and most friendly association with him, I feel that it is not as a stranger I assume command.

To the Ninth Army Corps, so long and intimately associated with me, I need say nothing. Our histories are identical.

With diffidence for myself, but with a proud confidence in the unswerving loyalty and determination of the gallant army now entrusted to my care, I accept its control, with the steadfast assurance that the just cause must prevail.

A. E. BURNSIDE, Major-General Commanding.

The new commander is careful to give prominence to his respect, esteem, and friendship for M'Clellan. By so doing he would not make the change popular with the soldiers, but he might make it more tolerable. Again, this is a blow for the Lincolnites. At the time they have disgraced M'Clellan, and are adding insult to insult by the publication of an official correspondence charging him with disobedience, and with defending his inactivity by paltry excuses, the new general proclaims that his predecessor, though disgraced by the Government, is worthy of the respect and esteem of the army.

The Democrats are indignant at the treatment General M'Clellan has received. The *Boston Post* of the 12th inst. truthfully remarks:—

He has held all his official positions since the rebellion broke out at the solicitation of the Republicans. He was appointed from Ohio by Republicans—called to Washington by the President, without desire on his part or recommendation from any political party—was placed at the head of the army by Mr. Lincoln and a Republican Senate without political recommendation or personal solicitation—took the field for the advance on Richmond at the President's order—returned by

the same authority—was deprived of his army and again urged to resume command by the constitutional Commander-in-Chief, and again relieved from service by the same high functionary. Democrats have had nothing to do with all this; they have only asked for fair play.

At a Democratic meeting, Mr. Van Buren spoke of General M'Clellan as the democratic candidate at the next Presidential election, and the suggestion was received with great applause. The Republicans are, of course, professedly pleased at the downfall of a general whose politics are democratic, but the agitation in Wall-street, and the rise in price of gold consequent upon the event, show that the downfall of M'Clellan is regarded as detrimental to the public service. The rumours that were immediately set afloat about Burnside's defeat, prove that the public have no confidence in M'Clellan's successor, or, perhaps, we ought to say in the military capacity of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. M'Clellan was disgraced for not obeying an order to advance and give the enemy battle contrary to his judgment. Will Burnside be more obedient? If so, the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac will absolutely be at the White House. The mode of conducting war is not very promising. People in New York are saying that if Mr. Lincoln or General Halleck desires to command the operations of the army, they ought to leave Washington, and go to the camp.

We elsewhere give the correspondence that has been published by the Government to justify the dismissal of General M'Clellan from military service.

We need not criticise that document. General M'Clellan wanted shoes for his army at the commencement of October; on the 6th of that month he was ordered to advance and give the enemy battle; and on the 25th it was asserted that 48,000 pairs of shoes had been received, and that "10,000 more were on their way, and 15,000 more ordered." It does not seem to have occurred to General Halleck that shoes on their way and shoes ordered were not available for immediate use. The general in the field is certainly the best judge of the propriety of advancing and giving the enemy battle; and the order would have been more intelligible if it had informed M'Clellan of the position of the Confederates. To play a game of chess by telegraph is possible, but to command an army by telegraph is simply ridiculous.

It was rumoured in Washington that the dismissal of M'Clellan would be followed by a disruption of the Cabinet.

In consequence of the report of the Military Commission on the surrender of Harper's Ferry, Colonel Ford and Major Baird have been dismissed from the service. Dismissals just now are the fashion in the North—"Lieutenant Johnson, of the 17th Kentucky Union Regiment, having tendered his resignation on account of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, has been dismissed the service in disgrace." Dismissing an officer who tenders his resignation is not a very severe punishment.

Archbishop Hughes gives himself a vast amount of unnecessary trouble in trying to make the North hate England. That hatred is already sufficiently strong.

Archbishop Hughes has written a letter to Mr. Seward, in which he says that America should be prepared, for there is no love for her on the other side of the Atlantic. Generally speaking, in Europe the United States are ignored, if not despised; treated of in conversation in the same contemptuous language that Americans might employ towards the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands or Vancouver Island. The Archbishop is sorry to say that these assertions are unquestionably true.

The Archbishop does not quite adhere to the truth, but we do not deny that the conduct of the North since the commencement of the war has done much to make her disliked in Europe. The empty vauntings, the false reports, the disregard of

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papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

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facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
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2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
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companied by a private letter (which shall be
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We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861 213,759 71
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street,
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHIER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

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of New Orleans.

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standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

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Amount of Premiums for ten months
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Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861 1,442,959 35
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Nos. I. to XXIX. NOW RE

In this great metropolis, on the native so-
speech and a free press, every interest-
social, religious, literary, scientific, b
commercial, however remote, however s
class to which it addresses itself—has lo-
recognized representative in Journalism,
which it seeks to obtain a share of th
attention. The one solitary exception ha
fore been in the case of the Confederate
America. Engaged in a life-and-death
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed i
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's ar-
navies—they suffer even more from that in-
blockade which excludes them from coi
with the rest of mankind, than from the m-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their ma-
supplies. The disruption of the American
despite repeated warnings—startled Euro-
out at once awakening it to a full conscie
the reality and importance of the event.
had the internal politics of America ente
the routine of European thoughts, that ev-
when the effects are undeniable and irre-
the causes still remain a mystery and a rid-
far the greater portion of the intelligent p-
public. When the catastrophe occurs
Northern States had the ear of the Gov-
and of the peoples; and so zealously h-
retained it, so ingeniously and persisten-
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect :
torting was the medium through which a
South's voice could be heard, that Eu-
fairly be said to have listened to but one si-
quarrel. It is true that the respectable p-
the English press has treated the weaker
that spirit of fair play upon which every
man prides himself; and, as the strug-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study
plexing subject, which stands in honoura-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of
Journalism. But this has not supplied the
long and keenly felt, of some organ of :
interests and Southern opinions, to wl
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant,
public at large might look for reliable int-
of the progress of events, and for valuab-
tions of the manner in which the South its
and weighs the importance and bearing
events.

This want it is one of the principal o-
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possi-
measure of success which may reward the e-
necessarily depend upon the co-operation
friends, and of the private, as well as offi-
sentatives of the South in Europe.
operation has been most generously acco-
There is a large amount of Southern int-
which reaches Europe through various
channels. Still more important inform-
obtained from Northern sources, which
outlet through the muzzled press of the
Much of such valuable material has al-
placed at our disposal; and we have a r-
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the r-
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is
in the United Kingdom and on the Contine
arrangements are such that our friends in
this respect upon a scrupulous and se-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained o-
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it
necessary to state—in order to prevent :
misapprehension—that it is not the so-
Literature and General News—in fact, ev-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will com-
earnest attention; and it will be our un-
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" wort-
liberal patronage which is promised us in
"THE INDEX" will be represented by :
Correspondents at the different capitals o-
tinent, at Washington, and at Savannah.
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should
the character of a Magazine, without
from its proper sphere as a Review o-
events.

For the leaders and literary contri-
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens
men already favourably known to the pub-
The Cotton Market will monopolize m-
space, and is entrusted to hands theore-
practically familiar with the subject an-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE I-
necessarily committed to the advocacy o-
ciples of Free Trade.

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VOL. II—No. 31.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 27, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

At 11 o'clock on the night of November 7, General M'Clellan received at headquarters an order from President Lincoln relieving him of his command, and appointing General Burnside as his successor. The event was quite unexpected, not only in the army but in Washington. It is true the Republicans had stated that if Mr. Seymour was elected, the Democratic general would be disgraced, but no one ever credits the assertions made in the heat of an election. For once the Lincoln Cabinet has acted with promptitude and, we may add, boldness. All the details show that General M'Clellan was feared and hated; and that the motives of action were to deprive him of power and disgrace him. He is allowed no time for reflection or consultation, but late at night is ordered forthwith to give up his command. Further, besides leaving his command, he is ordered to report himself at Trenton, so that he was not to remain in the neighbourhood of the army. At the moment he was called upon to prove his loyalty to the Federal Government by giving up a command which it is more than probable he might have retained in defiance of the President, he is treated as a suspected person. General M'Clellan immediately obeyed the mandate, and transferred his command to General Burnside, who at first refused to accept it, not only on account of the responsibility, but because of his personal friendship to his late chief; but he ultimately did so, it is said, at the urgent request of General M'Clellan. The last official act of the late Commander of the Army of the Potomac was to issue the following address:—

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, Camp near Rectortown, Virginia, Nov. 7.

Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac,—An order of the President devolves upon Major-General Burnside the command of this army. In parting with you I cannot express the love and gratitude I bear to you. As an army you have grown up under my care. In you I have never found doubt or coldness. The battles you have fought under my command will proudly live in our nation's history. The glory you have achieved—our mutual perils and fatigues, the graves of our comrades fallen in battle and by disease, the broken forms of those whose wounds and sickness have disabled, the strongest associations which can exist among men, unite us still by an indissoluble tie. We shall ever be comrades in supporting the Constitution of our country and the nationality of its people.

G. B. M'CLELLAN,
Major-General, United States' Army.

There is a studied coldness about the farewell

order that must be exceedingly annoying to Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates. There is no commonplace about duty to the constituted authorities, and M'Clellan claims the army as being formed and constituted by his care. He reminds the soldiers of the ties between them and him, but not a word about any allegiance to their constitutional Commander-in-chief. Finally, he speaks of the army supporting the Constitution; well knowing that if it does so it must oppose the Government, which has violated all the main principles of the Constitution. The farewell order is dignified and proper, but to the Lincolnites it must seem very sarcastic and bitterly contemptuous in its tone.

General M'Clellan would have left immediately, but it was impossible to get through the business in less than three days. On the evening of the 9th all the officers belonging to headquarters assembled at his tent to bid him farewell. The only toast given was "The Army of the Potomac," by General M'Clellan. The omission of the President's name on such an occasion is remarkable. On the 10th, General M'Clellan, accompanied by General Burnside, visited the various army corps. "As the General rode through the ranks the torn and tattered banners of the veteran regiments were dipped to greet him, while the thousands of soldiers gave vent in continuous rounds of cheers and applause to their feelings."

A commander never received a more flattering ovation from his soldiers, and it has always been the good fortune of M'Clellan to be exceedingly popular with the troops. On the 11th, General M'Clellan left the camp, and proceeded to New Jersey. Everywhere on his passage he was received with enthusiasm, and preparations were made to give him a grand reception in Trenton.

The following is the order issued by General Burnside in assuming the command:—

In accordance with General Orders No. 182, issued by the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. Patriotism and the exercise of my every energy in the direction of this army, aided by the full and hearty co-operation of its officers and men, will, I hope, under the blessing of God, insure its success.

Having been a sharer of the privations and a witness of the bravery of the old Army of the Potomac in the Maryland campaign, and fully identified with them in their feeling of respect and esteem for General M'Clellan, entertained through a long and most friendly association with him, I feel that it is not as a stranger I assume command.

To the Ninth Army Corps, so long and intimately associated with me, I need say nothing. Our histories are identical.

With diffidence for myself, but with a proud confidence in the unswerving loyalty and determination of the gallant army now entrusted to my care, I accept its control, with the steadfast assurance that the just cause must prevail.

A. E. BURNSIDE, Major-General Commanding.

The new commander is careful to give prominence to his respect, esteem, and friendship for M'Clellan. By so doing he would not make the change popular with the soldiers, but he might make it more tolerable. Again, this is a blow for the Lincolnites. At the time they have disgraced M'Clellan, and are adding insult to insult by the publication of an official correspondence charging him with disobedience, and with defending his inactivity by paltry excuses, the new general proclaims that his predecessor, though disgraced by the Government, is worthy of the respect and esteem of the army.

The Democrats are indignant at the treatment General M'Clellan has received. The *Boston Post* of the 12th inst. truthfully remarks:—

He has held all his official positions since the rebellion broke out at the solicitation of the Republicans. He was appointed from Ohio by Republicans—called to Washington by the President, without desire on his part or recommendation from any political party—was placed at the head of the army by Mr. Lincoln and a Republican Senate without political recommendation or personal solicitation—took the field for the advance on Richmond at the President's order—returned by

the same authority—was deprived of his army and again urged to resume command by the constitutional Commander-in-Chief, and again relieved from service by the same high functionary. Democrats have had nothing to do with all this; they have only asked for fair play.

At a Democratic meeting, Mr. Van Buren spoke of General M'Clellan as the democratic candidate at the next Presidential election, and the suggestion was received with great applause. The Republicans are, of course, professedly pleased at the downfall of a general whose politics are democratic, but the agitation in Wall-street, and the rise in price of gold consequent upon the event, show that the downfall of M'Clellan is regarded as detrimental to the public service. The rumours that were immediately set afloat about Burnside's defeat, prove that the public have no confidence in M'Clellan's successor, or, perhaps, we ought to say in the military capacity of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. M'Clellan was disgraced for not obeying an order to advance and give the enemy battle contrary to his judgment. Will Burnside be more obedient? If so, the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac will absolutely be at the White House. The mode of conducting war is not very promising. People in New York are saying that if Mr. Lincoln or General Halleck desires to command the operations of the army, they ought to leave Washington, and go to the camp.

We elsewhere give the correspondence that has been published by the Government to justify the dismissal of General M'Clellan from military service.

We need not criticise that document. General M'Clellan wanted shoes for his army at the commencement of October; on the 6th of that month he was ordered to advance and give the enemy battle; and on the 25th it was asserted that 48,000 pairs of shoes had been received, and that "10,000 more were on their way, and 15,000 more ordered." It does not seem to have occurred to General Halleck that shoes on their way and shoes ordered were not available for immediate use. The general in the field is certainly the best judge of the propriety of advancing and giving the enemy battle; and the order would have been more intelligible if it had informed M'Clellan of the position of the Confederates. To play a game of chess by telegraph is possible, but to command an army by telegraph is simply ridiculous.

It was rumoured in Washington that the dismissal of M'Clellan would be followed by a disruption of the Cabinet.

In consequence of the report of the Military Commission on the surrender of Harper's Ferry, Colonel Ford and Major Baird have been dismissed from the service. Dismissals just now are the fashion in the North—"Lieutenant Johnson, of the 17th Kentucky Union Regiment, having tendered his resignation on account of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, has been dismissed the service in disgrace." Dismissing an officer who tenders his resignation is not a very severe punishment.

Archbishop Hughes gives himself a vast amount of unnecessary trouble in trying to make the North hate England. That hatred is already sufficiently strong.

Archbishop Hughes has written a letter to Mr. Seward, in which he says that America should be prepared, for there is no love for her on the other side of the Atlantic. Generally speaking, in Europe the United States are ignored, if not despised; treated of in conversation in the same contemptuous language that Americans might employ towards the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands or Vancouver Island. The Archbishop is sorry to say that these assertions are unquestionably true.

The Archbishop does not quite adhere to the truth, but we do not deny that the conduct of the North since the commencement of the war has done much to make her disliked in Europe. The empty vauntings, the false reports, the disregard of

international law and courtesy, and the barbarities of such men as Butler, Turchin, and McNeil, disgust civilized nations. Does the Archbishop think the following narrative, taken from the items of the New York telegram, calculated to make Europe respect the United States?

Letters are published in the New York journals showing that Superintendent of Police Kennedy, of New York city, on his own authority, caused a lady from New Orleans, 22 years of age, named Brinsmode, to be arrested in Washington and brought to New York, where she was confined in a common cell of a police station during five weeks. All applications of her friends to see her were useless, Kennedy threatening, if they continued their applications, to have them arrested. They then applied to the War Department and to Provost Marshal Draper at Washington, who denied all knowledge of this arrest, and ordered the lady to be released at once. The grounds of her arrest were Kennedy's assertion that she sang Secession airs on the steamer coming from New Orleans, and that she was a spy. The New York journals denounce Kennedy's conduct as most infamous.

General Scott has replied to President Buchanan's communication, that Buchanan might have reinforced Forts Jackson and St. Philips with small garrisons until Congress could have raised volunteers. General Scott cannot believe that Mr. Buchanan, although acknowledging himself responsible, consented to Secretary Floyd's removing guns and rifles from Northern repositories to Southern arsenals; also to the removal of artillery to Ship Island and Galveston. General Scott also defends himself for publishing various official communications. It is but justice to Mr. Buchanan and Secretary Floyd to remark that the removal of arms, the number of which has been grossly exaggerated, was made in the regular course of the business of the War Department, according to law, which provided for the periodical distribution among the various States of the surplus stock of the Federal armories.

General Fremont has been ordered to report himself for duty. He is a Republican, and so his military failures, and his past offences in respect to fort building, are forgiven.

In New York the draft has been indefinitely postponed; in plain truth, the Government dare not enforce it. Will the collection of the taxes be also indefinitely postponed? We are told that the Lager beer, brewers and cigar manufacturers of New York city are organizing themselves to resist the taxes affecting their trades, as they say the taxes are so onerous as to destroy their business.

It is almost unnecessary to state that the reported captures of 3000 Confederates and of Mobile are not confirmed, which is a Northern expression which means that they are known to be false.

From the South we have the following interesting intelligence:—

The Bishop of Georgia announces that the union of the diocese of Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and the Virginias, is completed under the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederate States of America. The first general council will meet at Augusta.

The Merrimac (No. 2) is reported to be below Fort Darling. She will do good service to the Confederacy if she does half the work the Northerners fear she will accomplish.

The Northern Government winked at its soldiers uttering forged Confederate notes, and it is now realizing the danger and wickedness of giving any countenance to forgery.

Two brokers in New York have been sent to Fort Lafayette for defrauding the Government by issuing forged bills on the Government Subsistence Department. Fifty persons are said to be implicated, and the frauds are said to exceed \$1,000,000.

Commander Maury has arrived in Europe from the South.

ENGLAND.

The people of Lancashire are sinking deeper every week into starvation and despair. The increase in pauperism last week was above 10,000, distributed as follows:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne	1,110	Manchester	2,000
Blackburn	380	Oldham	1,300
Bolton	390	Preston	730
Burnley	140	Rochdale	690
Bury	400	Salford	480
Chorley	90	Stockport	390
Chorlton	900	Todmorden	100
Glossop	100	Warrington	110
Haslingden	230	Wigan	130
Liverpool	370		
Macclesfield	120	Total	10,290

The total number is now over 250,000, in a population of two millions. Over one-eighth, therefore, are paupers; one-fourth, probably, are without other resources than those received from charity; ere long one-half the entire population of the distressed districts will be living on alms. This state of things is frightful to contemplate; but this is not all. There are hundreds of thousands who have been reduced, not from good wages to starvation, but from a comfortable position to indigence—small shopkeepers and others, whose little capital has wasted away, who are equally unemployed with the factory

operatives, but who do not come in for their share of the compassion and relief, to which they are equally entitled. In four or five years, at worst, if things should presently begin to mend, the traces of this horrible calamity will have vanished from the condition of the operatives; but the men of small means who have lost their all will never recover themselves. Next to their condition, that of the overlookers and managers—the higher class of factory employes, who might take rank with clerks in merchants' offices—is the most deplorable. They are looking to emigration as a remedy; we consider this a mistake, for reasons which we have already explained, but it is a very natural one. They held a meeting on Saturday, in St. John's Hall, Manchester, when the secretary of their association read letters empowering him to select several families (about thirty) for Queensland, to be sent at Government expense, and five for Algeria, to farm on the estates of a Parisian gentleman, who offered what seem very fair terms. The reports from the Guardians and Relief Committees are enough to sicken the hearts of feeling men. Blackburn has 22,500 paupers, and about 11,000 persons besides in receipt of charity. Here the Unemployed Overlookers' Committee have withdrawn fifty-one families from the list, undertaking to support them themselves, allowing 2s. per man, and 1s. 6d. per head for wives and children. Arrangements have been completed for the division of the sufferers between the Relief Committee and the Union; but we do not learn that the former have made the increase of the parish allowance a condition of the bargain, which they certainly ought to have done. Wigan has above 17,000 persons dependent on alms, and has just raised a third subscription, amounting to between £7000 and £8000. The colliery owners have made very large donations of coal, and it is hoped that the poor will not suffer for want of fuel. This town was one of the earliest to feel the distress, and has suffered very severely; though, perhaps, less absolutely dependent on the cotton trade than many others. In Preston there are 37,000 persons living on the parish allowance and the charity distributed by the Relief Committee. An interview has taken place between the latter and a deputation from the Board of Guardians. The Committee refused to divide the suffering population with the Union, as has been done in Blackburn; they protested against the reduction of the relief granted by the Board in proportion to that received from charity, reminding the Guardians that the object of the benevolent was not to lighten the rates, but to mitigate the sufferings of the poor; and they affirmed that the parish allowance was insufficient. The conference broke up with great dissatisfaction on both sides. The Guardians are clearly in the wrong.

Liberal subscriptions are being made in all directions. The Mansion-house Committee last week received £35,000 and distributed £38,000.

The Central Relief Committee held its meeting on Monday, and received deputations from Leeds and Bradford. Mr. Farnall read his report:—

MANCHESTER, Nov. 24, 1862.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ended the 15th inst., on twenty-seven unions in the cotton manufacturing district, will show you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 11,021 persons. There were on the 15th inst. 248,764 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 51,413 persons were so relieved; there is therefore, an increase of 197,351 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 381.9 per cent. The total weekly cost of out-door relief on the 15th inst. was £16,646 0s. 7d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2,505 12s. 3d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £14,140 8s. 2d., or 564.2 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions, on the 15th inst. was 12.5; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.6. The average amount of out-door relief per head per week, in these unions, on the 15th inst. was 1s. 5d.; the lowest was 1s. 5d., and the highest 1s. 10d., at Glossop. On the 15th inst. 12,540 persons were receiving in-door relief, and 236,224 were receiving out-door relief in these unions. I have received returns from the honorary secretaries of fifty-five local committees formed in the cotton manufacturing districts for the distribution of charitable aid, and I am now enabled to state that the fifty-five local committees adverted to were, on the 15th inst., relieving 132,011 persons who were not also receiving parochial relief from the Guardians, and that these fifty-five local committees expended £12,195 1s. 6d. in charity during the week ended the 15th inst. I have received no returns from ten honorary secretaries of local relief committees, and, therefore, my report is so far incomplete.

Mr. Farnall also made some remarks on the questions asked as to the rates actually paid in Lancashire. He took as a fair example the case of Ashton-under-Lyne, where the rateable value of property is under £300,000 a year, and the amount of money expended on the relief of the poor is now at the rate of over £125,000 a year. The following letter from Lord Derby bears on the same subject:—

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., in which you inform me * * * I regret that I am unable in the compass of a letter to give a detailed answer to these objections; but I am going over to Manchester

to-morrow, and will hand your letter over to a sub-committee which we have recently appointed for the express purpose of furnishing such information as may be required from a distance. In the meantime, however, I may say, generally, that the amount of contribution from those locally interested cannot and will not ever be known; but there is no doubt that the sums expended, of which no public notice has been, or will be taken, very largely exceed the total which has appeared. I do not mean to say that some persons have not grossly neglected their duty in this respect, but, taken as a body, I am bound to say that the manufacturers and employers of labour generally have, by keeping their own people in pay, though out of work, and in other ways made individual sacrifices and payments in comparison with which the largest amounts subscribed would appear very insignificant indeed. The Lord-Lieutenant has also, on the recommendation of the Central Committee, called a county meeting for the 2nd of next month, at which I hope to see a very large sum locally raised, and those who have hitherto not given, or given inadequately, make up for their short-comings.

With regard to the second point, I would observe, that though the amount of poor-rate in the pound may not appear high, that rate must not be taken as a test of the severity of the distress in a district where it is universal, where one-eighth of the population are actual recipients of parochial relief, and where, perhaps, five-sixths of the remainder are either living by the aid of charity, or are so nearly on the verge of pauperism themselves that the slightest increase in the rates would convert them from payers to receivers. To this it must be added that the small minority who are still solvent, and on whom alone the rate falls, are themselves paying rates upon the value of mills and machinery which are not only yielding no profit, but are actually entailing daily loss. I think it right to mention this, because in the south and in agricultural districts the universality of pressure is not understood, and much misapprehension has, I know, been the result. I earnestly hope that such misapprehension will not interfere with your benevolent efforts in Fimlico, for I can truly say that the extent of the distress is such as to require all the aid that can be obtained from all quarters.

I have, &c,
DERBY.

H. Kingscote, Esq.

A controversy, provoked by the Rev. C. Kingsley, has been raging in the columns of the *Times*. The Cambridge Professor wrote a letter reviling the Manchester millowners, partly because their rates had always been low, and partly because they had used slave-grown cotton. A reply immediately appeared, pointing out that rates in Lancashire were low because wages were high; that permanently high poor-rates prove not that the rich are doing much for the poor, but the reverse; and that the use of slave-grown cotton was a matter in which the manufacturer had no choice. Mr. Kingsley is one of those men who are always the better for being smartly answered; and his reply, though very silly, was a good deal less violent than his original letter. The *Times* took up the cudgels in his behalf; but in vain. The effect of the attack, which was calculated to damp public charity, was unimportant, and brought out a mass of facts which demonstrated beyond doubt that Mr. Kingsley had been bearing false witness against his neighbours, and that with great recklessness. It is shown that the average amount expended in poor-law relief is about 2s. in the pound on the property of the distressed districts, and above 4s. in the pound on that portion of the property which can pay rates; that one of the suffering unions has already levied 7s. 6d. this year, and will have to levy 5s. more at Christmas; and that, in fact, the rates are so heavy as to be actually and seriously increasing pauperism. The following passages in the controversy deserve attention. The Rev. Hugh McNeile, of Liverpool, says:—

Allow me briefly but warmly to protest against Mr. Kingsley's "wet blanket." It is one-sided. He contrasts skilfully the amount of poor-rates in Wessex with the amount in Lancashire, but he is silent on the subject of wages in the two localities. He knows a clergyman who has been paying for the last twenty years more than £100 in poor-rates, besides his subscriptions and private charities. Will he have the kindness to inform your readers what wages for out-of-door labour that clergyman has been paying all that time? I believe the answer must be from 10s. to 12s. per week. I know a clergyman who lived in the south many years, and paid a poor rate of from 3s. to 5s. or 6s. in the pound, while he got out-of-door labour done on his glebe and garden for 11s. or 12s. per week. He removed to Lancashire, where he found his poor-rate *nil*, but where he paid, and is still paying, 18s. to 20s. a week as a labouring man's wages. I should venture to think that the system of liberal wages with low or vanishing rates is to be preferred to a system of low wages eked out by an onerous poor-rate.

Another writer, Mr. Ecrody, of Burnley, speaks feelingly of the consequences of a heavy poor-rate at the present juncture:—

Once for all, let me assure Mr. Kingsley, that so far as my information extends, it is neither the large owners of property in Lancashire, nor the wealthy merchants and manufacturers, who are unwilling to pay poor-rates of 10s. in the pound, if needful. Scheming and selfish as he may consider them, I believe they would gladly pay enormous rates if such could with propriety be laid. Not even Mr. Kingsley's bitter taunts, however, will induce them to take a course which would only result in crushing down most of those between themselves and their afflicted workmen into one gulf of hopeless ruin, and would place in their hands, at any price they might choose to offer, the small properties of their neighbours and of their less wealthy fellow-manufacturers.

For upon whom do the present poor-rates fall with most fatal force? I know but too well. On co-operative associations; on that worthy portion of the working class who have built small shop and cottage properties, to which they cling with affecting desperation; on small shopkeepers, tailors, shoemakers; on artisans in general, and on that large class of

small manufacturers who have but recently risen from the ranks of labour, and whose long-cherished savings are being paid away shilling by shilling, with bitter tears, to satisfy the unrelenting claims of this sad crisis.

Now, I ask, is all our sympathy to be given to the lower class of operatives? And are we to pursue without pity the deserving classes I have enumerated, embracing as they do the highest order of working men—by exacting still heavier rates from them, while their incomes are totally suspended, and thus driving them to sacrifice their little properties?

These are the stern practical questions which we have daily to consider, on whom devolves the grave responsibility of saving life, and at the same time acting justly and considerately towards all. I sat with my neighbours for five hours last evening on the business of the local relief committee. We had, as usual, many affecting cases to investigate, but I think none quite so distressing as those of men who are struggling against the irresistible current which is sweeping them and their families back from the position of proprietors and ratepayers to that of paupers and rate receivers.

One had a number of shares in a co-operative company on which he had borrowed all he could, and must now let them go. Another had ten powerlooms which he could neither work nor sell, and famine was already written on his countenance. Another had been hunted out by the district visitor, and though found to be starving, both he and his wife refused to apply for relief—the bitterness of such a necessity seeming to them worse than death.

It is affirmed that £90,000 has been subscribed in Manchester alone; and subscriptions form only a small part of the money spent by the capitalists of Lancashire on its labourers. The remarks of Mr. M. Ross deserve attention:—

From careful calculations he could state that the actual and positive loss of employers of labour in the cotton trade was £130,000 per week. This was exclusive of depreciation of property and interest on capital. Many of the millowners were also cottage owners, and they could not—even if they desired to do so—distrain upon their tenants, and there was this loss, in addition to depreciation of property and machinery. The position of the millowners consequently demanded their sympathy. He held in his hand the balance-sheet of a large firm, giving a statement of the results of the last 1½ years. The mill employed about 1100 hands, and worked on an average forty-two hours a week. During the period mentioned the actual loss sustained by this firm was £12,985, and in this amount not one penny was charged for interest on capital or depreciation of machinery, the value of the plant being £80,000. If the works had been entirely stopped during the period named, the expenses would have been for rent, taxes, coals, and wages, £6430, thus showing a loss through working of £6555. During this period there had been paid in wages to the workpeople, £33,966. Out of 1100 hands there had not been twenty applications to the parish for relief. This same firm had a mill in another locality working the same time at a similar loss. They at present paid wages exceeding £1000 per week, and they held property assessed to the poor's rate at £5000 per week, upon which they were paying rates in the townships where the distress existed. In addition to all this the principal had contributed £500, and the junior partners £300. A statement like this, extracted from the books and properly endorsed, showed that the cotton trade had not been so desirable as some had imagined it to be. He had in his hand a list of cases, all of which he applied for, and which had the same tendency as the other. A. feeds his hands—800 in number—at a cost of £80 per week, or £1160 per annum. B. has from 1000 to 1100 hands, and gives in money and provisions £110 per week, and £24 weekly to a sewing class. This equals £6968 per year, and the schooling of forty-two boys is also paid for, and money is given to the support of many old superannuated hands. C. has expended for his workpeople, cash £1340; bread £220, coals £48, total £1608. D. has 2000 hands, and entirely employs his idle workpeople. E. has from 1800 to 2000 hands; gives a daily dinner to the whole; has taken their clothes out of pawn, has provided much fresh clothing, and has given in addition 1000 to the general fund. (Cheers.) F. gives, in addition to his subscription to the Central Relief Fund, £20 per week to the Provident and another Society, and furnishes coals and food to 700 hands. No cottage rents have been taken since the mill stopped; 330 children are sent to school at the expense of the employer, who pays for them 3d. per head per week. (Cheers.) G. gives £50 per month to the fund, and, in addition, pays wages equal to £230 per week to his own hands. H. pays to his hands £130 per week, in addition to large subscriptions to the general fund. I. (a small concern), with limited means, gives from £10 to £20 per week for clothing. J. have arranged to spend £10,000 among their workpeople as required, besides foregoing their rent. K. are spending £800 weekly in relieving the wants of their own workpeople. L. gave £500 to the general fund, and has given in cash in small sums to workers upwards of £1500, and has also given clothing. (Cheers.) There were also two cases as strong as any of those he had named, of which no particulars could be given, one of the persons concerned having given 405 sacks of flour within the last two months. This gentleman refused to give any information as to what he had given, and the fact just mentioned was only obtained through the dealer who supplied the flour. It was due to the great masses of the community that these facts should be known, and they were the best answers to the charges made against the Lancashire millowners.

The *Saturday Review* says that four-fifths of the charity on which the operatives now depend comes from Lancashire. If so, the charges made against the Lancashire men are utterly false; and it is not Lancashire, but the rest of England, that does less than its duty.

A curious case has recently come before the courts, in which Mr. Serjeant Glover, formerly proprietor of the now defunct *Morning Chronicle*, claims £14,000 from MM. Billault and De Persigny for work done as the organ of the French Government. The French Ministers resist the claim, and the evidence will have to go before a jury. It is obvious that whatever price Serjeant Glover may put on his work, he does not set a high value on his character.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—A pamphlet has just appeared which contains some curious letters written by the present Emperor, or his brother, at the time when the two were in arms with the Italian insurgents against the Papal Government. They prove that Louis Napoleon was then hostile to the temporal power of the Pope, and that is all.

GERMANY.—The King of Prussia has taken high ground towards Hesse, ordering the Elector to submit the Budget to the Chambers, and threatening him with "consequences" in case of refusal. Meantime His Majesty resists as haughtily as ever the demands of his own subjects for their constitutional rights, as will be seen by the language of the following extracts from the speeches he has made in reply to the addresses presented to him on behalf of the reactionary party:—

I shall continue to maintain the reorganization of the military force. I have been misrepresented in many quarters, and my words have been misunderstood. I have sworn to uphold the Constitution received from my brother, His late Majesty, and I shall conscientiously keep my oath in the sense expressed in my programme of November 1858. But it is also requisite to govern constitutionally, so as to promote the welfare of the country. The Sovereign alone can do this in Prussia. The representatives of the people should assist him by constitutional co-operation in legislation, and not further obstruct his Government.

ITALY.—The ball has been extracted from Garibaldi's wound. It may be hoped, therefore, that the General's recovery will henceforward proceed more rapidly.

The Chambers have met, and an angry impeachment of the Government is going on. Signor Buoncompagni led the attack, and has been followed by speakers from all sides. It is charged against the Ministry that they came into power by an intrigue, supplanting Ricasoli, who had the confidence of the majority; and endeavoured to sustain themselves in power by intriguing for the support of the Garibaldians. There is no denying the charge; no question that Aspromonte was the close of a long series of intrigues in Court and Camp and Chambers by which Ratazzi endeavoured to sustain himself in power by relying on the personal favour of the King (affronted by the stern morality of Ricasoli), on his popularity with ladies who were intimate at Court, and on the support which he bribed the Garibaldians to give him, so long as he pretended to countenance their designs. Buoncompagni asked:—

What were the means employed by Government to prevent the Garibaldi expedition, and to undeceive those who thought it met with the approbation of the Government? 2. Why did they not call Parliament together? 3. Why, again, was not Parliament summoned at the time that the state of siege was proclaimed, that it might sanction with its votes such measures as circumstances required? 4. What have the Ministers achieved for the internal organization of the kingdom? 5. How happens it that the Ministers find themselves further than ever from a solution of the Roman question?

The Garibaldian deputies illegally arrested in Sicily made strong complaints; and the temper of the Chamber has been shown by its decision that elections held during the state of siege were void. Great effect was produced by the publication of the following letter, dated December 25, 1859, and understood to refer to Ratazzi:—

I will not relate to you the history of my appointment as Italian representative to the Congress (of Zurich); all the intrigues, all the lowest arts were set at work to render it impossible. Dabormida and La Marmora, however, have no hand in these. It will be easy for you to guess who the authors of them were. If they did not carry their point, they succeeded in adding difficulty to my most arduous mission, by revealing the antipathies, the rancours, and base jealousies, with which certain persons honour me. . . . I accepted, nevertheless, because, had I refused, I should have had necessarily to proclaim an antagonism fatal to Italy; but, by accepting, I feel that I have made the greatest sacrifice a public man may make to his country, not only by consenting to bear cruel insults in silence, but also by accepting a mission from a Government which inspires me neither with esteem nor confidence.

C. CAVOUR.

An influential party in Italy is arrayed against Ratazzi; and if he succeed in retaining office, it will be because the King's personal aversion to Ricasoli makes it impossible for the Parliamentary majority to place in power the man of its choice.

GREECE.—In despite of the Treaty of 1832, which precludes the election to the throne of a Prince of the reigning Houses of England, France, or Russia, there seems great reason to expect that Prince Alfred will be chosen. The Greeks are inclined to such a choice, hoping to get Corfu and the other Ionian Islands; and the English Government do not appear to discourage it. France probably, and Russia certainly, would resent and protest against the Prince's elevation; and the surrender of the Ionian Islands, if we could suppose it possible, would approach to an act of high treason on the part of the Minister who should sanction it. Prince Alfred is heir to the safe and respectable Duchy of Coburg; he would be running a great risk relinquishing it for the insecure throne of the parvenu Greek kingdom.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, November 26.

Our last report left the market very dull and lifeless on the basis of 14d. for Fair Dhollerahs, and 21d. for Middling Orleans.

On Thursday the greatness of the decline attracted the attention of speculators, and a decided change in tone became visible as the day advanced; the sales reached 4000 bales, and Fair Dhollerahs closed at 14½d. On Friday the market was very strong with sales of 10,000 bales at 1½d. to 1d. advance. On Saturday the trade continued to buy largely; the sales reached again 10,000 bales at a further advance, Middling Orleans closing at 23d., and Fair Dhollerahs 15 to 15½. The market opened with a much more subdued tone on Monday morning; and a general desire was shown on the part of holders to meet the market at Saturday's prices, as fears were entertained that Manchester might not fully respond to our advance the following day; the sales resulted in 8000 bales at barely steady prices. The Manchester report on Tuesday, though satisfactory, was not of a nature to justify a further rise here, the business doing was only to a moderate extent at the full prices of the previous week but little or no advance could be obtained. Our market has accordingly become very quiet, and with a business to-day of 4000 bales; prices are again rather easier. Fair Dhollerahs may be quoted 15½d., Fair Omrawutties 15½d., Middling Bowdels 21d., and Middling Orleans 22d. to 22½d.

The principal item in the American news is the removal of McClellan from command of the grand army, and the appointment of Burnside in his place. This step on the part of the President, while its policy is questionable, betokens a resolve to brook no interference at the hands of the Democrats, and a determination to carry out those extreme measures of which McClellan disapproved. Rumours of mediation in American affairs by France alone, and of the approaching recognition of the South by at least one European Power, were revived a few days ago, the first, however, obtained no credence, and the latter is premature.

The late advance here was again too rapid, and spinners who were prepared to buy largely on the basis of 14d. for Fair Dhollerahs have been driven out of the market; production, however, is gradually increasing, and a healthier tone becoming apparent in Manchester; and it seems probable that these they have now seen the worst.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday Nov. 25.

Since Tuesday last our market has evinced some little degree of improvement both in yarn and cloth, especially in those qualities suitable for the home trade.

Many manufacturers who believe that prices have about reached the lowest point, and partly induced by the improved position of Liverpool market, have bought rather extensively of Nos. 32 to 50s twist and pineops at an advance in some cases of fully 1d. per lb. upon the prices of the week before; whilst for No. 60s twist cops, Bolton spinning, as much as 2d. per lb. advance has been paid.

Cloth is more inquired for, and where holders are inclined to accept last week's quotations, a considerable business can be done. Printers, T. cloths, long cloths, and shirtings are in moderate request, but there is little disposition to sell, except at improved prices.

To-day our market opened quiet, but towards afternoon there was a decided improvement in demand, and altogether there has been a moderate business done.

Home trade yarns were decidedly better, and some contracts were placed at 1d. per lb. advance upon the prices of this day week. Some little business has also been transacted in bundles for the Levant. 8½ lbs. India shirtings have been sold at an advance of from 3d. to 6d. per piece. 36 inch printers are 6d. per piece dearer than they were on Thursday last. Home trade shirtings for dyeing purposes are dearer and in better request, with a prospect of a good demand setting in before long.

TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, November 26.

The transactions of late have been only to a moderate extent, but the business embraced considerable parcels, establishing the values on the standard of late quotations. Eight-pence has been paid for Western strips in large lots, prepared in Owensboro'; other sorts at a fraction lower. In leaf, few transactions have taken place in the finer or fancy sorts; but several lots of Missouri growth have found purchasers at from 9d. to 11½d.

In Virginia descriptions scarcely anything doing.

For Maryland there is only a retail demand for the lower grades.

Negrohead and Cavendish scarcely enquired for.

Heavy arrivals of the latter deter dealers from operating.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

CAPTAIN W. D. BROWN, Commander of the Chesapeake Artillery, with General Lee's army, has been appointed Acting Chief of Artillery, in General Ewell's division, vice Major J. Snowden Andrews, wounded. The Chesapeake battery was recruited in Richmond from refugee Marylanders, and was for some time stationed at battery No. 3, on the James.

The battery has participated in every battle in Maryland and on the Potomac, losing a number in killed and wounded, and every horse in the battery. The latter have, however, been replaced.

The *Montgomery Alabama Advertiser*, has a dispatch from Atlanta, dated October 8th, which says:—"A letter was received here this morning from John For-yth, dated Bardstown, Kentucky, 27th ult., which says that he and several others were taken prisoners by a scouting party of Yankees, and sent to General Buell at Cave City, but was subsequently released on parole.

The *Charleston Courier* says we have before us the "Report of W. H. Gist, Chief of the Department of Construction and Manufacture to Governor Pickens," and we append a few facts and statements derived from it.

This department was established by the Executive Council, on March 24, 1862, with a view to erecting a foundry, armory, and military workshops for the State.

The services of Mr. Campbell, of the Tredegar Shops, of Richmond, were engaged to select site and material. David Lopez, a well known carpenter of this city, was appointed Superintendent of State Work. The pig-iron from the King's Mountain mine was examined, tested and approved as peculiarly fit for ordnance use.

Greenville Court House was selected as the site for the State Works, in consideration (with other reasons), of the fact that V. McBee, Esq., offered the use of twenty acres of land.

Machinery was purchased in Charleston and other places, when supposed to be in danger of attack or invasion. A large purchase was made, on very favourable terms, from the State of Tennessee.

South Carolina has sent to Virginia 11,260 stands of arms, and to other points of service 9,000 stands.

The foundry works will be in full operation by the 1st of October.

Among the items of expenditure, charged to this department, we find the following:—

Cotton cards, for soldiers' families, \$3,780; cost of removing bells from Charleston, \$1,704; spikes for gunboats, \$982; cash for bacon not needed at the works, \$5,000. The total amount expended is \$95,212.02.

The following is a statement of value of work done and comprised in report of General Superintendent of State Works:—

Altering to percussion, repairing and cleaning 1620 muskets at \$8 per musket	\$12,960
Repairing and cleaning 239 rifles, carbines, and double-barrel guns, and 874 bayonets	817
Building six caissons and limbers complete	3,600
Building one battery wagon]	750
1000 pikes	3,000
Spikes for gunboat, for Captain Ingraham	1,766
	<hr/> \$22,893

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 11.

One of the greatest humiliation that the United States Government has yet been subjected to, is the necessity of pledging thirteen millions of Treasury notes bearing an annual interest of 7 30-100ths per cent. for a fifteen days' loan of twelve millions of dollars from the bankers, who only pay in their own non-interest bearing notes. This shows that the credit of the Treasury Department has reached a very low ebb, that Mr. Chase has exhausted his limit of "green backs," and is thus obliged to borrow from moneyed institutions that cannot pay their own debts, in order to meet the pressing demands for small amounts upon the navy and war bureaux, for it is well established that no large sums have been settled for, except in "certificates of indebtedness" at twelve months' date. Mr. Chase has, by his boldness, carried a heavy load of debt up to the present time, and so kept in motion the machinery of the Government, although the temporary assistance from the banks is a relief for a few days, it remains to be seen whether Wall-street will grant further aid. It must be remembered that the Bank Presidents, who have had control of financial affairs, are considered in this community as being only first class clerks, and they by no means represent the voice of the people, as recently expressed at the ballot-box.

The immediate future is full of interest, financially as well as politically.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 25.

The relations between England and France are getting worse and worse. The last feather which is likely to break the back is the candidature of Prince Alfred to the throne of Greece, which, if really persevered in, must bring about very serious complications, and may even lead to war.

Immediately on the Greek throne becoming vacant, it was reported that the French and Russian Governments intended to put up the Duke de Leuchtenberg as a candidate. The Duke being connected with both the French and Russian Imperial families. On this, the English Government is understood to have put forward Prince Alfred with the object, it was believed at first, of merely compelling the other powers to abandon this Russo-French candidate. The Greeks, however, were not slow to perceive their advantage, and the prospect of having a son of the Queen of England for their king, drove them wild with enthusiasm, and there is no doubt whatever of the election of His Royal Highness. Thus what the English Government originally intended as a simple demonstration, has become a reality, and the attitude of France and Russia, and the enthusiasm of the Greeks will make the non-acceptance of the Prince appear as a disgraceful *recalade*, prompted not by policy, but under foreign pressure. Hence the rumours of war which are so prevalent, and to which the articles of the semi-official

France, and of the equally semi-official *Globe* and *Morning Post*, have not a little contributed.

It has been judiciously observed that in this matter England and France appear to have completely changed sides—England now going for the "will of the people" as paramount over every other consideration, and France having been smitten with a sudden attachment for the inviolability of treaties. The truth of the affair is, that for some time past, the two Governments have been gradually approximating to that point when the slightest pretext is sufficient for a quarrel. The present issue is far more than a mere pretext, involving as it does supremacy in the East and in the Mediterranean. But notwithstanding its serious aspect, it is to be hoped that a rupture will be avoided, which would be fatal to the interests of the two countries, which have now so many interests in common. The French Government is, it is said, determined to proceed with its humane endeavour to put an end to the carnage in America, and a hope is entertained that the victory of the democrats in the recent elections in the Federal States will materially contribute to the success of the overtures which M. Mercier is instructed to make.

During the past week the propriety of intervention has been the subject of an animated controversy between the *Debats* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the one hand, and the *Constitutionnel*, and other Government journals, on the other. The *Debats* and *Revue* charged the Government with gross partiality to the South, and ascribed to the least disinterested motives the desire of the Government to interfere in the affairs of America, the whole being supported by a running accompaniment of praise of the system of non-intervention. An able letter, refuting these attacks, has appeared in the *Constitutionnel*. As it fully sets forth the nature of the *polémique*, I subjoin its salient points:—

Of all the considerations of a nature to throw light on the impartiality, the opportuneness, and the prudence of the proposition addressed by the Emperor's Government to the English and Russian Cabinets, with a view of pacifying the United States, the reasons imagined by the *Debats* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in condemnation of that step, and in denial of that prudence, that opportuneness, and that impartiality, appear to me the most convincing; and if the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys required to be explained and defended, it could not be more clearly and more effectually done than by those very attacks.

I am now about to take those attacks into consideration one after the other, and your readers shall decide whether advocates were ever more completely mistaken. The principal complaint brought forward by the *Revue* against the proposition of the French Government is, of not having offered to the two parties engaged in the sanguinary struggle "the rough sketch of a peace which might make them fall into each other's arms?" "Have you," it asks, "yourself conceived a plan of peace which you could submit and recommend to them?" "Some plan of pacification," it continues, "is necessary, and without that you are neither reasonable, just, nor impartial." Certainly not; the French Government has not proposed to the belligerents any plan or any basis of pacification; and it would take good care not to do so in order to remain impartial, just and reasonable, towards both parties. How do we stand towards the United States? As friends of the first and last hour, and as old, constant, and sincere allies. The quarrel which has separated the North and the South has not changed our sentiments; we are pained at all the dangers and the sufferings of that energetic and noble country, and we make no distinction either in the blood spilt or in the tears shed. It would be to show partiality if we were to lean to one side rather than to the other; for it would be impossible, without taking part, at least morally, in the quarrel, to indicate before hand the points on which the refusal of one ought to be given and the pretensions of the other rejected. Such a conduct would not be impartial and reasonable, but absurd and uncivil; it would be making ourselves judges even before being arbitrators. What is the part which belongs to us legitimately and incontestably as friends and allies, and as a great power in this fratricidal struggle? It is to suggest, as soon as possible, in the name of the common feelings of pity, humanity, morality, and religion, propositions for an armistice, which would, were it only for a time, prevent further bloodshed. To seek to put an end to massacres, conflagrations, and ruin, and to alleviate the sufferings of America and of Europe, is what belongs to us. All the rest—that is to say, the bases of pacification, the relations for the future restoration of the Union, or final separation—all that belongs to the parties themselves at least, until they themselves place the decision into other hands.

The writer then diverges into the question of slavery, repudiates on the part of France the most distant intention of upholding it. He proceeds to demonstrate that slavery would by no means be affected by the step proposed by France, and then proceeds:—

Yes, the French Government is really neutral in the American question, but there are people who are not so, and they are those who, like the writers in the *Debats* and *Revue des Deux Mondes*, have taken a part in America, and have become belligerents. They may be said to be there enrolled under the banner of their Princes, but with principles and sentiments which their chiefs certainly would not accept. When it was known in France that two young Princes had gone to America to there learn the noble science of war or perhaps something more, the impression produced was not an unfavourable one. They were young, unemployed, and the excitement attracted them.

But if they interfered in the struggle of the Americans it was certainly with the deep conviction that France was neutral in it. If in drawing their sword for the North they could have supposed that the French Government was for the South, that sword would have been returned to its scabbard. Thus, therefore, they declared for one party because the preference of France was exclusively for neither. The journals I

alluded to are not so prudent. They accuse the French Government of having, by the steps it has taken, betrayed visible preference for the South without thinking that by thus speaking they calumniate their country, or those young Princes. In fact, one of two things: either they believe, or they do not believe in the partiality of the French Government in favour of the South. If the former, they accuse the Princes of having carried arms against a cause adopted by their country; if the latter, they knowingly accuse the Government of their country with a duplicity which would be dishonest, if it were not imaginary. So much for the accusation of partiality shown from the fact that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has not proposed a plan of pacification to the United States; and we will now come to that of partiality, founded on his having proposed an armistice. To propose an armistice of six months, exclaims the *Debats*, is to call on the North to give up for ever, to tie up its right arm, to deliver up its arms, and to commit suicide. A year ago, with the armaments of the North, its suddenly-raised fleets, its armies of 700,000 men, its budget of two millions, those words might have had some sense in them; at the present time they have none. The North, you say, is called on to give up what advantage she has gained; but what does she hold in any decisive manner? Nothing. She has not been able to gain possession of the enemy's capital, and her own is not completely in safety. She is master of the houses and streets of New Orleans, but the women there brave the invader.

The North has used immense armies, and expended sums which the imagination can with difficulty comprehend; it blockades the ports of its enemy, but it has lost more battles than it has gained, and it is both materially and morally less advanced than it was on the first day. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was able to say with all sincerity what all Europe sees, that the position appears for the moment to be without issue; that there is between the belligerents an equality of forces; that, after so much blood has been shed, the situation has not sensibly changed; that there is nothing to authorize the expectation of soon seeing more decisive military operations, or any advantages sufficiently important to make the scales lean to either one side or the other, or to accelerate the conclusion of a peace. This state of things is indisputable, and it is also the most propitious for bringing about a pacification such as all the friends of the United States must desire. In the situation in which things now are, reason might also dictate conditions of peace. At a later moment, when time and events shall have destroyed that equilibrium, it is force which will impose them. At the present time, the solution may therefore be discussed; later it can only be submitted to. Now, the friends of the United States may make an appeal to the general interest of the Republic, to the old feelings of fraternity, and to the glory achieved under the same flag; and although much useless brutality, many inconsiderate threats and regrettable excesses may have excited hatred, it may not be impossible to re-establish honourably for all parties a Union which had raised so high the name, the riches and the power of the common country. Under any circumstances, if separation were considered inevitable, the ulterior relations of the two Republics might, under the influence of an opportune conciliation, preserve the character of esteem and kindness, which is always for smoothing down international difficulties. Lose the advantages of the present time and of the present situation of affairs; and allow the stream of blood which now separates the combatants, to become wider and deeper, and you will have nothing more in perspective than a Union rendered impossible from fury, or a separation rendered perilous by vengeance."

The stories of plots, &c., continue more rife than ever. The last invention is that a great many arrests have taken place among the police themselves. The *Constitutionnel* has emphatically contradicted all these *canards*, for which I have every reason to believe there is no foundation but the clumsiness of the authorities, who led all the world to suppose that there had been some mysterious cause for the adjournment at the opening of the new Boulevard.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

THE SENATE, Oct. 4th.

The following resolution proposed by Mr. Leno, of Georgia, was adopted and referred to committee:—

"That it be referred to the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the extent of the legal right which the military authorities have in putting restrictions upon the facilities of the citizens of the Confederate States in travelling from one section of country to another; and how far they have the legal right to pass military orders restricting and prohibiting the transportation of the property of citizens upon railroads, canals, or other mode of transportation; and to report by bill or otherwise."

TO ENCOURAGE MANUFACTURES.

Mr. Clay, of Alabama, from the Committee on Commerce, reported back, with the recommendation that it pass, the House Bill authorizing the President to import, duty free, machinery to be used in the manufacture of clothing and shoes for the army. The bill was passed, and sent to the House.

BOUNTIES TO SOLDIERS.

Mr. Sparrow, of Louisiana, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported back, with an amendment, the House Bill providing "for securing their bounty to all soldiers and non-commissioned officers who have entered the army for three years or the war, whether they shall die or be killed in battle or not." Adopted.

THE PRIVILEGE OF VOLUNTEERING.

Mr. Sparrow, from the same committee, reported back, with the recommendation that it should not pass the House Bill providing that men between the ages of 35 and 45 years subject to military duty, may volunteer and join such companies from their State they may select.

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, was surprised the committee had reported adversely to this bill. It was not fair to new conscripts to refuse to allow them to select their regiments. The privilege had been extended to others. To extend it to men now conscripted would save the government the expense of retaining officers and soldiers at home to hunt up conscripts. If this bill did not pass, you would have the office of the Secretary of War crowded with soldiers seeking transfers. The bill only proposed to give to conscripts between the ages of 35 and 45, the privileges which had been extended to those between 18 and 35. Make it a condition, if you choose, that they should volunteer before enrolment. He was receiving letters every day asking whether men between 35 and 45 will be allowed to volunteer into any regiments they may select, and asserting

that if so, the writers would instantly volunteer without waiting for the enrolling officer.

Mr. Yancey favoured the bill. He thought it would prevent discontent. The allowing men to choose their own companies would certainly tend to make them contented. It was certainly desirable to have an army of contented rather than discontented men. There was some feeling in the country tending to draw a distinction between volunteers and conscripts, to the disparagement of the latter. It was desirable to get rid of this feeling. He was not one of those who believed the men who had not volunteered, had failed to do so from want of patriotism. The country had never at any time been able to equip all of the men who had been enlisted. Owing to this circumstance, it was not surprising that many men, not wanting in spirit, had not enlisted. If the country had proclaimed its ability and readiness to equip five hundred thousand volunteers, he believed the volunteers would immediately have been forthcoming. There will be men enough to fill the regiment, both old and new. If this bill pass, it will do much to do away with the distinctions between new and old regiments, and between volunteers and conscripts.

Mr. Haynes, of Tennessee, was as much in favour of conscription as any man, but at the same time he favoured this bill. The question was whether men were to be allowed voluntarily to enter the army or to be taken by the nape of the neck and thrust into it. He approved of the former expedient.

Mr. Wiggfall, of Texas, said he was in favour of having a Confederate army in the field, and keeping it full, regardless of what State the troops shall be drawn from. As to the policy of keeping these troops on the one side or the other, it was just what our enemies would advise. But if I was the commander-in-chief, I would order General Holmes as quickly as the lightning could flash the words, to bring every soldier to the east side of the Mississippi and reinforce Bragg, and enable him, by an overwhelming force, to crush Buell. Buell annihilated, the whole West would be freed. If I had had the power last summer I would have concentrated the whole Confederate force in Virginia, have crushed McClellan, and have gone into the enemy's country and taught him on his own soil what war really was. This was his policy, and he only regretted that he had been induced to say so much.

Mr. Johnson would only say he was very thankful the gentleman was not the commander-in-chief. He was much misunderstood if it was thought he desired the troops of the Confederacy to be divided out into thirteen armies. He only desired that when the trans-Mississippi district was actually invaded, all its troops should not be withdrawn. He requested that the bill be permitted to lie over. Rejected.

On motion of Mr. Johnson the bill was laid on the table.

THE TAX BILL

On the motion of Mr. Preston of Virginia, the adjournment of Congress was postponed in consequence of the Tax Bill being under consideration in the House of Representatives. Mr. Preston said there was a measure now under consideration in the other House, to which in importance, all that Congress had done, was as nothing. He alluded to the Tax Bill, by which it was proposed to raise seventy-five or a hundred millions of dollars for the prosecution of the war. It was either a forced loan, or it was such a taxation as this country never heard of. He had almost as leave see General Lee defeated as that Congress should adjourn without disposing of this Bill, and by some means providing for the prosecution of the war. While General Lee was the arm and the sword of the army, this Bill for providing the sinews of war.

Oct. 8th.

THE CONFEDERATE CENSUS.

Mr. Yancey introduced the following, which was agreed to:—
Resolved, That the Committee of the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill provided for the enumeration of the white inhabitants, free coloured people, and slaves of the several States; and that they report at the next session of Congress.

THE MILITARY AUTHORITY.

After an animated discussion, the following resolutions were passed:—

1st *Resolved*, by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That no officer of the Confederate Government is by law empowered to vest Provost Marshals with any authority whatever over citizens of the Confederate States, not belonging to the land or naval forces thereof, or with general police powers and duties for the preservation of the peace and good order of any city, town, or municipal district in any State in this Confederacy, and any such exercise of authority is illegal and void.

2nd *Resolved*, That no officer of the Confederate Government has constitutional or other lawful authority to limit or restrict, or in any manner to control the exercise of the jurisdiction of the civil judicial tribunals of the States of this Confederacy, vested in them by the constitutions and laws of the States respectively, and all orders of any such officers tending to restrict or control or interfere with the full and normal exercise of the jurisdiction of such civil judicial tribunals are illegal and void.

3rd *Resolved*, That the military law of the Confederate States is, by the Court and the enactments of Congress, limited to the land and naval forces and the militia when in actual service, and to such other persons as are within the lines of any army, navy, corps, division, or brigade of the army of the Confederate States.

October 9th.

PURCHASE AND IMPRESSMENT OF COTTON BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, from the Committee on Finance, said the committee had had under consideration the bill submitted by Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, providing for the purchase or impressment by the Government of a million bales of cotton, and to issue in payment therefor Confederate bonds, &c., and had determined to report by amendment. The Government was already, by existing law, authorised to purchase cotton. The bill authorised it to impress cotton. To this provision the committee were opposed. Mr. Semmes then read the amendment reported by the committee.

After some discussion Mr. Semmes arose to explain the reasons which had influenced the committee in making their report. He read the existing law which authorises the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase thirty-five million dollars worth of cotton, and said that under that law the Secretary had purchased not more than ten thousand bales, owing to there being no demand for cotton in consequence of the blockade.

Mr. Yancey said he thought this subject should be considered in secret session, and he therefore moved the bill be transferred to the secret calendar.—Agreed to.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Oct. 4th.

FILLING UP EXISTING REGIMENTS AND BATTALIONS.

After the doors were reopened, Mr. Swan, of Tennessee, from the Military Committee, reported back a Senate bill to authorise the President to accept and place in the service certain regiments and battalions heretofore raised, with amendments. The bill is as follows:—

"The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, that the President be, and he is hereby authorised and empowered, whenever, in his opinion, the public good would be promoted thereby, to receive into the service regiments or battalions which have been raised in good faith under authority or by the direction of the Secretary of War, or any general officer of the government, although the said regiments or battalions may be composed in part of persons between the ages of 18 and 35 years. Provided that this authority shall not extend to military organizations raised after this time, except in those States and locations where the conscript law may be suspended.

"Sec. 2. That the President be and he is hereby authorized and empowered, whenever, in his opinion, it would promote the public good, to receive into service regiments or battalions which have been heretofore organized, of conscripts, by a general officer, in any of the States lying west of the Mississippi."

October 8.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Mr. Garnett moved the following as an amendment to a previous resolution proposed by Mr. Perkins:—

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to report next session a bill for the purpose of raising a sufficient sum to meet the accruing interest upon the whole interest-bearing debt of this Government, heretofore created, and such as may be contracted hereafter previous to the 1st day of January, 1863; and that the committee be further instructed now to bring in a bill providing that all Treasury notes, not bearing interest, issued on and after the 1st day of December next, shall be made fundable in Confederate States stock, bearing six per cent. interest per annum.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, introduced the following resolution as an amendment to the amendment:—

"And that it shall be the duty of said committee to inquire into the expediency of making the notes and bonds of the Treasury a legal tender in payment of all debts due either to the Government or to individuals, as part of a judicious and comprehensive system of finance, and with a view to the maintenance of the public credit."

Mr. Garnett said that he did not view the vote of Monday as an indication that the House was determined to impose no tax for the support of Government. He was for bringing in a tax bill of some kind, and his amendment, he thought, precisely met the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury. It instructs the committee to provide next session for the payment of the war tax, and provides an absorbent meanwhile, for the redundant circulation.

Mr. Russell, of Virginia, moved that the whole subject be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. The motion was agreed to—ayes 22, noes 19—and the resolutions were referred.

THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the special order, to wit: The bill reported from the Judiciary Committee to authorise the President to suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus in certain cases.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, took the ground that there was no power in Congress to declare martial law, but it had the power to authorise the President to suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus. Martial law, in his judgment, was what General Van Dorn had defined it to be in Mississippi—the will of the officer who declares it; but he believed that whoever declared it, did so unconstitutionally.

Mr. Dargan, of Alabama, said there was nothing in the constitution relative to martial law, nor any power in Congress to declare it. The nearest approach to it, if any at all, was the power vested in Congress to suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus in times of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion.

Mr. Baldwin, of Virginia, rose to offer the following amendment to the bill reported from the Committee:—

1. It shall be a sufficient answer to the Writ of Habeas Corpus in any case that the party in whose behalf it is granted is held in custody upon the warrant of the President of the Confederate States for reasons and upon evidence filed in writing in the Department of State.

2. It shall be the duty of the President to report to Congress as soon as practicable every case of arrest and confinement upon his warrant as aforesaid, with the cause of such arrest and confinement; and he shall, when required by either House of Congress, transmit the written reasons and evidence filed as aforesaid.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, offered the following amendment to the original bill:—

"Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to justify the President or those appointed by him, in setting aside or disregarding the provisions of the Constitution of the Confederate States, or the Constitution of any of said States, or the laws made in conformity therewith, except so far as the same may revert necessarily from the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus; and, in no case, is the ordinary action of the courts, either of the Confederacy or of the States respectively, to be set aside, superseded, or defeated, except so far as may necessarily result from the suspension of the writ aforesaid."

After a brief discussion the debate was adjourned. The following is a copy of the bill as reported by the committee:—

The Congress of the Confederate States do enact—

That during the present invasion of the Confederate States, the President shall have power to suspend the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus in any city, town, or military district, whenever in his judgment it shall be required by the public interest; but such suspension shall apply only to arrests made by the authorities of the Confederate Government, or for offences against the same.

2. The President shall cause proper officers to investigate the cases of all persons so arrested, in order that they may be discharged if improperly detained, unless they can be speedily tried in due course of law.

3. This act shall continue in force for thirty days after the next meeting of Congress and no longer.

Oct. 9.

DELEGATE FROM THE CHEROKEE NATION.

Mr. Elliott, of Kentucky, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the question of the right of Elias C. Boudinot to a seat in the House as Delegate from the Cherokee Nation, reported that after a full examination of the subject, the committee was of opinion that the said Boudinot had been duly elected, and was entitled, under the treaty to a seat, to propose and introduce measures for the benefit of the said nation, and to be heard in regard to the same and on questions in which the said nation may be interested.

The report of the committee was agreed to, and Mr. Boudinot came forward and took the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States.

A bill was also reported from the committee, fixing the pay and mileage of the delegates from the several Indian nations authorized to have delegates under their respective treaties, at the same rate allowed to members of the House of Representatives. Passed.

INTEREST ON THE FUNDED DEBT.

Mr. Kenner, from the same committee, reported a bill to reduce the rate of interest on the funded debt of the Confederate States, as follows:—

"The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, that the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to reduce the rate of interest on all bonds and certificates of stock to be issued after the first day of December next, to a rate per annum not exceeding six per cent., payable semi-annually; and all Treasury Notes issued after the said first day of December, shall be fundable only in the said bonds or stocks issued at such reduced rate. Provided, however, that the reduction shall not include any bonds or stock which are required to meet any contracts made before the rate aforesaid, or any Treasury Notes which shall then have been issued."

"2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall have authority, by public notice, duly advertised, to require the holders of treasury notes to come in and fund the same in eight per cent. bonds or stock within four months after the date of such notice; and all notes which shall not be presented for funding within the said time, shall thereafter be entitled to be funded only in the bonds or stock which shall thereafter be issued under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, at a rate of interest not exceeding six per cent."

The bill being taken up, Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out all after the enacting clauses in the 1st Section, down to the proviso, and inserting as follows:—

"All treasury notes issued after the first day of December next, shall be made fundable only in bonds bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, but in all other respects similar to the bonds bearing eight per cent. interest."

Mr. Kenan suggested that the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Garnett) would accomplish his idea quite as well by moving to strike out the second section of the bill.

The question was first taken upon Mr. Gray's amendment, and it was agreed to, and the House refused to strike out the second section.

THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

Mr. Hartridge addressed the House in explanation of his substitute. He thought it would remove the objections to the main bill, the chief of which was the delegation to the President of a power alone conferred upon Congress. It confided no discretion in the President, but provided for a suspension of the writ by Congress in certain cases and for certain specified crimes.

Mr. Hartridge then offered his amendment as a substitute for Mr. Baldwin's. It reads as follows:—

"The Congress of the Confederate States do enact that in all cases, where any person or persons, charged on oath with treason, misprison of treason, or other crime or misdemeanour against the Confederate States, and endangering the safety thereof, shall be arrested or imprisoned by virtue of any warrant or authority from the President of the Confederate States, or from any person acting under the direction or authority of the President of the Confederate States, the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall be and the same is hereby suspended, from and after the passage of this act, until after the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the next session of this Congress."

The original bill was then ordered to its engrossment, was read a third time and passed.

We append a copy of this bill as passed:—

"The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, That during the present invasion of the Confederate States, the President shall have power to suspend the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus in any city, town, or military district wherever in his judgment the public safety may require it; but this suspension shall apply only to arrests made by the authorities of the Confederate Government, and offences against the same.

"2. The President shall require a proper officer to investigate the cases of all persons so arrested, in order that they may be discharged if improperly detained, unless they can be speedily tried in due course of law.

"3. This act shall continue in force thirty days after the next meeting of Congress and no longer."

ARMY PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. Miles, under instructions of the Committee, reported an additional section, as follows:—

"Be it further enacted, That whenever any officer of a company, battalion, squadron or regiment, shall have been dropped or honourably retired, in accordance with the provisions of this act, then the officer next in rank shall be promoted to the vacancy, if competent; and if not competent, then the next officer in rank shall be promoted; and so on until all the commissioned officers of the company, battalion, squadron or regiment, shall have been gone through with; and if there be no officer of the company, battalion, squadron or regiment competent to fill the vacancy, then the President shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, fill the same by appointment—Provided, that the officer appointed shall be from the same State as that to which the company, battalion, squadron or regiment belongs. And provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as limiting the power heretofore conferred upon the President, by existing laws, to fill any vacancy by the promotion of officers, or the appointment of privates distinguished in the service by the exhibition of extraordinary valour and skill."

Mr. Gartrell, of Georgia, moved to amend by adding to the second section of the bill—"Provided, such officer shall be entitled to be heard and to call witnesses in his defence."

The following amendment to the independent section was offered by Mr. Smith, of North Carolina, and agreed to.

"And provided, further, That vacancies arising under the operations of this act, in regiments or battalions, which were organized under the laws of a State, for the war, or a period not yet expired, shall be filled as in case of death or resignation."

NORTH AND SOUTH.

LETTER FROM COMMANDER MAURY TO ADMIRAL FITZ ROY.
(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

RICHMOND, Va., Aug. 4, 1862.

Dear Fitz Roy,—It has been about a year since I last wrote you. Since that time the war has passed through several phases and Lincoln has tried it on as many new tacks. At first, you recollect, he only intended to "repossess and occupy" the public places in the South; and to enable him to do this,

an army of 667,000 men was called out for three months. The battle of Manassas satisfied him that it wouldn't do. Then he called for more men, and proceeded to raise an army of 667,000 for three years, or the war. In the meantime we stood stock-still in our encampments—perhaps unwisely—until he marshalled his host, trained it to his liking, and moved with it upon us. But where are the men now that composed that army? Let his new call for 300,000 more troops, and the continual cry from his side that, in every fight we outnumbered him, answer. We have never claimed to have over 400,000 men under arms at one time. His object now is no longer to "repossess" the Custom Houses and "occupy" the public places of the South, but to subjugate and exterminate a whole people. The war he is now waging is, he would fain have the world to believe, waged in the cause of human freedom. The crimes that the Yankees are committing under this cry, call to mind Madame Roland's apostrophe to the statue of Liberty, when she was on her way to the scaffold—the time "France got drunk with blood." The Yankees are fighting for self-government, they say. They are doing battle for the freedom of man, for a free press free speech, free worship, and the right of self-government—such are their words; now for their acts: They have suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus, and have been, for more than a year, issuing *lettres de cachet*.—They drag preachers from their pulpits and haul them to prison because they will not preach for Yankee rule. They have muzzled the press, abridged the freedom of speech, turned Legislatures out of doors, imprisoned members, stepped between man and his maker, forbidden Christians to pray from their hearts and forced them into lip service.

Since I saw you, some eighteen months ago, you, on your side of the water, have made considerable progress in your studies of us as a people, of your cause, the Yankee character. As your knowledge of us and of them has increased, you have thought better of the South, and worse of the North. Excelsior, go on; you have much to learn yet.

I recollect when, in the Fall of 1860, I was explaining to a circle of friends in England the cause of all our then impending troubles, I told one of your statesmen that "*all the right was on our side*." He laughed. If I am not mistaken, he now begins to perceive that we of the South are in the category of the children of Israel, seeking to escape from bondage with this our Pharaoh, the "rail-splitter."—He has got to let us go, that's as certain as though another Moses and Aaron had told him so.

His people pretend, and many Englishmen seem to think, that African slavery is at the bottom of all our present troubles. No such thing! The causes of them are deep-seated and ramified. The Union was formed with slavery in it—Slavery served as a landmark in dividing the country into sections; but it had about as much to do with the origin of our troubles as "Tenterden Steeple had with the Goodwin Sands." Slavery happened to mark a geographical line, which separated the Northern from the Southern States. But Kentucky, a slave State, has never been with us; neither have Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri come out for us. These are slave States, and whatever be the feeling of the great body of their people, their so-called Governors have all furnished Lincoln each with his contingent for this war upon us.

The old Government of the United States had become utterly corrupt, and it had corrupted the people, and with or without slavery, the dissolution of that Government was bound to occur. Look at its history and the facts.

For more than thirty years, the country has been ruled by a faction—first of one party, then of another—and the master spirits of the faction ruled, and there was a lack of statesmanship in the national councils. Presidents and their Cabinets, lawgivers and the officers of the Government ceased long ago to be selected for their fitness, but solely for their party availability. Thus the great men of the country—Calhoun, Webster, Clay, &c.—were proscribed, and the populace came down below mediocrity in search of rulers. Thus, in the last presidential canvass, the successful candidate was the man that could split the most rails in a day, a man unknown to the people, and without any, the least experience in the affairs of State. It has not been many years since a man was chosen President because it was said he trafficked in coon skins, lived in a log-cabin, and drunk hard cider; any one versed in American politics will tell you that every president, from Van Buren down, has been elected, not because of their fitness, but because he was the most available man that the successful party could forward.

What was the effect of putting such men in this high office? Naturally enough it was to convert the Government into a party machine, and to place its honours and its patronage at the disposal of the "King Makers."

Finally, it became so that party fealty was almost the only test of fitness for any office, from that of tidewater, up. And when an Administration was turned out at the end of four years, as it was sure to be, the successful party raised the cry that "to the victors belong the spoils," and went into the Government like a victorious army into the encampment of a vanquished foe. The whole energies of the Government then were directed to secure the succession to the party in power at the end of the four years.

Besides the patronage connected with places of mere honour and power, each Administration had all the patronage connected with the disbursement, during the Presidential term, of three or four hundred millions of dollars; and for this there was a scramble among the politicians. They inflamed the public mind upon the subject of the Presidential election, and once in every four years the Government was overturned. All who were charged with the administration of the offices had to retire and give place to a new and inexperienced set of hungry and greedy politicians.

In this way, the Government ceased to be managed for the good of the people. It became the instrument of party for the reward of partisans; consequently its checks and balances became first deranged; high sectional interests were involved.

Prominent among these were those of free trade on one hand, protection on the other. As a rule, the agricultural States, which happened also to be Slave States, were for free trade; the manufacturing and mining States, which happened to be free States, were clamorous for protection, as the Morrill Tariff abundantly shows.

Now for statistics to assist me in making these points clear.

The South contained, roundly stated, about one-third of the population of the United States. About three-fourths of the exports of the whole country were furnished by the South. The industry of the South was, you may therefore infer, eminently profitable; and it is evident that the bounties required to make profitable the unremunerative labour of the North must be paid chiefly by the South.

The manner of exacting this tribute to the North was

forcibly illustrated in the Senate, some thirty years ago, by Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, in what is known as his "Forty Bale Theory." It was proposed to give the cotton spinning of New England a protection of 40 per cent. Whereupon that Senator put this case:—

A certain cotton planter of South Carolina, who grows one hundred bales of cotton, fancies to export them to Liverpool on his own account, and to exchange them there for one hundred bales of manufactured goods. With these he returns to Charleston, where he meets the New England manufacturer, who bought one hundred bales of cotton in South Carolina at the same time; but instead of carrying them to Liverpool, shipped them to Massachusetts, manufactured them there, and returned with them, also, to Charleston.—Here, now, is a hundred bales of merchandize which represents the industrial skill and energy of two sections. The next morning the two importers appear at the Custom House. The manufacturer is told that, because he brings his bales from New England, he may pass his whole one hundred bales through duty free; but the planter is told that, because he brought his from Old England, he must leave forty in the Custom House to pay for the privilege of getting the sixty through.

And thus, from that day to this, and long before, the South has been paying, under the forms of tariffs and protection, annual tribute to the North.

Some fifteen years ago, the Secretary of the Treasury put forth an Official Statement, showing that the indirect taxes to which the country was then subjected, in consequence of this protection of Northern sectional industry, amounted annually to not less than \$80,000,000.

Your Parliament, if I rightly remember, reprinted that document.

This was tribute money; for though the South was taxed for the larger portion of it, not a cent of it went into the coffers of the common treasury. It all went into the pockets of the Northern manufacturer as a bounty to enable him to undersell in Southern markets his English and French competitors.

Twenty years ago, when Congress had the tariff under revision, every trade sent from the North its deputation to Washington to explain the state of its yield, and the degree of protection required. Among others the shoemakers of New England appeared with a statement of this sort. The French and Germans are sending their shoes to the South and selling there at sixty-five cents the pair. As honest men, we assure you we cannot afford to make such shoes and sell them there for less than one hundred cents the pair. Therefore, protect us; in other words, put such a tariff on French and German made shoes as will make it cheaper for those Southern nabobs to buy of us. Congress did so. The consequence was that the French and German shoes ceased to come, and the Southern man, instead of paying sixty-five cents to the Frenchman for a pair of shoes, besides the duty to the Government, paid a dollar to the Yankee, and no duty. In the same way the iron men, the sailmakers, the cotton and woollen spinners, *et al.*, called for protection against their English, Swedish, and Russian competitors. Thus the South paid duties upon all articles that the tariff kept out of the country; but these duties, instead of going into the Treasury as revenue, went into the purse of manufacturers as bounty. After paying this tribute money to the North, the South had then to pay her quota for the support of the Government. The Morrill tariff, had the South submitted to it, would have exacted from her something like \$100,000,000 as an annual tribute to the North.

The South has been remonstrating with the North and protesting against this thing with more or less earnestness for upwards of thirty years; and thirty years ago the Union was brought to the brink of dissolution by one of these tariff bills. But for the first time the factions of the North in 1860 formally declared their hostility to the South. This they did in the Chicago platform—that is, the supporters of Lincoln took in that instrument, without regard to the Constitution, broad grounds of hostility to the South. He pledged himself to stand by them; and, with his election, the fact became obvious that the whole machinery of the Federal Government was to be turned, as far as he could turn it, against the South. Its checks and balances had already, by imprudent legislation, been destroyed, and agencies were at work which it was evident, would in the course of a few years, bring the whole Federal machinery—executive, legislative, and judicial—according to the forms of the Constitution, under the control of the North. The predominant faction there was pledged to turn it against the South for certain purposes of unfriendly legislation. Such legislation lurks in the Morrill tariff. It was to be directed, in an especial manner, not only against the industry of the South, but against her dignity and the rights of her citizens in the territories.

And in proof that we understand better than you the smothered animosity of the Northern mind against us, behold the envenomed hatred, the savage and barbarous spirit in which they are waging this war upon us. Haynau, who excited the indignation of the London brewers to such a pitch, was mild, merciful in comparison with some of Lincoln's lieutenants.

Thus you observe that slavery was neither the remote nor the proximate cause of this war. It is true that the enemy is trying to strike it down now; but in his rage at what does he not strike. He has been trying to erase a haven from the sea; he has been devastating, laying waste, pillaging and robbing our country and people to such an extent and in a manner that English men and women at home have no conception of; and he has been trying to strike at every Southern interest, and wherever a blow would entail suffering, inflict loss or gratify revenge. Your ministers have stood up in their places to pronounce the conduct of his lieutenants infamous.

They who hold that slavery is the cause of this war, show that they have by no means been attentive observers or close students of the American Government, its institutions, its operations, and its people. The truth is, that Government had, in many ways, and for diverse reasons, ceased to answer the purposes for which it was established. In that fact, and not in slavery, is to be found the cause of this war.

This is a long disquisition, but I could not well make it shorter.

This is not only a very wicked war, but a very foolish one. Why does the North wage it, and why do the people there cry out that they are fighting for their nationality and even for existence? We have assailed them in no point; we simply wish to dissolve all political association with them. Let us consult statistics and see if, instead of the negro, we do not discover the Yankee yearning after the "Almighty dollar" lurking at the bottom of all these difficulties.

By the official returns touching the commerce and navigation of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1860—the last year of the Republic—it appears that the foreign exports of the country for that year amounted, in round numbers, and exclusive of bullion and coin, to \$316,000,000 con-

sisting of the products of the sea, of the forest, of the field, and the workshop. And of this \$316,000,000, \$236,000,000, or three-fourths, were furnished exclusively by the South.—Northern ships, Northern seamen, and Northern capital found profitable employment in distributing this produce among the markets of the world; for the Union gave them privileges and advantages in the coasting and carrying trade, which amounted to well nigh a monopoly. The coasting trade by sea and river between the two sections greatly surpassed in value the foreign trade. None of it was in the hands of foreigners—nearly all of it was in the hands of the North.

Now, more—the North, for there was perfect free trade between the States, had a preference over all the world for its wares in the markets of the South. This preference amounted to 20 or 30 or 40 or 50 per cent., and even more, according to the article and the existing tariff. It extended over a country having twelve millions of customers.

The Yankees are a nation of shopkeepers, you know, and they well understood the bankruptcy, the poverty, the distress and misery which such a loss of custom and of business is to entail upon them.

When the separation of the two sections is completed—which, with God's help, we intend shall be—and that, too, we hope, at no distant day—this coasting trade, with its monopolies by sea, river, and rail, will no longer be open to the Yankee vessels and factors. The free trade between the sections will become foreign trade; their preference in our markets of twelve millions of people will be shaved, if not monopolized, by foreign nations; and all this fetching and carrying which belonged to the North will be transferred to French, or some other foreign bottoms, in the treaties we intend to make.

It was this commerce, this business, this fetching and carrying of Southern produce, which gave the universal Yankee nation its maritime power, made it great, and caused England to dread the displeasure of the North. With secession this maritime sceptre will depart from the North, and the South can place it in the hands of any power she pleases.

You can now perceive why the Yankees are so loth to let us go, why they have invoked the horrors of war, and incurred such enormous expenses to restrain us. The twofold fact that we simply seek to withdraw from all political association with them, and that they seek to restrain us by force of arms and the expenditure of untold sums, shows of itself with what ought to be convincing force for all the world, that the old Union was a one-sided affair, hurtful to the South, beneficial to the North.

The impression exists here among observant men, that when these troubles commenced the Governments of both England and France sympathized strongly with the Lincoln Government; that through that sympathy the doctrines announced in the 8th article of the treaty of Paris were ignored, and this unheard-of monstrous blockade by some forty or fifty vessels, of a coast line nearly 3,000 miles in extent, came to be acknowledged and respected; that, influenced by that sympathy, England led off in that course of so-called neutrality which has operated against us with chilling effect, and with a force but little, if any, short of active hostilities.

We had no commerce; but in that the enemy was rich. We had no navy; in that he was strong. Therefore when England and her allies declared that neither the armed cruisers nor the prizes of either of the belligerents should have hospitality and protection in neutral ports, she simply said to us—you shall not touch the commerce of your enemy—for we had no ports of our own to flee to, and she virtually said you shall go to none others.

The impression also exists that Mr. Seward has intimated both to France and England that he would treat any recognition of the Southern Confederacy, by either or both of them, as an open declaration of war against the Lincoln Government, and that both France and England have looked at the Yankee navy, and have been restrained by the threat.

Now we, who understand the Yankee character so well, looked upon that threat merely as the braggart's boast; and so we thought Seward's conduct in the Trent affair would have induced you to do.

Lincoln's navy is now in its upper culmination. With the South cut off, he will have, in proportion, no more to support a marine, if as much, than Canada has; for Canada enjoys some commercial advantages with the mother country which his Government will not enjoy with any part of the world. The lumber, the rice, the sugar, the tobacco, the naval stores, the breadstuffs, and the cotton of the South are all bulky articles. In proportion to their value, they are the best articles in the world for the support of a marine and the basis of maritime power. We export almost exclusively in the raw. One ship freighted with the precious metals will transport as much value in a single voyage as hundreds would do laden with the raw and bulky produce of the South, and the only crops now left to the North for general commerce are, their merchants are already telling you, their gold and grain crops.

Unlike the demand for our great Southern staples, which is certain, the demand abroad for grain is very uncertain. We know in advance how much cotton and tobacco and what quantity of naval stores you will want of us. But as for the quantity of grain that you will want of the Yankees, that depends entirely upon your own harvest and the harvest of some half a dozen other countries. Moreover, grain never rigged up any nation on the face of this earth, either into a vast maritime or a great naval power.

As for the crops of gold that belong to the States on the Pacific, the attachment of those States to the old Union is so slight that they have furnished no contingent for the war. Nor has Mr. Lincoln ventured to call on them either for men or money. No one here expects that those States will submit to the taxes imposed by this war. They will either set up for themselves or put themselves under the protection of some other Power.

Your pursuits make you peculiarly well acquainted with the ways of commerce, the influences of trade and the real sources of maritime consequence and naval power. Tell me this, therefore, out of the abundance of your knowledge, where is the North to find recuperation when she shall be deprived of all these commercial privileges, advantages, and monopolies in the South, which she enjoyed under the Union, and which, with that Union gone, she can never regain.

The Northern people are already tired of this war; no paper in that section is allowed to utter Southern or secession sentiments; all that dared to do it have been suppressed. No man there is allowed to plead our cause, to state our case, or to find fault with Lincoln, on pain of incarceration.

Northern prisons are full of men. Through such instrumentalities the politicians and that muzzled press of the North have hoodwinked the people. Consider the efforts that the war faction there is now making to raise new recruits; and if, out of a population of 20,000,000, 300,000 cannot be raised

for this war of embittered feeling and intense animosity which the fanatics of the North are waging against us, how is it possible for Lincoln to make war with France or England for any cause whatever? My word for it, the North, as soon as this war feeling subsides and her present navy requires to be replaced with new ships, will dwindle down into a second or third rate naval power.

Study the object of this war and the conduct of Northern rulers, and you will be satisfied that their judgment has been taken away and their people afflicted with judicial blindness.

The first dawn of returning reason is just beginning to appear among the Yankee people. Notwithstanding the muzzled press and their gagged orators, the masses are beginning to perceive that they can no more restore the broken union of these States, by fighting over it, than you can make whole again the broken egg by trampling upon it. The enthusiasm which existed among the Northern people this time last year is gone; their war spirit is broken, for it is now evident that Lincoln's call for 300,000 more men is to be met only by compulsion. The trying crisis is over with us; and I may speak of things now which in my first letter it might not be proper to do.

At first we were anxious for foreign recognition, and desirous of intervention. But now we are comparatively indifferent as to either—indeed, we rather fear and dread the latter.

The recognition by France and England of Lincoln's paper blockade, has by no means proved an unmitigated evil to us. When peace comes, your manufacturers, your merchants, and your shipowners, will feel the effects of the course of your Government with regard to that blockade very sensibly, and in more ways than one. It has forced us into many branches of industry, into which, but for that blockade, we should have never entered; for instead of producing the articles ourselves, we should have depended upon you and other foreign countries for them.

When you acknowledged the blockade, and warned your vessels not to violate it, we were sadly in want of powder and arms. Now, we have excellent powder-mills of our own, and two fine armories in full blast. They turn out muskets, rifles, sabres, &c., rapidly, of fine quality, and as fast as we want them. Our last orders for arms from abroad have, in all probability, already gone forward.

So, too, with iron. The war found no more than half a dozen furnaces in blast in the whole Confederacy, and most of those have been destroyed by the enemy. But the Government has given such encouragement to the iron men that new mines have been opened in other parts of the Confederacy, and furnaces enough are already up or in the course of erection, not only to supply the wants of the Government, but to satisfy the railroads and the people generally with cast and wrought iron.

Also with the coarse wollen and cotton fabrics. A large amount of capital has been invested in establishments for their fabrication, so that your Ministers, by their course with regard to Lincoln's paper blockade, have forced us to arm ourselves, to clothe ourselves, and to feed ourselves. Hence, when peace does come, we shall have much to sell and but little to buy. We accept this condition now with a degree of pride and pleasure, because of the manner in which it was forced upon us. Moreover, there is satisfaction in the thought that it has all been accomplished in but little more than a year.

We are beginning to see daylight; but I do not see yet any beginning to the end of the troubles which this war is entailing upon certain interests with you.

Your operator's begin already to have presented before them, for contemplation, the prospect of another winter without cotton.

This will be worse than the last—for your stock now of American on hand is not more than one week's full supply in ordinary times. I say the prospect is actually before you now, because from the day your Ministers make up their mind to open a cotton port, until the first cargo arrives in Liverpool several months must intervene. After it is decided to break the blockade, the fleet to do it has to be collected. That would not take long.—But then notice must be given also in advance to the merchants, and a place of rendezvous appointed in American waters where the cotton ships may assemble for convoy.—This, you well know, requires time. Then, after that, the cotton has to be brought down from the interior and placed at the shipping port, and means of transportation, both by river and rail, are limited with us. They are already taxed well nigh up to their capacity for army purposes, and other governmental necessities. Those ships cannot fly. The slowest sailer in the fleet regulates the speed of the whole. Time must be given them to come and go—and the voyage to and from one of our cotton ports will, at this season of the year, and especially under convoy, occupy not less than fifty days each way.

Now make your own calculations, and you will see that unless within thirty days at farthest after this letter is due to you, notice be given to your merchants to get ready their cotton ships, ministers will have virtually decreed another hard time for operatives, for Manchester will be doomed to a second winter without cotton.

We planted last spring not more than one-fourth the usual breadth of land in cotton. Our surplus labour is directed to breadstuffs and provisions. We grow the finest of wheat. The flour from it usually commands in transatlantic markets a dollar the barrel more than flour from Northern grain.

This time last year it was the cry at the North that they would starve us out. Those who joined in it knew but little of the resources of our "sunny South," or of the energy of our people.

Thanks for the homage paid by the Great Powers to the Lincoln Government and his paper blockade, we now have enough and to spare. It is highly gratifying to our young pride as a nation to find in this practical way how rich and diverse are our resources, and how independent of the rest of the world we may be if necessity so require.

The part in this war for our navy to play has been very humble, and our navy itself of the moderate proportions. Indeed, secession found us without a single man-of-war afloat or on the stocks. Still we have been able to improvise two or three, and they have given a pretty good account of themselves.

Our steamer, the Arkansas, is a makeshift, for she is covered with railroad iron, and her armour, therefore, is by no means shot proof. Still her performances in the Mississippi River and before Vicksburg, would grace the annals of the proudest navy that ever floated. So would the performances of the Manassas, the Merrimac, and of all who have had a chance at the enemy.

But as soon as we recover the command of our waters, we should address ourselves with earnestness to the subject of a navy, well knowing that no nation can command the respect of her peers without physical force.

So far this war has, as nearly as I can ascertain, cost the Treasury about \$260,000,000 (two hundred and sixty millions). About \$60,000,000 of this sum is in 8 per Cent. Bonds; the rest in Treasury notes, which for the most part constitute our currency. These notes bear no interest. So that you observe we have not gone into debt much beyond the sum which our average cotton crop would bring. Neither have we sought to borrow from strangers. By a survey of our situation, means, and resources, you will discover our pecuniary ability to build and maintain a respectable navy is ample. Peace will give us water on which to float it, and I join your operatives most heartily in the wish that that may be right soon.

Yours truly,

M. P. MAURY, C.S.N.

Admiral Robert Fitz Roy, R.N., London.

DISMISSAL OF GENERAL McCLELLAN.

LETTER OF GENERAL HALLECK.

GENERAL HALLECK TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Head-quarters of the Army, Washington, Oct. 28.

Sir,—In reply to the general interrogatories contained in your letter of yesterday, I have to report:—

1. That requisitions for supplies to the army under General McClellan are made by Staff officers on the chiefs of bureaus here—that is, for quartermaster's supplies by his chief quartermaster on the Quartermaster-General; for commissary supplies by his chief commissary on the Commissary-General, &c. No such requisitions have been, to my knowledge, made upon the Secretary of War, and none upon the General-in-Chief.

2. On several occasions General McClellan has telegraphed to me that his army was deficient in certain supplies. All these telegrams were immediately referred to the head of bureaus, with orders to report.

It was ascertained that in every instance the requisitions had been immediately filled, except one, where the Quartermaster-General had been obliged to send from Philadelphia certain articles of clothing, tents, &c., not having a full supply here. There has not been, so far as I could ascertain, any neglect or delay in any department or bureau in issuing all supplies asked for by General McClellan or by the officers of his Staff. Delays have occasionally occurred in forwarding supplies by rail on account of the crowded condition of the depots, or of a want of cars; but whenever notified of this, agents have been sent out to remove the difficulty. Under the excellent superintendence of General Haupt, I think these delays have been less frequent and of shorter duration than is usual with freight trains. An army of the size of that under General McClellan will frequently be for some days without the supplies asked for, on account of neglect in making timely requisitions and unavoidable delays in forwarding them, and in distributing them to the different brigades and regiments. From all the information I can obtain, I am of opinion that the requisitions from that army have been filled more promptly, and that the men, as a general rule, have been better supplied than our armies operating in the west. The latter have operated at much greater distances from the sources of supply, and have had far less facilities of transportation. In fine, I believe that no armies in the world, while in campaign, have been more promptly or better supplied than ours.

3. Soon after the battle of Antietam, General McClellan was urged to give me information of his intended movements, in order that, if he moved between the enemy and Washington, reinforcements could be sent from this place. On the 1st of October, finding that he purposed to operate from Harper's Ferry, I urged him to cross the river at once and give battle to the enemy, pointing out to him the disadvantages of delaying till the autumn rains had swollen the Potomac and impaired the roads. On the 6th of October he was peremptorily ordered to "cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him South. Your army must move now while the roads are good." It will be observed that three weeks have elapsed since this order was given.

4. In my opinion there has been no such want of supplies in the army under General McClellan as to prevent his compliance with the orders to advance against the enemy. Had he moved to the south side of the Potomac, he could have received his supplies almost as readily as by remaining inactive on the north.

5. On the 7th of October, in a telegram in regard to his intended movements, General McClellan stated that it would require at least three days to supply the 1st, 5th, and 6th Corps; that they needed shoes and other indispensable articles of clothing, as well as shelter tents. No complaint was made that any requisitions had not been filled, and it was inferred from his language that he was only waiting for the distribution of his supplies. On the 11th he telegraphed that a portion of his supplies, sent by rail, had been delayed. As already stated, agents were immediately sent from here to investigate this complaint, and they reported that everything had gone forward. On the same date (the 11th) he spoke of many of his horses being broken down by fatigue. On the 12th he complained that the rate of supply was only "15" horses per week for the entire army there and in front of Washington." I immediately directed the Quartermaster-General to inquire into this matter, and report why a larger supply was not furnished. General Meigs reported on the 14th that the average issue of horses to General McClellan's army in the field and in front of Washington for the previous six weeks had been 1459 per week, or 8754 in all; in addition, that large numbers of mules had been supplied, and that the number of animals with General McClellan's army on the Upper Potomac was over 31,000. He also reported that he was then sending to that army all the horses he could procure.

On the 18th General McClellan stated, in regard to General Meigs's reports that he had filled every requisition for shoes and clothing, "General Meigs may have ordered those articles to be forwarded, but they have not reached our depots, and unless greater effort to insure prompt transmission is made by the department of which General Meigs is the head, they might as well remain in New York or Philadelphia, so far as this army is concerned." I immediately called General Meigs's attention to this apparent neglect of his department. On the 25th he reported as the result of his investigation that 48,000 pairs of boots and shoes had been received by the Quartermaster of General McClellan's army at Harper's Ferry, Frederick, and Hagerstown; that 20,000 pairs were at Harper's Ferry depot on the 21st; that 10,000 more were on their way, and 15,000 more ordered. Colonel Ingalls, Aide-de-Camp and Chief Quartermaster to General McClellan, telegraphed on the 25th:—"The suffering for want of clothing is exaggerated, I think, and certainly might have been avoided by timely requisitions of regimental and brigade commanders." On the 24th he telegraphed to the Quartermaster-General that the clothing was not detained in cars at the depots. "Such complaints are groundless. The fact is, the clothing arrives and is issued,

but more is still wanted. I have ordered more than would seem necessary from any data furnished me, and I beg to remind you that you have always very promptly met all my requisitions so far as clothing is concerned. Our depot is not at fault; it provides as soon as due notice is given. I foresee no time when an army of over 100,000 men will not call for clothing and other articles."

In regard to General McClellan's means of promptly communicating the wants of his army to me or to the proper bureaus of the War Department I report that, in addition to the ordinary mails, he has been in hourly communication with Washington by telegraph.

It is due to General Meigs that I should submit herewith a copy of a telegram received by him from General McClellan.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief."

GENERAL McCLELLAN TO GENERAL MEIGS.

[United States' Military Telegraph.—Received Oct. 22, 1862, 9 40 p.m., from McClellan's Head-quarters.]

To Brigadier-General Meigs.—Your dispatch of this day is received. I have never intended in any letter or despatch to make any accusation against yourself or your department for not furnishing or forwarding clothing as rapidly as it was possible for you to do. I believe that everything has been done that could be done in this respect. The idea that I have tried to convey was that certain portions of the command were without clothing, and the army could not move until it was supplied.

G. B. McCLELLAN, Major-General.

THE RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—In your last number you gave an account of the annexation of Texas to the United States; and by the historical facts therein set forth proved the recognition of that Power to be a parallel case to that now pending in the matter of the Confederate States of America. In further testimony I submit the following extracts taken from Mr. Kennedy's excellent work published in 1841:—

General Hamilton, of South Carolina, had continued to aid Texas in her difficulties, and effected a negotiation with an eminent English banker, by which the basis was laid of the naval power of the Republic, by the purchase of a war steamer at New York. He had sacrificed his personal pursuits and his domestic enjoyments, and had advanced his money freely for Texas, because he believed that the regenerating principles of free trade and civilization were at issue in her fortunes, and was satisfied that the whole world would gain by placing a fertile and beautiful territory under the sway of the British race, instead of remaining a valueless waste, of which Mexico was the nominal, and the marauding savage the real possessor. General Hamilton became associated with Mr. Albert T. Burnley, for negotiating a loan of five millions of dollars for the Republic, and was allowed by a special resolution of Congress to become a citizen of Texas (without disfranchising him at home). In August 1839, he arrived in England, and proceeding to Paris, co-operated zealously with General Henderson in his endeavours to obtain the recognition of Texan independence by France. These endeavours were successful; and on the 25th of September, 1839, a treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce was signed by General James Pickens Henderson, Plenipotentiary on the part of the Republic of Texas, and Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, President of the Council, on the part of France. The Marshal, in affixing his signature to the treaty, said he was proud to have been the European god-father of the Republic. The treaty was ratified in Texas on the 18th January, 1840, in the city of Austin, which had been selected as the permanent seat of Government, and to which it had been removed from Houston in the autumn of 1839.

The time had now arrived when the acknowledgment of Texas by England could not be much longer delayed, without incurring the danger of alienating the Republic from this country, and leading her to grant exclusive advantages to some more friendly Power. General Hamilton, having obtained the recognition of Texan independence from Holland and Belgium, renewed his application to the British Government in the autumn of 1840. Lord Palmerston—who had avoided, on the one hand, affording, by undue precipitancy, pretext for offence on the part of Mexico, and had on the other shown respectful consideration for the position and claims of Texas—agreed to arrange the terms of a treaty, or treaties, with General Hamilton. A commercial convention was framed on the basis of perfect reciprocity; and conditional stipulations were made for the assumption of one million sterling of the debt due by Mexico to British bondholders. The treaties finally agreed upon were signed at the Foreign Office on the evening of Monday, November 16, 1840, by Lord Palmerston and General Hamilton, and were ratified by the Texan Government in February 1841.

The recognition of Texas, in the face of prejudice and clamour, was an act of patriotic firmness, for which the British Minister is entitled to the thanks of all Englishmen who hold the interests of their country superior to the obligations and purposes of party.

In order to make the cases of Texas and the Confederate States identical, France would be required to recognize first; but then that would disturb certain arrangements said to have existed since the commencement of hostilities in America between the Government of Her Majesty and that of the Emperor, in reference to the course to be followed by both Powers concerning that unfortunate conflict. Napoleon, however, may now consider that he is free to act without concert with this country, in which event he would possibly claim some advantages that would render Havre a most formidable rival to Liverpool. The promptness with which Texas was recognized as an independent State, after the arrival of her commissioners in Europe, bears a most favourable comparison with the tardiness that has been exhibited towards the Confederate States, when we reflect that their representatives have been in this country since April 1861. I am assured that Spain, Prussia, Belgium, Holland, and several other of the lesser Powers of Europe, are prepared to act in the premises as soon as the initiative step is taken on this side of the Atlantic, and that Russia will not be slow to follow them, notwithstanding the apparent coquetry between her and the United States. So it is Lord Palmerston's "carriage that stops the way."

TEXAS.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOIZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1862.

The Political Condition of the North.

Though beaten at the ballot-box, it was not to be expected that the Republican party would give up its present tenure of power without making a single effort to retain it. Why should it do so? Is it not the party of Revolution? Has it not trampled on the Constitution of the United States, not only in making war on the South, but in sustaining at home a despotic Government, and in inaugurating a reign of terror? If the Republican party refuses to abide by the verdict of the majority of electors—if it determines to forget right, and make an appeal to might—it will at least act consistently, for so it did when it resolved to disregard the constitutional rights of the Southern States, and to bring them back into the Union by force of arms. The Democratic victory is perhaps as likely to issue in civil war in the North as it is to bring about a peace between the North and South. As yet it is impossible to form any decided opinion as to the action of the Republicans, because a Revolutionary party is not restrained by ordinary prudential considerations, and is always ready to play a desperate game—irrespective of probable results. The indefinite postponement of the draft in New York might lead us to suppose that Mr. Lincoln and his advisers were not prepared to defy the power of the Democrats, but we must remember that the conscription is not altogether a party question, and that it has been unpopular with Republicans. A much more significant event is the dismissal of General McClellan.

It is impossible to ascribe this measure to military motives. We grant it is very important for the Lincoln Government that there should be a show of activity and such movements of the army as would enable it to report some paper victories; but this object is not likely to be obtained by the removal of McClellan, and the manner in which that general was dismissed further proves the proceeding was intended as a defiance to the Democrats. Let us take the Lincoln account of the transaction. According to that, McClellan was ordered on October 6 to cross the Potomac and give the enemy battle or drive him South. For some reason or other McClellan did not obey this command. He alleges that he could not advance because his soldiers were in want of shoes, and that his cavalry was in want of horses. But after the lapse of three weeks the Northern army did cross the Potomac; it did advance, and was advancing when Mr. Lincoln summarily dismisses General McClellan—that is to say, so long as that commander disobeyed urgent orders of his Government, his command was not taken from him; but when he was engaged in carrying out those directions he was disgraced. It is evident, we think, that McClellan was not removed for the alleged fault.

If McClellan's dismissal had been for military reasons it would have been unnecessary to have made the manner of it insulting. General McClellan was treated as though he were the traitor that the fanatics of New England represent him to be. Instead of the intention of the Government being

courteously communicated to him, he receives, without any warning, and late at night, a peremptory order to transfer his command to General Burnside; and, as if his presence was intolerable or dangerous, he is not only deprived of his command but ordered to leave the army and forthwith report himself at Trenton, New Jersey. The Lincoln Government, not contented with these proceedings, take care to announce that General McClellan was removed for an act of insubordination, and whilst he was taking farewell of the army publishes a letter of General Halleck's, in which he is accused of disobedience to orders, and of making false representations with respect to the supplies for his troops. It seems to us that the Lincoln Government intended by such conduct to defy the Democratic party, of which McClellan is a leading member, and to declare its intention of carrying out the policy of a servile war; and if we wanted further evidence of the correctness of this conclusion, we have it in the ostentatious order to General Fremont to hold himself in readiness for active service. The Democratic general engaged in carrying out the directions of the Government is disgraced, and the Republican general, who has proved himself a military failure, and who has been accused of something very much like peculation, is restored to power.

The Democrats accept the issue. McClellan resigned his command without hesitation, but in such a way as to evince supreme contempt for the Washington Government. In his address to the army, he reminds the soldiers that he formed and fostered the Army of the Potomac, and it is bound to him by special and indissoluble ties. He does not ask the troops to transfer the willing allegiance they have paid to him to his successor; he does not indulge in any stereotyped compliment about their duty to the Executive; but he bids them remember that they are his comrades for the defence of the Constitution. But how can the Army of the Potomac defend the Constitution of the United States, and yet render obedience to a Government that has trampled upon every provision of that Constitution? When General McClellan bade the soldiers fight for the Constitution, he unmistakably exhorted them not to fight in defence, or for the furtherance, of the policy of the Lincoln Government. The retiring general could not have sounded a bolder note of defiance, and yet obey. The enthusiastic, we might almost say the affectionate, greetings of the soldiers as their late chief rode from corps to corps to bid them farewell, show how thoroughly they sympathise with the only general in whom they have confidence, and how little hold the Lincoln Government has over them. More than this, it is worthy of remark that General Burnside, in the order which he issued on the assumption of command, found it necessary to testify to the universal respect and esteem felt for his predecessor, and to make a kind of appeal on account of his friendly relations with General McClellan. The new commander virtually apologises for that act of his Government to which he owed his elevation.

Another notable circumstance—for at such a crisis minor matters are important—is, that when the staff officers assembled to take leave of their late commander there was one, and only one, toast proposed, and that was "The Army of the Potomac." The usual compliment of toasting the President was significantly dispensed with. General McClellan has no doubt acted in accordance with the wishes of his party. If he had disobeyed the President's mandate, he would have compromised the Democrats by inaugurating a civil war. By resigning his command he scarcely weakens, in case of need, his influence with the army. Besides, his ill-treatment gives the Democrats just what they wanted—a tangible point of attack. It will weld the party together, and even give them the support of the moderate Republicans, who are unwilling to see the safety of the army jeopardized to gratify the spleen of the Lincolnites. The panic in Wall-street, and the rumours of the defeat of Burnside, indicate how much public confidence is shaken by the removal of the best of the Northern generals.

If Mr. Lincoln's ability and courage were as un-

questionable as the ambition of his supporters, we should have no hesitation in predicting that the McClellan *coup d'état* would be followed by similar attacks on the Democrats, and that we were on the eve of a political crisis in the North, which must eventuate in a trial of strength between the partisans of revolution and the friends of order. If Mr. Lincoln acted according to his own judgment, or rather according to the natural timidity and vacillation of his character, we should think that he would be satisfied with what he has done, and not provoke a civil contest. But Mr. Lincoln has thrown himself into the arms of the extreme section of the Republican party, and he is under the direction, we may add in the power, of men who have no dread of civil strife, and who may force him to defy and make war on the Constitutional party. Under these circumstances, the refusal of England to join with France in an offer of mediation will encourage the Republicans to insist upon the continuance of the war, and to some extent it will discourage the more timid Democrats. The Lincolnite supporters may say—"England is aware of our intention to inaugurate a servile war in the South, and refuses to take any step to prevent the consummation of the design. England will watch the course of events. She will see if the proclamation is a dead letter, or not. If the negroes cannot be reached, if they will not rise up and work out their actual freedom with the aid of and protection of Federal gunboats and Federal armies; and if, therefore, this last card fails, and there is no prospect of bringing the war to a close, England will, at some future time, assent to the proposal of an offer of mediation. If, on the contrary, the prayers and expectations of the clergy of New England should be fulfilled, and in the South there should be a massacre such as the world has never seen, if the South should become a huge St. Domingo, if every homestead should become a little Cawnpore, if the now docile slaves should be changed into ruthless savages, then the interference of England may be unnecessary; for then the Northern troops may be able to possess themselves of the desolated and blood-stained homes of the South." We are not saying that the English Government has made any such calculation in refusing to join with France in the attempt to bring about a suspension of hostilities. Lord Russell, no doubt, looks upon the threat of a servile war as unworthy of any serious attention, but it is certain that the Republican party will regard, or pretend to regard, the refusal of England to interfere as a tacit sanction of the proposed policy of Southern extermination. On the other hand, the Democrats, if they should openly protest against Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, and demand its withdrawal, will be taunted with being more anxious for the safety of the Southern people than is England. Or if the Democrats should venture to breathe a word of peace, would they not, and with some show of reason, be reproached for despairing of the reconstruction of the Union, whilst England avows, by her rejection of the French proposition, that she does not look upon the cause of the North as hopeless? In the present political condition of the North, the late action of our Government has done much to neutralize the Democratic victory, and to encourage the war party. The French proposition was made at a moment when its acceptance by England would have had the happiest results in strengthening the party of peace and order, and, unhappily, at a moment when its rejection materially strengthens the party of war and revolution.

The Distribution of Free and Slave Labour in the South.

In considering the social and economic conditions of the slave-holding States of North America, no subject presents greater difficulty to the European inquirer, or is more fruitful of error, than the relative position of free and slave labour. The party which, by the election of Mr. Lincoln,

acquired for ^{any} first time a transient predominance in the non-slaveholding States, had so long and so loudly proclaimed an "irrepressible conflict" between the two systems of labour, that to the superficial observer this "conflict" might seem the true and only cause of the disruption of the Union. If this were the case, it would be only a natural inference that the antagonism must be most violent where the antagonistic elements come into nearest contact, and that if slaveholding and non-slaveholding States could not co-exist in the same political federation, still less could the two systems harmonize in one and the same State. Yet that they do so harmonize, in the South at least, is conclusively proved by the exceptional productiveness of that country in time of peace, and by the self-sustaining energies it has evinced under extreme trials in time of war. This fact presents an interesting problem, which deserves a closer study than has heretofore been brought to bear upon it.

The first error to be guarded against is that of confounding with each other the climatic and social characteristics of widely remote portions of so immense an extent of territory as the South. In reference to our subject, the slaveholding States may be divided into three groups, differing but slightly in point of free population, but essentially in the statistics of their respective slave population. A glance at the subjoined table will illustrate the difference, which coincides suggestively with the historic position of each group in the events of the last two years. The group which contains alone over one-half of the entire slave population, comprises those States which first resolved on complete and irrevocable separation. The next group consists of the States which, although their preferences, were never doubtful and were manifested in no ambiguous manner, did not resort to the last remedy until after they had essayed their friendly efforts at conciliation. To the third group belong those States which are still, in the opinion of many, doubtful, and which both North and South claim.

	White.	Black.
Alabama . . .	529,164 . . .	435,132
Florida . . .	78,686 . . .	61,753
Georgia . . .	595,097 . . .	462,230
Louisiana . . .	376,913 . . .	332,520
Mississippi . . .	354,699 . . .	436,696
South Carolina . . .	301,271 . . .	402,541
Texas . . .	420,651 . . .	180,388
Arkansas . . .	324,323 . . .	111,104
	2,980,804	2,422,364
Virginia . . .	1,105,196 . . .	490,887
Tennessee . . .	834,063 . . .	275,784
North Carolina . . .	661,586 . . .	331,081
	2,600,845	1,097,752
Missouri . . .	1,058,352 . . .	114,965
Kentucky . . .	930,223 . . .	225,490
Maryland . . .	599,846 . . .	87,188
Delaware . . .	110,420 . . .	1,798
	2,698,841	429,441

In the last group predial or plantation slavery is confined to special localities only; as in Maryland, to what is termed the "Eastern Shore;" and in Missouri, to the southern counties. By far the greater part of the soil, being devoted to the cultivation of cereals and the raising of cattle, is in the hands of small farmers, and tilled by white labour. Three of the great commercial metropolises of America are within the limits of these States—the cities of Baltimore, St. Louis, and Louisville; the population of each of which is largely composed of foreign immigrants, and in each of which the employment of slave labour is exceptional. The only form in which slavery is general in these four States is that of domestic slavery. The negro serves in the family in which he is born and of which he forms a part. The ownership of slaves is scarcely, if at all, a source of profit, and hence it becomes, more peculiarly even than in other States, the distinction of an aristocratic class; and it would argue but little knowledge of human nature to measure the hold which the institution has over the popular mind in those States by the number of slaves in each, or by any calculations, however well founded, of the profitableness or unprofitableness of their employment. The impor-

tant fact is, that the great bulk of all labour, both agricultural and other, is and has always been done in these States by whites, without apparently impairing this hold.

The same middle position which the next group of States occupies between the more northern and more southern groups, it occupies also in regard to its slave population, and it partakes, therefore, in an almost equal degree of the characteristics of both. In Western Tennessee slave labour produces cotton; in East Tennessee white labour has almost a monopoly of the tillage of the soil. In North Carolina the chief articles of export—naval stores—are almost the exclusive produce of white labour. Virginia, within herself affords the complete counterpart to that polarization of the white and slave population which we observe in the South at large.

It is, therefore, in the group of States which contain the greatest number of States—the planting States, as they are appropriately called—that our problem is studied with the greatest advantage. These States form a compact territory, extending from the 35th parallel of latitude to the Rio Grande, singularly homogeneous in soil and climate, as in the character and pursuits of its population. With the exception of the swampy rice districts of South Carolina, the sugar fields in the delta of the Mississippi, and the cold, windy desert in the extreme west of Texas, the whole of this immense expanse may be viewed as one great cotton plantation, dotted plentifully with salubrious "piney barrens," where the sterile sands support only the hardy pine, and where the inhabitants find refuge from the miasmal exhalations of the moist, rich, alluvial soils. Huge lazy rivers traverse in every direction this vast undulating plain, which is nowhere broken by any considerable mountains. When the cotton crop ripens, these rivers and their tributaries swell rapidly and afford convenient access to every part of the cotton regions.

The country we have described produces and exports, besides large quantities of rice and sugar, and some lumber, about four million bales of cotton, averaging 400 pounds each, and worth in the aggregate at least thirty millions sterling. In addition to these large exportable productions, it supplies by far the greater part of its consumption of food. All this is no inconsiderable result of the labours of an aggregate population, free and slave, scarcely exceeding five millions, and would lead us to conclude *a priori* that not only must the entire available industry of the country be employed, but that it must be husbanded and directed with remarkable success to produce this result. Yet some persons expect us to believe that less than one-half of this aggregate population, only the slaves, are so employed, and that the more numerous free population are mere idle drones, if not worse; and this we are expected to believe for no better reason than that, because the slaves monopolize the field-work, there is nothing left for the mass of the whites to do. It is forgotten, or purposely kept out of sight, that the manipulation of such vast agricultural surplus, not consumed on the spot, must employ at least as many persons as its production. The cotton which is grown hundreds of miles from the seaport must be transported thither, and there exchanged for the necessities as well as the luxuries of the plantation. If we assume the producer to receive a fair equivalent for the value of his produce, this transportation alone amounts to an inland trade of at least sixty millions of pounds sterling—vastly more than would suffice in most other countries to employ three millions of people. If, then, we were to believe that every Southern white man is idle who is not a planter nor an overseer, nor belongs to any of the professional classes, we should require the whole number of negroes, assuming their capacity for these duties, to fill all the counting-houses of all the busy thriving cities, towns, and villages; to engineer and man all the railways and steamboats; and to perform all the skilled mechanic work, and, in brief, to absorb all the innumerable useful occupations to which such a trade gives profitable employment. The fact is, that except as an agricultural labourer, or as a domestic servant, the negro, nowhere in the slaveholding States, com-

petes with the white man in any of the various vocations of life. Even in these pursuits he competes successfully only in proportion as climate or social usages secure to him some special advantage—the social usage which, even in the most northern portions of the slave-holding States, prefers him as a menial; the climate which in the more Southern States excludes the white man from the cotton fields on penalty of death.

Many interesting deductions may be drawn from this distribution of white and negro labour in the three principal groups of slaveholding States. Our present object is confined to point out that in exact proportion as the white man is physically enabled to compete with the negro, the negro ceases to be a competitor, and that even where the negro enjoys, as it were, a special monopoly, the white labourer has still the advantage. This will explain why, in the slaveholding States themselves, free labour and slave labour have never come into that "irrepressible conflict" which it is assumed must necessarily exist between the two, and which undoubtedly would exist were both directed into the same channel.

The Military Career of General McClellan.

General McClellan has been unsuccessful; and in war failure is the one fault for which there is no forgiveness, though there may be abundant excuse. Even a commander who, under the most trying circumstances, avoids defeat and saves the force committed to his charge from destruction, but does not gain a victory, cannot escape the censure of his contemporaries, though he may hope that posterity will do him justice. We all remember the fate of Admiral Napier. When he left this country in command of the Baltic Fleet he had such a reputation for daring and conduct that the public expected in a few weeks to see London illuminated for a naval triumph that would recall the glory of the Nile and of Trafalgar. He did nothing but bring his fleet home safe and sound; and his reputation was gone. In vain he urged that his ships were not fitted to storm stone fortifications, and that his crews were insufficient and required training. In vain he represented the important service he had rendered his country in not sacrificing his fleet in a desperate, unequal, and hopeless encounter. He was sent forth to fight and to conquer, and if he had returned with his fleet crippled by an unsuccessful contest he would not have been more unpopular than he was. We should not, therefore, be surprised at a section of the Northern press finding fault with McClellan, and we might have regarded his dismissal as natural, if not reasonable, but for the manner of it, and the moment selected for it; which show that it was instigated by political rather than by military motives. But McClellan, though insultingly dismissed by the Lincoln Government, has earned for himself a conspicuous and honourable place in the annals of the present war. He may review his military career with regret, but without any feeling of shame. He has shown considerable ability for organization and administration. He is not, like Pope, an idle boaster, the general of an hour, who no sooner appears on the scene than he is crushed, and who, as he is forced into exile, whines like a beaten cur, and seeks to blacken the characters of the officers whom he led to disaster. Nor is he like Halleck, who wasted a large army in inglorious inactivity, and besides that has done nothing to rescue his name from oblivion, except writing the most mendacious despatches that were ever penned. He is not like the commander who announced to the world that he was going to change the course of the Mississippi, and dug a ditch a few yards wide to effect the purpose. He is not like Hunter, who sought to arm the blacks, to do the work the white men shirked; and he is not to be named in the same breath with such miscreants as Butler, Turchin, and McNiel. General McClellan waged war like a brave soldier, and not like a vain-glorious imbecile, or a pantomimist, or a ruthless

savage. Of all the Northern generals he too has been the most efficient. Military critics who condemn his tactics do not deny that he has military capacity. His character is respected by Europe, and the South regards him as a worthy and by no means insignificant enemy. He is an exception to the general rule; he has made his mark, although he has failed. If his military career is over, he will be remembered as McClellan the unfortunate. His unsuccessful campaign will adorn the story of the war, as well as point a useful moral.

Much has been said about the folly of the Washington Government in taking a railway official from his civil occupation and placing him at the head of a large army. It seems to be forgotten that McClellan had received a military education, had distinguished himself in warfare, and was the author of a clever report on the war in the Crimea. Nor was his temporary retirement from the service a fair reason for ignoring the recommendation of a military education and military experience. Many of the West-Pointers in the Southern army who have signalized themselves had not performed military duties for some years before the commencement of the war. It was, perhaps, unlucky for McClellan that soon after he took the command in Western Virginia he had an opportunity of vindicating the choice of his Government. He gained a decisive, though unimportant, and, we may add, accidental victory. Instantly the North, then in the first paroxysm of the war fever, spoke of the affair as a second Austerlitz, and christened the hero of the day the Young Napoleon. Possibly it would have been better for McClellan if he had continued to command a small army, for there are many officers who can do well with a few thousand men who find themselves unable to operate with a hundred thousand. But at this crisis occurred the memorable battle of Bull Run. The Northern army was disgracefully beaten. It was numerically superior to the Confederates, who were, besides only partially armed, and in want of ammunition; yet it fled panic-stricken from the field like a herd of frightened Chinamen. No official ingenuity could conceal or palliate the disaster, and in its extremity the Government called upon General McClellan, the only Northern commander who had gained a victory, to assume the chief command; not the command of soldiers, much less of an army, but of the elements from which a fighting force might be produced. General McClellan saw at once he had the herculean task before him of changing an undisciplined and disorganized mass into an army. His officers, as well as privates, were raw recruits. The men were neither of one mind nor one nation. The majority were Irishmen and Germans, who fought for pay; a number of his troops were the scourgings of the Atlantic cities, who cared for nothing but the chance of plunder; and the minority, of native Americans, who thought too much of their individual importance to submit themselves with alacrity and heartiness to military domination. In a few months, by energy and perseverance, this heterogeneous crowd became the Army of the Potomac. It may suit the clergymen and fanatics of New England to sneer at General McClellan, and call him a mere drill-sergeant, but the unprejudiced observer must admit that the formation of the Army of the Potomac from such materials as we have described was a task that many captains illustrious for their victories in the field could not have accomplished, and which demanded a special ability that is near akin to military genius. Dazzled by the numbers, the magnificent equipment, and the discipline of the Army of the Potomac, and not making due allowance for the spirit, the animating cause, and the natural prowess of the South, European critics pronounced it invincible. On this side the Atlantic, even those who saw the impossibility of the ultimate conquest of the Confederate States, thought that McClellan must be successful against the numerically inferior and ill-supplied Southern forces. It seems to us that McClellan was more farseeing and less sanguine. He had made an army, but not a veteran army, and he appreciated the difference between the work of parade and the exigencies of the battle-field. He

therefore advanced slowly, perhaps too slowly, and successively sat down before Manassas and Yorktown. We offer no excuse for this strategy, nor are we sufficiently acquainted with the details to condemn it. A Fabian policy is excellent for defence, but fruitless, not to say ruinous, for aggression. The exact numbers of the Army of the Potomac are not known. Some accounts say it was 200,000 strong. It is probable that from the time McClellan set forth from Washington until he retired from the peninsula he had altogether 180,000 men, and that there were times when he had 130,000 effective troops at his disposal. With such a host delay is to some extent demoralizing, and almost as destructive to the life and health of the soldiery as active warfare. Bloody battles frequently claim less victims than bloodless sieges. It is probable if McClellan had pushed on he would have been defeated, but it would have been better to have encountered that risk than to have delayed and hesitated. After all, he could not avert, though he could postpone the ordeal of the first battle. We are, however, not quite sure that McClellan could have pushed on by any sacrifice. True, the fortifications before which he paused were not so strong as he expected. Some of the guns were dummies; but, nevertheless, so long as the Confederates defended them they were formidable obstacles to an advance, and undoubtedly the Federals would have found it tremendous work to drive an enemy from his fortifications who afterwards drove them from their entrenchments. It is quite within the range of possibility that an attempt to force Manassas or Yorktown would have anticipated the slaughter and destruction of the Seven Days' Battle. Possibly, when the war is over, and the history of it is written, it will be found that the regular siege operations of McClellan were prudent and indispensable.

After the evacuation of Yorktown, and the advance towards Richmond, the incompetency of McClellan to contend with the Southern generals became manifest. Although the invader, and nominally the aggressor, he was in all the chief battles placed in an attitude of defence. His enemy always chose the time and place of attack, and the army before Richmond, though numerically inferior to the Army of the Potomac, managed to attack on nearly equal terms. The Southern generals understood the art of massing their forces against the comparatively weak points of the Northern positions. The battle of Seven Pines revealed to the Confederates their strength, and to McClellan his weakness; but at that juncture the Northern commander could not withdraw without ruin and disgrace. The cavalry expedition of General Stuart, in which he passed round the Northern army, showed that McClellan had either neglected some very palpable precautions, or that his lines were so extended as to make his position dangerously vulnerable.

We need not dwell on the culminating disaster of the Seven Days' Battle. McClellan was fairly outgeneralled. For once he seems to have abandoned his cautious advance, to have eagerly occupied some ground vacated by the Confederates, and thus have fallen into a cleverly-devised trap. Whilst the telegraph wires were informing the North of the successful advance, the great contest commenced which ended in the Army of the Potomac being driven back from day to day, until it reached the shelter of the gunboats on the James River. No credit can be given to McClellan for the obstinately-contested fights. He was evidently unprepared for, and unable to deal with, the enemy. The battles before Richmond were essentially soldiers' battles; and they proved incontestably, that if McClellan could not compete with the genius of the Confederate commander or his generals, he had constructed an army of which the North might be justly proud, though it was beaten and so nearly annihilated on the first grand occasion; it had of manifesting its prowess. If, instead of imitating the ridiculous boasting of Mr. Lincoln, who told the beaten army it never had and never would be beaten, McClellan in his address had highly extolled the valour and determination of

his troops, no one would have criticised at his language. We grant the Northern troops were like cornered rats; but they fought, rather than lay down their arms.

When McClellan entrenched himself on the banks of the James River he found his troops fearfully thinned by recent battle—for on the retreat the wounded had been necessarily left to perish—and that his splendid equipments had fallen into the hands of the victorious foe. He seems to have acted manfully. Having provided for the safety of the French Princes, who left him in the hour of defeat, he did his best to provide for the safety of his troops. He could do but little. To advance was impossible, and a retreat was dangerous. From Washington came assurances of succour, and he remained where he was. It was the unhealthy season, and he saw his troops deprived of fresh provisions, and fast dying around him. Pestilence was a more deadly foe than fire and sword. At length it became plain that he must withdraw from the peninsula at all hazards. He did so without molestation, for while he was removing the broken remnant of his army, the Confederate forces were engaged in beating the fresh troops of the North.

We grant that McClellan's loss had been almost incredible. We think it far from improbable that he did not lead back to the Northern capital half the troops with which he entered Virginia. Thousands had deserted, thousands had been captured, thousands had been maimed and wounded; the killed, too, were counted by thousands; and those who died from disease were more than the loss by all other casualties. We have no reason to suppose that he did not do all that was possible for the health of his army; and if next year or any succeeding year a Northern army remains in Virginia during the heat of summer that fair land will be to it a charnel house. The Southern climate is a formidable obstacle to the Northern invader.

From the moment McClellan left the peninsula his movements, and indeed the whole campaign, were directed by General Halleck. It is impossible to blind ourselves to the determined hostility of Halleck to a general who was beloved by his army, and who in misfortune, and despite ceaseless and acrimonious party attacks, was still trusted by the people. Even in the West, where Halleck lost 40,000 or 50,000 men, and did nothing but take possession of Corinth after it had been evacuated by General Beauregard, and capture two negroes and a few dogs, he did not blunder so grossly as in Virginia. All his arrangements were out of time and place. His purpose was to mass together the Federal armies and to make McClellan play the part of a general of a division. The Confederates spoilt the plan. Wherever Pope encamped to await the arrival of McClellan he was attacked and forced to withdraw. The junction was not effected until the army under Pope had been routed, and the five Federal armies that had operated in Virginia were behind the fortifications of Washington—broken, dispirited, and disorganized. Halleck could not repair the mischief he had done, and nothing remained but to restore to McClellan the command of which he had been hastily deprived. Once more, with signal success, McClellan organized an army from broken regiments and new levies, and this time with marvellous rapidity. His intention was no doubt to remain before Washington until the fresh troops came in, and the army was in a proper state of discipline and amply equipped. The enemy forced him to abandon his design. The Confederates entered Maryland, and threatened Pennsylvania. McClellan saw his danger, and did his best to meet it. It was better to risk the loss of Harper's Ferry than allow the enemy to operate without molestation in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and so cut off the communication between the West and the North. Those who condemn McClellan for not protecting Harper's Ferry, as well as confronting the Confederates in Maryland, forget that, with the whole of his available force, he did not gain a decisive victory, though the Southern troops were not half as numerous; and that at Antietam his army was so badly used that he could not

renew the engagement, though the Confederates remained in his front.

With the Maryland campaign it may be said the military career of McClellan, at least for the present, ends. He was not strong enough to prevent General Stuart's Pennsylvania incursion, or to molest the return of the gallant troop laden and cumbered with booty. McClellan needed supplies for his army; and according to Halleck's account, they were in the depots or on the rivers. This is a question of fact we cannot decide, though we incline to think McClellan would not have been urgent for stores if stores had been within his reach. General Halleck's report on this matter, though dated the 28th of October, was, in our opinion, written after the 4th of November, and is marked by that disregard for truth for which Halleck is notorious. Day after day McClellan was urged to advance, and at last was peremptorily ordered to cross the Potomac, and give the enemy battle, or drive him South. Possibly Halleck forgot that real victories are not so easy as paper victories; but McClellan refused to sacrifice the army for the sake of an electioneering dodge. He did, however, advance cautiously, and laboured zealously to increase the efficiency of his army. On November 7, at 11 o'clock at night, without any previous warning, he received an order to transfer his command to General Burnside. He did not, perhaps, anticipate the further insult of General Halleck's published correspondence, but the mode of his dismissal was in itself sufficiently irritating and insulting. If he felt any resentment it did not interfere with his duty, and he forthwith gave up a command which, so long as he held it, would have enabled him to defy the power of the decrepid and tottering Government. In violating the Constitution he would have been following in the footsteps of Mr. Lincoln; and there are those who think he would have done his country good service in refusing to obey the command of the President; but he pursued the plain path of duty, and by his last official act set an example of obedience to the law and Constitution worthy of his fame as a brave, though unfortunate, soldier.

The Press of the Confederate States.

The Southern press, like that of England, is representative. It does not seek to make, but to feed and direct public opinion. Still, it is not a mere delegate, but exercises a controlling influence over that which gives it power and vitality. When a member of it ceases to be representative its influence is gone; so long as it is representative its influence is nearly dictatorial. In this country we have seen newspapers lose their authority and die because they have abused their constitutional functions, and have endeavoured to impose their special views upon their readers. A political journal, both here and in the South, is placed in a position analogous to that of an equity judge, who must expound, not make, the law, and who yet by his exposition exercises a legislative influence. In France and in Germany the journalist has been regarded as a maker of opinions rather than as a mere exponent of them; and the articles that appear in French and German papers, although remarkable for ability, erudition and brilliancy, are didactic. In the United States a newspaper, when it ceases to be a mere news sheet, becomes the mouthpiece of individual demagogues or theorists, or of the views of the chiefs of a party or faction. We naturally think the English and Southern system is the best, but we do not therefore infer that it would be well to apply it in France and Germany. We have no faith in the political quackery which assumes that which is good for one nation must be good for all nations.

The war has stopped a large number of local papers in the South, and which, from the specimens we have seen, bear a close resemblance to our local papers; that is to say, anything approaching to literary excellence is ingeniously borrowed from other journals,

and the original matter consists of local gossip and terrific storms in a local teacup. The war has also, by making paper and labour scarce, obliged the principal journals to decrease in size, but their main features are the same as formerly. There are one or two leaders, which are digests of events and opinions, but which are generally more condensed than those which appear in London papers. Besides the leaders, there are numerous "editorials," which announce important events, or are comments on events, in which much is said in a few words. The bulk of the matter is news—reports of Congress, public meetings, law proceedings, events social, literary, and domestic, and the innumerable occurrences that people ought or wish to be informed of. Advertisements occupy considerable space, for in the Confederate States, as in England, the commercial prosperity of a paper greatly depends upon its advertising patronage.

The majority of the first-class Southern journals are old-established, but they are as vigorous as the youngest of their contemporaries. Each of them is distinguished by a special character, and we propose to shortly explain the pretensions and policy of the principal daily journals, so that our readers may be better able to appreciate the opinions of the Southern press when they are quoted in English papers. We do not mean that any of the opinions are unworthy of attention, for they are always representative; but their value much depends upon the peculiar character of the journal. If, for instance, a paper supporting the Government intimated in an editorial that there was a prospect of peace, such an intimation would be entitled to much more consideration than if it had appeared in a paper opposed to the Government. On the other hand, there are a number of questions on which the dictum of an opposition journal is of more authority than that of a Government organ. We confine our attention to the daily press, mainly because the Southern weekly papers are made up from the daily issues, and what they lack in originality is compensated for by their comprehensiveness.

The oldest paper in the Confederate States is the *Richmond Inquirer*. Twenty-five years ago, under the editorship of Mr. Ritchie, who was regarded as the father of the Southern press, the *Inquirer* obtained a reputation which it has not yet lost, and that entitles it to be looked upon as the leading journal of the South. It has always been consistently democratic, but it has never been so extreme in its views as to make it the organ of that section of the party which thinks that it is better to have no Government at all than to have a Government that does not practically endorse its ultra opinions. The *Inquirer* represents that great division of the party which, without compromising any essential principle, is ready to submit to the inexorable exigencies of expediency. The *Inquirer* is conducted with great ability; its articles are distinguished no less by their literary merit than by their practical efficiency. It is very careful in its statements, and avoids giving the stamp of its authority to unauthenticated reports. It reproduces current rumours and *ou dits*, but in such a manner that its readers will not give them credit because of their publication in its columns. The *Inquirer* supports the present Government; but not as the *Morning Herald* supports the Conservative party, or as the *Morning Post* is reputed to represent the views of Lord Palmerston; and its support of the Confederate Government does not bear the slightest resemblance to the official connection existing between the *Moniteur* and the French Government. The best analogy we can think of is the support which the *Times* accords to the Palmerston Ministry; though, of course, the war in which the Confederate States is engaged renders the connection between the Government and its supporters closer though not less independent.

The *Richmond Whig* is the opponent of the *Inquirer*. As its name implies, it was formerly the organ of the Whig party, and rather leaned to centralization in place of a strict observance of State Rights. Since secession, its views have changed, and, like all converts, its zeal is somewhat

indiscreet. At present, it is more democratic than the democratic *Inquirer*. It watches with the utmost jealousy the powers and the conduct of the Confederate Government, and advocates restrictions that would make the Executive powerless and useless. The *Whig* is placed in an annoying position. It finds those in office to whom it has been utterly opposed, and yet it has adopted their principles. If the *Whig* is somewhat factious in its opposition, it has on all great questions adopted a fair and patriotic course. As against the common enemy, the *Whig* is as much a supporter of the Government as the *Inquirer*, and at this moment its sharpest criticisms have reference to the conduct of the war, which it thinks should be more energetic and uncompromising; but they are not very telling, because success is an unanswerable rejoinder to its fault-finding.

The *Richmond Examiner* is the Ishmael of the Southern press, so far as it is against everybody. All parties, all men, and we may add, all measures, are in turn censured in the *Examiner*. In nine cases out of ten the censure is undeserved, but the articles are almost invariably written with wit and smartness. Clever young men who have to make their mark, or clever men who have failed to make their mark, naturally vent their spleen in the *Examiner*, and when there is some ground for censure, no paper is more calculated to bring about a redress of the grievance or abuse. There are many points of resemblance between the *Richmond Examiner* and its brilliant and censorious English namesake.

The *Richmond Dispatch* does not profess any political creed, and is, in fact, a cheap newspaper, its selling price being two cents, or about one penny. It is conscientious in giving its readers a good pennyworth. It is printed in very small type, so that the quantity of two pages of our *Times* is compressed into a single page of the *Dispatch*. It enjoys a large circulation, and in the selection of its matter consults the taste and requirements of the masses.

The *Charleston Courier* is so like the *Richmond Inquirer* in its policy and conduct that we need only observe its circulation is large and its influence considerable, not only in its own State, but in other States. The *Charleston Mercury* is almost rabid on the question of State Rights, and this will be readily understood when we remark that at the time of secession this journal opposed the formation of a Confederate Government, and suggested in lieu thereof a kind of Diet, to which was to be delegated rather less authority than is enjoyed by the German Diet. Since the establishment of the Government the *Mercury*, though vehement in opposition to its acts and policy, has not, in its advocacy of State Rights, real or imaginary, assaulted the Confederate Constitution.

The *Mobile Register* is one of the best known and most frequently quoted papers in the Confederacy. It is eminent for its literary ability, for the extent and reliability of its information, for its political moderation and thorough independence. It supports the Government, but not so closely as the *Inquirer* or *Courier*. If there is any fault to find, it gives expression to its discontent without hesitation. Perhaps, it is this exceeding frankness which makes it a valuable adherent of the Government. During the last Presidential election for the late United States the *Register* was the principal organ of the Douglas party. The *Augusta Constitutionalist* is democratic, an independent supporter of the Government, and was also a staunch advocate of the Douglas candidature. Neither of these journals were for secession, until the election of Mr. Lincoln made secession inevitable.

It is unnecessary to extend this list, as we have now referred to those journals which are most frequently quoted in the English papers, and we believe that to some this brief account of the press in the Confederate States will make such quotations more intelligible and instructive than they have hitherto been. We may, in conclusion, observe that in the South the press is not only free, but its freedom is abundantly used. Every act of Govern-

ment and Congress is canvassed without the slightest hesitation. Such liberty would have been impossible in a revolution. To a revolution, the free expression of adverse opinion is death. The Confederate States did not revolt, but in secession exercised a constitutional right. The Southerners regard the present struggle as a foreign, not a civil war; hence, agreeing that the enemy shall be opposed to the last man and the last dollar, they feel there is no reason for sacrificing their political liberty. In opposing secession by war the North played a revolutionary part, and the result has been the loss of Northern liberty, as exemplified in the press being gagged, the Constitution trampled under foot, the law despised, and the State prisons filled with political suspects. We could not desire better evidence of the healthy political and social condition of the Confederate States than the disunity of the Confederate press on affairs that do not concern the defence of Southern independence and Southern territory against the efforts of the North to crush the one and possess itself of the other.

England and the Emperor.

In journalism, as in war, the attack has the advantage over the defence; it is easier, more pleasant, and generally more spirited and more effectual. But this general rule hardly suffices to account for the peculiarly unfortunate position in which the Emperor of the French is so often placed. No living man is so bitterly and forcibly abused; no eminent man is so very ill defended. At this moment Napoleon III. is the mark of frantic vituperation in England, of suppressed execration, low murmurs, or outspoken reproach, in Italy; of brilliant though covert sarcasm in France; and neither in England nor in Italy can he be said to have any warm defenders; while in France the journals which are really friendly to his person, his dynasty, or his Ministers, have lost all influence with educated men, from the universal belief that they are paid for their advocacy. In his own country the Emperor was unfortunate to alienate at first the whole existing journalistic talent; he came to the head of affairs by a counter-revolution, after a revolution in which the press had played a considerable part. The reaction was, in no small degree, a reaction against the anarchical tendencies of French journalism—against the poetic imbecility of Lamartine, the socialist insanity of Ledru-Rollin, the *regime* of clever editors and smart newspaper contributors, who were prepared at any moment to sacrifice society to a theory, and order to a dream. The defeated party, of course, never forgave this second *revolution de meprise*; and the journalists of higher character and more sober views were unfortunately, through the French system, which forbids the anonyne, pledged irrevocably to the cause of one or the other of the parties overthrown by the *emete* of February. The Moderates were devoted to the House of Orleans; the Conservatives to the cause of Henri V. Therefore, while nine-tenths of the upper and middle classes in France accepted the Empire with satisfaction, as the restoration of order and security—while ninety-nine in a hundred of the peasantry hailed it as the renovation of the glorious traditions which surround the memory of the first Napoleon—the most respected statesmen in France stood obstinately aloof, and the French press devoted all its talent to annoy and injure, if it could not undermine, the man who, in bringing back peace to France, had crushed out the hopes of those who would have plunged her once more into civil war in order to bring back the Republic, the Orleans family, or the older Bourbons. Nine-tenths of the literary talent of France belongs to the Liberal party; and the one intelligible principle of that party—the one dogma to which it has always been faithful—is hatred to the Emperor. The French Liberals have, since 1852, been in turn Anglophobists and Anglomaniacs, Piedmontists, and Papists: they have sympathized in turn with despotism and

with revolution; with English liberty, with American equality, with Garibaldian anarchy, with Austrian tyranny—they have, in fact, embraced at each moment the cause of that country, doctrine, or institution to which the Emperor was supposed to be hostile. Against the phalanx of unprincipled talent thus arrayed against them, the Imperialists had nothing to oppose, except the peremptory *dicta* of “M. Communique,” and the fluent indiscretion of M. de la Guéronnière. If, indeed, the Emperor were to advocate his own cause with his own hand, he might prove a match for his adversaries; and the few pamphlets ascribed to his immediate “inspiration” have effectually served their purpose; but when he is obliged to rely on the *Moniteur* and the *Constitutionnel* against the *Journal des Debats* and the *Revue des deux Mondes*, we can hardly wonder if M. de Persigny sometimes declines the unequal combat, and substitutes warnings for replies.

English journalists have hardly behaved better than their French brethren. They have been almost as unfair, and not nearly so consistent. They have judged the Emperor without the least regard to the difficulties of his position and the necessities of France, simply according to their own prejudices and partialities. When his action has happened to suit their views, they have condoned even the destruction of a republic; when he has deviated from the course they would have marked out for him, they cannot forgive him even the punishment of a libeller. In 1852 he was a traitor, a scoundrel, an imbecile, a very Satan; in 1855 he was a great, magnanimous, and loyal ally; in 1857 he was a man whom it was a duty to assassinate; in 1859 he was a hero, and had he but taken Mantua and liberated Venice, he could have expected nothing less than an apotheosis from the philo-Italian press in England. Now they cannot find epithets to convey their abhorrence of his character and his conduct; not only has he been guilty of the crime of refusing to yield to the menaces of Garibaldi that which he had refused to the dignified reclamations of Count Cavour, the stern protests of Ricasoli, the subtle flattery of Ratazzi, but he has actually dared to desire the termination of the war in America otherwise than by the complete triumph of the North, and the appointment of General Butler as Governor-General of the South, with McNeil as his Provost-Marshal. Words fail some of our contemporaries when they would express the feelings with which they read the despatches of M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the Roman and the American questions; and every accusation that has ever been made against the “Man of December” is now raked up again, and found too feeble.

The Conservative press is more just to the Emperor now, as it generally has been; but Conservatives are never very warm defenders of a foreign potentate. They are too jealous of their country's dignity to be lavish of eulogy on a Prince whose Government divides with hers the supremacy in strength and influence throughout the world; and too exclusively English in their views thoroughly to understand the position and policy of a Sovereign whose administration, if not his character, is so completely French. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that the Emperor is not always popular in England. In Germany the heir to the memories of Jena and Austerlitz could never expect to be a favourite; to Italy, the Sovereign whose troops maintain the Pontiff on his throne cannot but be for the moment somewhat obnoxious.

And yet it would be hard to say what right any of these countries have to complain of Napoleon III. He has never committed any act of aggression against Germany—whether he would have done so or not had Austria forborne to cross the Ticino, no one now can say. He has—we say it advisedly—behaved loyally to England. It is said that the ready acknowledgment of his title by the British Government, and his friendly reception by the Queen, have deeply impressed him, and that, as a matter of feeling even more than as a principle of policy, he is anxious to preserve, under all circumstances, a friendly understanding with the country. Certainly

he has acted as if such were his purpose. Twice only has his Government behaved discourteously to ours; once when the French people were driven frantic by the outrage of the Rue Lepelletier, and once when their sensitive vanity was wounded by the seizure of a French ship—an alleged slaver—by the Portuguese authorities. In the former case, we believe that both the publication of the vulgar impertinence of the French colonels, and the offensive despatch which led to the overthrow of Lord Palmerston's Government, were merely Ministerial blunders, for which the Emperor was no more answerable than Queen Victoria is responsible for the despatches of her present Foreign Secretary. For the too peremptory dealing of the French Government with “our ancient and faithful ally,” there can be no other excuse than such as may be found in the significant fact that England declined to interfere. But against these two faults, during a friendship of ten years, we have to set a course of unvarying frankness and fair dealing. We do not except the annexation of Savoy and Nice. That was, no doubt, a wrong towards Italy, Switzerland, and Europe. But it was not treacherously done. England knew the consequences of persisting in her attempt to unite the North of Italy in defiance of the Treaty of Villafranca. The Emperor considered that French policy, French interests, or French prejudices, demanded that if a Power of the second-rate rank were created on her south-eastern frontier, she should receive some compensation. And he had thus much of reason on his side—that a united Italy, becoming, as she one day must become, a sixth great Power, would certainly check and limit the Continental supremacy of France and her power in the Mediterranean. Lord Russell might be perfectly justified in resisting the annexation; but when he endeavoured to represent it as a surprise and an act of treachery he did that which was unjustifiable.

The naval armaments of France are represented as insidious aggressions on England, and they are, no doubt, the cause of great uneasiness and necessary expense to us. But even here there has been perfect openness. It has suited the views of Napoleon III. to make France a great naval Power. We think he has missed his way; there are very able Frenchmen who think so too. But he had a perfect right to make the attempt, and we had no right to remonstrate, nor to revile him in Ministerial papers and Ministerial explanations, as if his iron-sides were preparing for a sudden attack on Portsmouth. Our Ministry have always known what he was doing. Our Admiralty might, if they would, have built two ships for one. Nay, we are credibly informed that the Emperor himself has frequently remarked on the necessity that they should do so; has declared that the stronger England makes herself the more impossible an invasion becomes—the better for his policy, of which peace with England is the corner-stone. He is quite right. An English war might be the ruin of his dynasty; but an English war will never be altogether out of the minds of the French nation until they see that it would end, not in avenging, but in renewing, Waterloo and Trafalgar.

In his American policy, the loyalty of Napoleon III. is unimpeachable. He has been so anxious to act only in concert with England that he has subordinated his policy to hers, as the country most deeply interested. He has refused to recognize the Confederate States only because England declined to join in such a step. He has abstained from intervention only because England, or rather the English Ministry, recoiled from intervention. Until lately his communications have been so strictly secret that the English Ministerial journals have ventured to assert that France was not ready for recognition or mediation, and that the policy of Lord Russell received not merely the support, but the full approval of the Imperial Government. Now, at last, the Emperor has spoken his mind in a despatch which the English Cabinet could not mistake; the latter refuse their co-operation; and still their ally allows his policy to wait on theirs.

But it is the Italian policy of Napoleon III. which has most perplexed impartial observers, and which has provoked most abuse. We do not pretend to

fathom the depths of Imperial reserve, or to solve the riddles of apparent inconsistency and irresolution in one of the most resolute and clear-sighted of modern statesmen; we do not pretend to explain the Peace of Villafranca or the protection accorded to Gaeta; but we believe that the clue to the greater part of the Italian policy of France may be given in two words; the Emperor sympathizes with Italy, and he dreads the revolution. His Italian sympathies, the relics of the days when he was himself a Carbonaro, have led him to drive the Austrians from Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Legations; his dread of the revolution prompted him to discountenance the Garibaldian invasion of Sicily and Naples, and to maintain the Pope in possession of the patrimony of St. Peter. In reference to the French occupation of Rome, there can be no doubt that the policy of England has done harm, though it would, perhaps, have been wiser of M. Drouyn d'Lhuys to omit all allusion to the opposition of a friendly Power. The interference of a Protestant Government in that question ought to have been most cautious, delicate, and unassuming. England could not allow herself to be set aside entirely; she could not permit the Catholic Powers to arrogate to themselves an exclusive jurisdiction between the liberties of a great nation and the rights of the Head of Catholic Christendom; but she ought to bear in mind the peculiar position which she occupies as the first and most anti-Papal of Protestant countries, and to have carefully avoided any affront to the national vanity or religious susceptibilities of France. We fear that Lord Russell has been dictatorial and unobservant; that he has manifested a spirit of hostility to the Pope which was sure to awaken the suspicions of Catholics, and assumed a tone which could not but wound the sensitive jealousy of the French nation. If it be, as many think it is, the fact that Napoleon cannot quit Rome because France would never forgive him for doing so, perhaps the English Government is mainly answerable for the prolonged subjection of the Romans. The point was one which required gentle and tender handling; it has been entrusted to a Minister who is not celebrated for diplomatic tact and discretion.

The Kingdom of Greece.

Beyond the gratification of the sentiment of nationality, the Greeks have yet gained little by throwing off the Mussulman yoke. Life and property have been little more secure under the guardianship of Greek Representative Chambers than under the rule of Turkish Pachas; justice has been about as arbitrary and corrupt; public works have been quite as much neglected; the cultivator of the soil has had the same good reasons to abstain from all attempts to increase its productiveness. The intellect and energy of the country have sought a field abroad, just as when the Sultan's tyranny barred it against them at home. In the way of positive benefits we can find little more than the license again given to the Athenians to talk of "some new thing," and the liberty given to every man to try to rob, under pretence of patriotism, his fellow-countrymen. The Greeks, however, tell us that all this disappointment and all their shortcomings are no fault of the nation; they are all chargeable to the man to whom the great Powers of Europe committed the sovereignty of their country. This incubus they have, at last, thrown off; and henceforth liberty and progress are to hover hand in hand, as its tutelary deities, over the land of their birth. So be it, but the promise is one which we may rather hope than expect to see fulfilled.

In the most critical moment of its life and death struggle for independence, Greece, so far from being united in its efforts against the foe, was distracted by party feuds. The strangers who, inflamed by the memories of Old Greece, rushed to the classic land, to aid its modern inhabitants in their struggle, were, one and all, disgusted by the jealousies and intrigues in which its chiefs were incessantly engaged, the one against the other. The nation was

tired of a republic, and would have abandoned it even if the intervening Powers had not allowed it to be clearly understood that they wished to see the new State enter the family of nations in the usual orthodox manner of a kingdom—and, as if to express this sentiment unmistakably, the President, Capo d'Istrias, was removed by assassination. Whatever may have been the faults of King Otho, the protecting Powers cannot fairly be blamed for their advice. Their task was a difficult one; and that they consulted the interests of Greece is shown by their offer of the crown to the present King of the Belgians. He wisely refused it; and the Powers, after his refusal—the second—did, perhaps, the best thing they could in selecting Prince Otho. His youth, in one respect, no doubt, a drawback, may in another have been considered an advantage. It was desirable, above all things, that the new King should know the language, and, if possible, imbibe the sentiments, adopt the customs, and share the aspirations of his people. With a youth of eighteen, there was yet time for all this education; and perhaps, but for the stipulations made in the treaty about a regency, Otho might have secured himself a place in the hearts of his subjects. He was cordially received by them; but the system of government introduced by the Bavarian Regency which ruled the country until June 1835, framed upon German bureaucratic models, was but ill-adapted to the circumstances of Greece. Unhappily, too, the King, upon his own assumption of power, retained the system and the advisers who had established it. The Greeks, governed by a highly centralized system worked by foreigners, possessing no constitutional control over their King, grew more and more impatient; and at last, by the most bloodless of all revolutions, not even excepting their own last, compelled the King, in September 1843, to exile the Bavarians, call a Ministry which they named to power, and convoke a National Assembly to prepare a Constitution. The Constitution was duly enacted, and was in force up to the day of the King's dethronement. It was as liberal in its terms as a paper Constitution usually is. It provided a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people, and a Senate named by the King; it guaranteed free speech and all usual liberties given by constitutional charters; gave, in fact, a constitutional Government, in which the people had, nominally at least, the power which the people of England and Belgium possess.

From March 30, 1844, the sins of the Greeks, therefore, must be on their own heads. Up to that time they were very much at the mercy of their King. From that time he has been at their mercy any time they have liked to use legal power. But the Government of Greece, instead of getting better since 1844, has rather got worse. The Greeks explain this by accusing the King of a wholesale system of corruption. Otho, however, could not have bought electors and deputies, if such had not been ready to sell themselves. Greek politics have, in fact, been nothing but a scramble for places. One party has been as bad as another. The interests of the country have been entirely lost sight of by the leaders in the promotion of their own interests, and they have not scrupled to attempt that promotion by making themselves, not only the tools of the King, but the tools of English, French, and Russian Ambassadors. In 1854 the King was placed in the difficulty of having to choose between the friendship of France and England, and the loyalty of his people. Greece was in a ferment of enthusiasm for its "great idea." It believed that the moment had come to establish the Greek Empire at Constantinople, and without waiting for Russia to begin the war, the Greeks, with the concurrence and assistance of the Greek Government, raised the standard of revolt in the Greek provinces of Turkey. King Otho was extremely popular; but Turkey remonstrated, and when the Government neglected to attend to her remonstrances, England and France intervened, and guaranteed the neutrality of Greece by occupying the Piræus. The disappointment of the Greeks was intense, and with the humiliation of

the King vanished altogether his popularity. He has never had since a gleam of it.

The great question which has since been busying him and his people has been that of the succession. The Constitution of 1844 made this one alteration in the law of succession imposed in the treaty of 1832—that it required from the successor to the throne the adoption of the Greek faith. Prince Luitpold, the successor designated by the treaty, refused to abandon the Catholic faith, and so did his brother, Prince Adalbert. The King seems to have had some design of getting one of his nephews, a boy of seventeen, a son of Prince Luitpold, declared successor. But the Greeks have settled the difficulty in a much more radical manner. The discontent has gone on increasing. The people do not seem to have asked whether the evils of which they complained were not in very large part due to their own indolence and cowardice. They identified the King with them. A few months ago a military insurrection at Nauplia, after long holding its ground, was suppressed, and to foreign observers the King seemed seated securely enough on his throne. But it was not so; a conspiracy was at work throughout the army and the educated classes generally; nay, it is said, was not unknown to some of the Ministry. The King suspected nothing, however, and left Athens on the 13th of October, with the Queen, for a triumphal progress through the Peloponnesus. That day week the news arrived at Athens of a military insurrection at Vanitza; the next day came the intelligence that a Provisional Government had been proclaimed at Patras. Athens was all excitement, but no one seemed bold enough to move. At last, on the Wednesday night, with loud firing of guns and pistols, the insurrection began. By a most curious combination of chances it met with no resistance, and the next morning a Provisional Government, appointed by itself, proclaimed that the reign of King Otho had ceased, that the Regency of the Queen (provided in the Constitution of 1844) was abolished; and promised that a National Assembly should be immediately convoked to settle the basis of the new Government. The same evening the dethroned King arrived at the Piræus. Four-and-twenty hours earlier he would probably have saved his crown; as it was, he did not take long to make up his mind. He accepted his fate, and sailed away the next morning in a British vessel; not sorry, in all probability, to be relieved of a crown which could never have been a comfortable one. This prompt departure of the King removed all difficulties from the way of the insurrection. If the King accepted it, Europe could have nothing to say against it, and the Greeks were therefore left, by common consent, to the arduous task of settling the basis of the new Government.

The National Assembly has been convoked; its composition is, perhaps, open to much criticism—with respect, for instance, to the suffrage given to Greeks abroad, but that is a question which must be left to the Greeks themselves; and so leaving it, Europe has taken upon itself to settle, so far as public opinion can do it, the basis of the new Government. The Greeks are to have another King; they are to try monarchy again, and see if they can choose better for themselves than the great Powers did for them; and the work of the National Assembly will be to elect him. A host of candidates have been put forward, not by the Greeks, but by their kind friends in Europe; but at present the only two who are talked about as possessing the slightest chance are Prince Alfred of England, and the Duke de Leuchtenberg; both candidates whose pretensions are decidedly barred by the protocol of 1830, if that protocol is to be considered still in force. In that protocol England, France, and Russia renounced for themselves the elevation of any member of their reigning families to the throne of Greece. Whether that protocol is equally now binding we will not inquire. If it is, Prince Alfred and the Duke de Leuchtenberg, the grandson of Czar Nicholas, and, by order of an Imperial ukase, adopted in the Russian Royal Family, and styled a Romanowski, are both excluded. But the Greeks may say, probably will say, that protocol does not pro-

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28th February, 1861 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861 866,120 98
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THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
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New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.
OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street,
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
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Amount of Premiums for ten months
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Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
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The Index,
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Devoted to the Exposition of the Mutual Interests, Political and
Commercial, of Great Britain and the Confederate
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Nos. I. to XXXI. NOW READY.

THE INDEX
CONTAINS

Private Letters from the Southern and Northern
States.

Latest Direct Intelligence from the South.
Leaders on Topics of Interest.

Reviews of Books. Magazine Articles.

The Cotton and Dry Goods Market.
Confederate State Papers.

Gleanings from the Northern and Southern Press.

Foreign Correspondence.
Southern Statistics, &c., &c.

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ern States of America. It goes into the hands of all
who, through business interests, political pursuits,
or personal sympathy, are concerned in the great
Transatlantic question now in process of solution.

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VOL. II—No. 32.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 4, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The movements in Virginia are important, but whether they will lead to any great battles is not certain. Possibly, General Burnside may at the last moment assume a defensive position, and give up the attempt to advance against Richmond. He has now abandoned the Warrenton and Gordonsville line of operation, moved to Aquia Creek, and at the last accounts had demanded the surrender of Fredericksburg. General Sumner notified the Mayor that if the city was not surrendered in sixteen hours he would shell it. The municipality rejoined that the city would not be surrendered, and justly complained of the short time allowed for the removal of the women and children. It is reported that General Longstreet was encamped outside Fredericksburg, and was prepared to defend the city. If this is so, it will be the first time the Federals have anticipated the intention of their enemy.

The South is prepared for the advance of Burnside, and in some quarters it is expected. The *Richmond Dispatch* says:—

Once more the Yankee nation is evidently essaying an "On to Richmond" march. McClellan, who had seen the elephant on that "journey of death," was unwilling to go about it with the haste the Abolitionists now deem indispensable to mend their fortunes and modify their fate from utter ruin. He was ordered to go ahead; but for reasons which he has not yet made public he would not. Abolitionism determined at once upon his disgrace, and he was disgraced. He was not even permitted to follow Pope to the Northern Siberia and fight the Indians, but he was sent to the "Jarsies" to pine in inaction and impotency. McClellan having gone off, his successor at once proceeds, no doubt, to cut the capers Abolitionism demands of him. He has been moving about with a view, no doubt, to the indispensable advance. His plans are not yet fully developed to us here; but we take it for granted that the astute military chieftains who have heretofore foiled abler men have watched him with their eagle eyes, and know by this pretty well what he is after. The reported withdrawal from the Rappahannock front, and the advance upon Fredericksburg, resembles McClellan's spring campaign, and it is not improbable that the pending "on to Richmond" may be in a great degree an imitation of that, with the variation that there shall be a combined land and river attack upon our defences at Drewry's Bluff. Whatever be the plan of the new leader, who is the fourth to undertake the Herculean task, there can be little doubt that he means to endeavour to succeed, or lose his official head before Christmas. On our side the enemy cannot please us better than by going ahead with the war. It is the long and wearying hours of inaction in camp that wears out the health and spirits of the brave Confederate soldiers. Let the enemy come

on with his invasion, and push his columns to the attack. He will be met, and, putting our trust in God and our good cause we will defeat him. We cannot but believe that the General who has lent himself to the Abolitionists of the North, and undertakes to pursue the war of rapine and barbarity in the spirit pleasing to them, is destined to discomfiture and disgrace, and to follow his predecessors to the Hades of lost reputations, and that event will be hastened just as he may choose to hasten his own movements.

The Federal army is on the north bank of the Rappahannock, the Confederates are on the left bank, prepared, it is said, to dispute the passage. If the Federals should take Fredericksburg, and cross the Rappahannock, they will still be sixty miles from Richmond, and will have to advance by roads that are represented to be in an almost impassable condition from the heavy rains that have fallen.

The movements of General "Stonewall" Jackson are still mysterious. He is supposed to be in Burnside's rear, and it is considered possible that he may find his way into Maryland, so that whilst the Army of the Potomac is moving towards Richmond, he may invade Pennsylvania. The change of the base of operations does not inspire much confidence in New York. The *Herald* hints that whilst trying to capture Richmond, Washington ought to be protected from the Confederates. It is quite possible that the Confederate army may get nearer to Washington than the Federal army will to Richmond.

The reported occupation of the gaps in the Blue Ridge Mountain is now supposed to be unfounded, though the publication thereof was authorized by the War Department.

General Fitz-John Porter has been replaced in the command of the 5th Army Corps by General Hooker.

The Federals made an attack on St. Mary's, Georgia. Being unable to land, they destroyed the town by the aid of their gunboats. If this system of destroying Southern towns is continued it will call for reprisals. Such acts of brutality do not further the operations of war.

Some of General McClellan's staff officers were arrested, upon the pretext of their absence from duty without leave; but they have since been released, the Government probably finding that it was not quite strong enough to carry out its hostility to the Democratic party with too high a hand.

General McClellan has been enthusiastically received in New York. He was serenaded at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and addressed a great concourse of people. His speech is said to have been unimportant.

It is reported that "a brisk engagement has occurred above Brashear City, up the River Teche, in Louisiana, between Federal gunboats and Confederate gunboats, assisted by batteries on shore. Both combatants received considerable damage." When the North admits damage on both sides it generally means a Confederate victory.

The Federal fleet lately in the Gulf of Mexico has returned to the Mississippi.

It is stated in the Republican journals that Mr. Lincoln, in his forthcoming Message to Congress, will reiterate and reargue his Emancipation policy, both as regards slavery in the Border States and the liberation of the slaves in all States that may be in rebellion on the 1st of January. He will not convert many people to the opinion that to attempt a servile war in the South is profitable and expedient as a military measure. It is reported in Washington that President Davis intends to meet the proclamation with severe reprisals, and the report is, no doubt, thoroughly correct.

Police Superintendent Kennedy is being tried in New York for his illegal imprisonment of Mrs. Brinsmade. We elsewhere give the correspondence

that has been published in reference to this disgraceful affair.

The hatred to England is not allowed to cool in the North. The *New York Times* says: "The time will come when America will enforce reparation from England for the Alabama's depredations. The most effectual cure for sectional heartburnings will be a foreign war for a year or two. England has done all she can to break down America in her day of agony, and America will hate England for it till the last American now living goes to his grave." We need no assurances of Northern ill-will, for that is a point on which there is no doubt.

Mr. Lincoln has issued an order enjoining the observance of the Sabbath in the army and navy. Would it not be as well if this was followed by an order against the brutality of such men as Butler and McNeil?

General Butler has issued the following orders:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Nov. 1.

General Orders, No. 87.—1. No pass to go beyond the lines of this army, in any direction, will be respected by any officer or soldier, unless it bear the personal signature of the Commanding General of this department.

2. All persons of the age of sixteen and upwards, coming within the lines will be held as spies, unless they take the oath of allegiance to the United States, or show that they are neutral aliens; and all persons whatsoever thus coming will immediately report themselves at the office of the Provost Marshal.

By command of

Major-General BUTLER.

George C. Strong, A. A. General.

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Nov. 1.

General Orders, No. 88.—1. No person will be arrested as slave by any policeman or other person, and put in confinement for safe keeping, unless the person arresting knows that such person is owned by a loyal citizen of the United States.

2. The Inspector and Superintendent of Prisons is authorized to discharge from confinement all slaves not known to be the slaves of loyal owners.

By command of Major-General BUTLER.

George C. Strong, A. A. General.

By the first, all persons, male or female, above the age of 16, are virtually threatened with death, unless they commit perjury by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; and by the second, the slaves of "disloyal" owners are to be free to do as they like—they are not to be arrested or kept in confinement.

The strikes for higher wages in the North are becoming more general. In most cases the demands of the workpeople are conceded.

In another part of our impression we have reproduced the memorial of the New York merchants and firms to Congress, in reference to Mr. Chase's financial system; and we have discussed this document in our leader columns.

The Alabama continues to terrify New York, and much disgust is expressed that she is not captured. The Federal Secretary of the Navy does not find it an easy task to effect the capture, but from time to time expresses his conviction that the Alabama will be taken "in a few days."

The Confederate Governor of North Carolina has declined to hold any conference with the Federal Governor; at the same time declaring that North Carolina would fight to the last drop of her blood. He very properly referred the Federal Governor to the Confederate authorities at Richmond.

France and Spain have made demands for reparation. A Washington despatch says:—

The French Government has demanded full and immediate indemnity for all injuries inflicted upon French citizens by General Butler, the immense armament now nearly ready at Marseilles being pointed to as the commentary on the diplomatic request. Our State Department, therefore, in announcing that there will be no difficulties leading to a rupture of

relations, merely informs the French Minister in advance that it is ready to back down to any extent from General Butler's acts; and that no defence of that officer's conduct, and no adequate examination of the French complaints, will be made as a bar to this further effort to conciliate.

The Spanish Minister has addressed to our Government a demand for an apology for the burning of a vessel in Spanish waters by one of the ships of Admiral Farragut's fleet. This, act, it is complained, was made more heinous by insults to a Cuban magistrate, who remonstrated against this wrong done in a neutral port. Spain evidently thinks herself strong enough, and the United States weak enough, to justify her threats in case apology and reparation be not granted. The Spanish squadron now cruising in the Gulf might undoubtedly give trouble to the large fleet of our transport vessels which will soon, from all indications, be obliged to navigate that region. Looking at the course of France and Spain together, it would seem possible that the *entente cordiale*, broken by General Prim in Mexico, may be renewed in a more Northern latitude.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Federal Government will concede what is demanded, as it has hitherto done.

ENGLAND.

The chief subject of domestic interest during the last week has been the conviction of a number of garrotte robbers before the Central Criminal Court which has sentenced them to terms of penal servitude, varying from four years to life. Public feeling goes with the sentences, and strong indignation is expressed when it is hinted that the Home Secretary is likely to interpose the Royal prerogative of mercy in favour of these detested criminals. No one thinks Sir George Grey a very prudent Minister; but he is hardly supposed to be capable of an act so criminal and so outrageously silly. At all events, he will not venture on it at present; and before the time comes when he might dare to do it, he will probably have lost his power. These garrotte robberies are far worse than those which were formerly the terror of travellers on the highways. The old-fashioned robber demanded your money or your life, but never threatened the latter if the purse and watch were readily given up; the modern street-robber knocks you down or throttles you, breaks your jaw or your head, and then plunders you at his leisure. It has become positively unsafe to traverse any but the most constantly frequented thoroughfares after dark, and ladies have been assaulted and robbed even in the day-time. Not a day passes without two or three such robberies. If the sentences of the convicted scoundrels do not deter their comrades, Parliament will probably take up the subject. A strong feeling exists in favour of corporal punishment in such cases; and if maudlin philanthropy prevents its infliction by the law, we shall probably find men taking the matter into their own hands, and carrying arms in self-defence. And this would do much to put a stop to the garrotte robberies. If two or three villains are shot dead in the act, the practice will be more effectually checked than even by the wholesome process of flogging the garotters when convicted. For, at present, the chances of escaping identification and conviction are very great; but a pistol bullet finds no difficulty in apprehending its man, besides serving most effectually to identify him, if he should escape at the moment.

The distress in Lancashire is still on the increase. There are more paupers than last week by 12,000, the additional number being distributed as follows:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	1,030	Oldham	2,170
Blackburn	770	Preston	610
Bolton	610	Rochdale	760
Bury	250	Salford	620
Chorley	300	Stockport	330
Chorlton	790	Todmorden	460
Glossop	50	Warrington	120
Haslingden	350	Wigan	90
Liverpool	460		
Macclesfield	100	Total	12,240
Manchester	2,370		

The whole number of out-door paupers is now over 265,000—above one-eighth of the population of the distressed districts. It may be said fairly that at least one-fourth of that population is dependent on alms, and that another fourth is almost destitute. The sufferers are somewhat more liberally treated now, the Relief Committees having exerted themselves vigorously to raise the scale to 2s. a head in the case of families, and 2s. 6d. a head for individuals. Rents are almost universally unpaid; and this bears hard on a very deserving class of men—saving mechanics or overlookers, who have built cottages, and perhaps mortgaged them for a part of the cost of building, and who now can get no rent, and yet must pay the interest on the mortgage, or sacrifice the property.

The Mansion-house Committee is doing its best. It has distributed within the last fortnight £70,000. Its total receipts have been about £220,000, and its total disbursements £160,000, irrespective of the large quantities of clothing which it has received, assorted, and sent out. The accumulation has lately been so great as to overwhelm their powers of dealing with it, and new arrangements for assort-

ment and distribution have been required and carried out.

Some busybodies, animated by the spirit which inspires Mr. Kingsley, and those who labour with him to discourage public charity by abusing the millowners of Lancashire, have accused the Committee of investing the moneys received in the Funds, instead of distributing them at once. The truth is, that the Committee having—as it must have—a certain balance in hand, has employed this balance at seven days' call, instead of allowing it to be idle in the bank; thereby realizing a certain additional sum for its benevolent purposes, without diminishing or delaying the relief extended to the sufferers.

At the weekly meeting of the Central Executive Committee, on Monday, it appeared that up to the present time their whole receipts, actual or promised, amount to £370,000. It may be said, we believe, that the whole sum subscribed for the relief of the distress in Lancashire (exclusive of what has been privately done by individuals) does not fall far short of a million sterling, raised within less than twelve months, and the most of it within the last three months; and subscriptions still flow in. The following is Mr. Farnall's report:—

Manchester, Dec. 1.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ending the 22nd ult., on the 27 unions in the cotton manufacturing district, will show you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the numbers so relieved in the previous week, of 10,621 persons. There were, on the 22d ult., 259,385 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 53,206 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 206,179 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 387.5 per cent. The total weekly cost of out-door relief on the 22d ult. was £17,681 7s. 8d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2,604 16s. 1d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £15,076 11s. 7d., or 578 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions on the 22d ult. was 13.1; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.7. The average amount of out-door relief, both in kind and in money, per head per week in these unions, on the 22d ult., was 1s. 5d.½; the lowest was 1s. 0d.½, and the highest was 1s. 10d.½, at Glossop. Of the 259,385 persons receiving parochial relief on the 22d ult., 36,815 were old or infirm, 97,796 were able-bodied adults, and 124,774 were under 16 years of age. The following table gives the amount in the pound on the net rateable value (after deducting 25 per cent. for irrecoverable rates, empty property, &c.) which each union named in it would require to meet the cost of relief alone during one year, the calculations being based on the expenditure for the week ended the 22d ult.:—Ashton-under-Lyne, 11s. 4½d.; Blackburn, 7s. 7½d.; Burnley, 5s. 4½d.; Bury, 4s. 6d.; Glossop, 12s. 8½d.; Haslingden, 9s. 3½d.; Manchester (township), 5s. 8½d.; Oldham, 8s. 2½d.; Preston, 8s. 2d.; Rochdale, 6s. 5½d.; Stockport, 6s. 8½d.; Tormorden, 6s. 4½d.

The provisions, therefore, of Mr. Villiers' Act—the Union Relief Aid Act—will become, at Christmas next, a great and certain relief of an inexpensive and ready character to the ratepayers of the above unions, and probably also to the ratepayers of certain other unions, to which I need not further refer. I have received returns from the 78 local committees formed for the distribution of charitable aid in the cotton manufacturing districts, and I am enabled to state that these local committees are relieving weekly 172,010 persons who are not also receiving parochial relief from the guardians of the poor, and that the expenditure of the 78 local committees was last week £15,863 14s. The total number of persons, therefore, included in this report, who are either receiving parochial relief or are aided only by the charitable committees is 431,395, or 21.7 per cent. on the population of the unions adverted to in this report. The present total weekly expenditure by the guardians in out-relief and by the committees of charity is £33,545 1s. 8d., or 1s. 7½d. per week to each recipient.

I am, my Lords and Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
H. B. FARNALL, Special Commissioner.

Lord Vernon, who owns the whole parish of Poynton, has taken the relief of its population upon himself, for the present at least; and the local committee have therefore returned a grant received from the Mansion-house. Lord Vernon does well. The landowners of Lancashire have benefited enormously by its trade and industry, and they suffer less than any other class by the present calamity. It therefore behoves them to do all they can for its relief.

The Chairman of the Marsden Relief Committee (Mr. Farrer Ecroyd, from whose letter to the *Times* we last week gave the most salient passages), has also returned a grant of £200, saying that "while deeply sensible of the kind solicitude of the Mansion-house Committee, he does not at this moment think it right to retain the sum in question while grants from local resources are not yet exhausted, and may not be for some time to come. The assurance of your ever-ready aid enables us, however, to meet with confidence from week to week all cases of distress which the guardians of the poor cannot relieve. Though the distress here is not comparable to that in large and closely-packed towns, such as Blackburn and Stockport, it is great and disastrous enough, and had it not been for the high-minded manner in which the unemployed have exhausted their savings and their credit, before becoming willing to accept relief, for the aid tendered by private benevolence, and last, and noblest, for the help that was given by the poor to their still poorer neigh-

bours, the demands upon us would have been many times larger."

A great county meeting, called by the Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, filled the Manchester Town-Hall on Tuesday. The leading men of the county, and the leading merchants of Manchester and Liverpool, were present, and £50,000 was subscribed before the meeting broke up. Among the donors were—

The Lord Lieutenant	£2000
Lord Derby	6000
Mr. J. P. Heywood	2000
Lord Overstone	1000
Mr. B. H. Jones	1000
Lord Egerton	2000
Lord Crawford	1000
Lord Skelmersdale	400
Sir J. K. Shuttleworth	1000
Mr. Cardwell, M.P.	500
Mr. Gladstone, M.P.	200
The Marquis of Salisbury	200
Countess Sefton	200
Earl Bradford	500
Lord Kingsdown	500
Lord Grey de Wilton	150
Sir T. Birch	500
Messrs. Rathbone and Co.	2000
The American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool	1000
Colonel W. Patten	1000
Lord Stanley, M.P.	200
The Marquis of Hartington	1000
Messrs. Wrigley and Sons	1000
Mr. J. C. Ewart, M.P.	500
Mr. Anderson	500
Mr. J. Heald	1000
Sir T. Hesketh	300
The Underwriters at Lloyd's	2000
Colonel T. Clifton	400
The Town of St. Helen's	2500

The Earl of Derby spoke with his usual eloquence and felicity. Whether it be his duty to address a political or a social gathering, to crush a Parliamentary antagonist, or to inaugurate a ragged school, He began by dwelling with much force and pathos on the sufferings of the working-classes. He pointed to the sacrifices that had been demanded of them; how they had been compelled to expend the savings that had been the foundation of their hopes for themselves or for their children; then to part with their furniture, then with their clothing; and how, at last, when advised to apply for public or private alms, they would say, in their homely dialect, "Nay, but we'll clem first." [Starve.] He pointed out what had been the demands on the rate-payers; how rapidly the rates had risen, and how large was now their amount; ranging from the usual average of 1s. in the pound up to 7s., 9s., or 12s. per annum; and he reminded his hearers that these rates were levied on occupiers who could but just keep themselves above pauperism. He pointed out what Lancashire had done for herself; that the subscriptions within the county had realized already £400,000, and that many who did not subscribe were doing more than those who did. He gave a few instances, derived from private information, of what was being done by the much maligned millowners.

1. Nearly 3000 operatives out of work. Most of them are the hands of Messrs. —, and Mr. —, at his own cost, employs 555 girls in sewing five days a week, paying them 8d. per day; sends 76 youths, from 13 to 15, and 332 adults above 15, five days a week to school, paying them from 4d. to 8d. a day, according to age. He also pays the school pence of all the children. Mr. — has hitherto paid his people two days' wages a week; but he is now preparing a scheme like Mr. — to a great extent. I should add that in addition to wages Mr. — gives bread, soup, socks, and clogs.

2. Mr. — has, at his own expense, caused 50 or 60 dinners to be provided for sick persons every day.

3. Messrs. — are giving to their hands three days' wages, about £500 a week. Mr. — and Mr. — are giving their 130 hands, and Mr. — his 230 hands, two days' wages a week. I may mention that Messrs. — are providing for all their 1700 hands—(Cheers).

4. A great deal of private charity exists, one firm having spent £1400 in money, exclusive of weekly doles of bread.

5. Messrs. — are providing all their old hands with sufficient clothing and bedding to supply every want, so that their subscription is merely nominal.

6. The ladies of the village visit and relieve privately with money, food, and clothing, or all if needed urgently. In a few cases distress has been threatened, but generally the poor are living rent free.

7. Payment of rent is almost unknown. The agent for several landlords assures me that he could not from his receipts pay the property tax, but no distraints are made.

8. The bulk of the rents are not collected and distraints are unknown.

9. The millowners are chiefly cottage owners, and are asking for no rents, and sacrificing a large amount of income they had a right to count upon.

He acknowledged frankly and gratefully the liberality of all classes in England, from the Queen down to the "Shoeblack brigade," and concluded by expressing an earnest hope that no recourse to the national Exchequer would be necessary. Sir R. Gerard (the representative of one of the old Lancashire families) supported Lord Derby, and said that "poverty or no poverty, our well-behaved and deserving operatives must be supported with a liberal, kind, and merciful hand." Mr. Abel Heywood (formerly a Chartist agitator, now Mayor of Manchester) followed, remarking that Manchester alone had given nearly £100,000 towards the

relief of the distress. Mr. Hutchinson said that Liverpool had subscribed nearly £62,000. Lord Stanley concurred with his father in deprecating recourse to the Exchequer, but remarked that much remained to be done by rates and voluntary subscriptions. No one attempted to estimate, or even conjecture the duration of the present distress; some high commercial authorities were inclined to think that we had not yet reached the worst. There was a vast accumulation of goods on hand. Every week that accumulation tended to diminish; every week, therefore, the demand tended to increase; and if he was right in saying what he believed, that it was not so much the actual absence of cotton as the impossibility of working the raw material with a profit, or without great loss at present prices, that caused a cessation of employment, then the consideration he had mentioned was not without its importance. He learnt from India that the people there were fully alive to their own interests, and prepared to profit by the state of things in this country. He had seen something of Americans, representing both the Northern and the Southern States, and from all he could learn he had not the slightest expectation or hope that there would be an early cessation of the quarrel. If that was so, surely the supply of cotton from other sources might be utilized; and, even if there was some risk, he thought, considering the motive and the object, that might be justified as a legitimate operation which in other times and other circumstances would be a hazardous speculation. But, whatever might be the mitigation, the pressure for the next three or four months must in any case be severe. Though reluctance was felt to accept State aid, except in the last extremity, we were bound to see that we did not gratify local pride, natural and justifiable as it was, at the expense of those who would be the chief sufferers by the refusal. In conclusion, the noble lord expressed his gratification at seeing a degree of good feeling and good understanding now springing up between employers and employed, which perhaps had not been witnessed before in this or any other country.

At a meeting held in St. James's Vestry Hall, Piccadilly, Lord Stanley delivered an opportune speech on the condition of Lancashire, and the conduct of the millowners. He said that no party or class in this country could be fairly held accountable for the present distress. It was said that the millowners ought to have foreseen the American crisis, and procured cotton elsewhere. But what could they do? If any millowner had insisted on using Indian or other cotton instead of American, he would have found himself in the *Gazette*. Those who might really be said to have contributed to the present calamity by their mismanagement were those who were responsible for the development of the resources and communications of India. The uncertainty of the future aggravated the mischief. We should be better off if we had a guarantee that for a given period no American cotton should reach us; the possibility that the Southern crop might be let loose frightened merchants and producers from buying or growing it elsewhere. He pointed out what Lancashire was really doing—that the present expenditure was such as must involve a poor-rate of 10s. in the pound, and that the millowners who relieved their own hands gave much more money than they would be expected to give to a committee, and did more good than a committee could do. He reminded his hearers that 1 per cent. on all incomes above £100 would produce over £3,000,000, and that even if one-third of the income-taxed exempted itself from contributing on the plea of poverty, a contribution of 1 per cent. would still realize £2,200,000, or twice as much as has ever yet been raised by a national subscription. He expressed a hope that we should soon have seen the worst. That depends on when the American war shall terminate. If it last another year, we have not by any means seen the worst; should it last five years, the ruin of Lancashire will be irretrievable.

Liverpool contributes for the month of December £12,000 to the Central Relief Fund. Well it may; for Liverpool merchants have grown rich by speculation, while the rest of Lancashire has starved through enforced idleness. Of their winnings, fairly won though they be, some part, at least, is due to those whose loss has been their gain.

The Bishop of London has delivered a long and thoughtful charge to his clergy; vindicating the right and duty of free but reverential study of theological truth, and counselling tolerance and conciliation.

In reply to a communication addressed to Earl Russell by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the secretary of the Chamber received the following reply from the Foreign-office, which was read at a council meeting yesterday:—

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to reply to your letter of the 6th inst., respecting the destruction by the Confederate steamer *Alabama* of British property, embarked in American

vessels, captured or burned by that steamer. Earl Russell desires me to state to you, that British property on board a vessel belonging to one of the belligerents must be subject to all the risks and contingencies of war, so far as the capture of the vessel is concerned. The owners of any British property not contraband of war on board a Federal vessel, captured and destroyed by a Confederate vessel of war, may claim in a Confederate prize court compensation for the destruction of such property.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The Greek question continues to occupy the public mind of Paris. The language of the newspapers is becoming more hostile to England; and the *Constitutionnel*, which last week treated the election of Prince Alfred as admissible, now declares itself adverse, and indicates with great clearness the objections on grounds of European policy which render most undesirable the occupation of the throne of Greece by a king chosen from the Royal family of Great Britain. *La France* is bitterly opposed to the election of Prince Alfred.

ITALY.—Father Passaglia, whose pamphlet against the temporal power of the Papacy, written from the stand-point of a Catholic priest and Italian patriot, made so much noise a few months ago, has been prevented from preaching in Milan. A parish priest lent him his pulpit, and the Father preached, unannounced; but the news of his presence spread, and the church was crammed almost to suffocation. Before the next occasion on which he was to hold forth, the diocesan bishop *ad interim* interfered. The parish priest held his ground against the bishop, but quailed before the threats of a Papist riot. He appealed to the Prefect, who in the meantime had been trying to dissuade Passaglia from his purpose. Passaglia came to Milan and waited on the Prefect, who promised to do his duty; but when on the morning appointed the friend who had lent his pulpit waited on the Prefect to claim the promised protection, the official had disappeared. The priest took fright, and Passaglia was not allowed to preach.

The debate in the Chambers continued on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday: Ratazzi, Durando, and Depretis speaking in vindication of the Ministry. Durando declared that the Government did not yet despair of obtaining from France the abandonment of Rome. He was heard with great attention and respect, for his personal character and known sincerity and patriotism command the regard of all Italians. But he failed to save the Ministry. The hostility of the Chamber was so manifest that Ratazzi found it expedient to resign without waiting for a vote of condemnation. The Marquis Torrens, who belongs, we believe, to a princely Neapolitan family, was asked to form an Administration, but has not succeeded. There are rumours that a Cabinet of non-entities will be brought into power—Ricasoli being excluded by the King's hostility, and the other leading men of the various parties by motives which are not so well understood.

DENMARK.—Lord Russell has addressed a second despatch to the Danish Government, supporting the German claim to interfere with the affairs of Sleswig.

GERMANY.—The Elector of Hesse-Cassel has yielded to Prussian menaces, and the Government which has suspended the exercise of constitutional rights in its own dominions has the credit of restoring to its neighbours the liberty denied to its subjects. Severe measures of repression have been adopted towards the Prussian press. The strictest censorship is maintained. Every newspaper is obliged to furnish the censor with a copy some time before its issue; any obnoxious passage is suppressed, and, if necessary, measures are taken to seize the whole edition. Even if this ordeal is successfully passed, a journal is still liable to persecution for any expression which may chance to offend the authorities. An article in the semi-official *Star* imputed to some members of the Diplomatic corps intrigues with the Opposition press. The Dutch Minister, as senior of that corps, demanded explanations, which were refused.

GREECE.—Prince Alfred has not been elected King—as yet the National Assembly has not met—but he has been proclaimed at Athens, and elsewhere, by the tumultuous acclamation of the people. Russia is evidently angry and uneasy. She acquiesces not very graciously in the rejection or exclusion of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of the Viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, and of a Russian Archduchess; but she will not tolerate that an English prince should, by ascending the throne of Greece, neutralize all her schemes of aggrandizement in that direction.

THE EAST.

TAPAU.—Detailed accounts of the murder reported in our issue of the 20th ult. have now reached this country. It appears that a party of Europeans, among whom was a Mr. Borodail, had ridden out

from Yokohama for exercise. About four miles from Kanagawa they were met by the retinue of the father of Prince Satsuma. They were motioned to draw to one side, and did so; and then they were attacked. The lady was slightly hurt; two of her companions were severely wounded; the third was cut down from his horse, and afterwards deliberately butchered. The lady escaped to Yokohama, and gave the alarm; her wounded companions made their way to the American Consulate at Kanagawa. A party of Europeans collected at Yokohama, and, proceeding to Kanagawa, were joined by the British Consul, Captain Vyse, with the mounted guard of the Embassy, and went in search of the murdered man, of whose fate they were ignorant. The British Minister (Colonel Neale) attempted to recall the guard, and if the accounts received are correct, behaved with a signal want of spirit, dignity, and courage. But it would be unfair at present to condemn him, as his defence is not made public. It is difficult to see where these things can end. England has almost as little idea of annexing Japan as of quitting it.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, December 3, 1862.

During the past week our market has undergone considerable fluctuations, at first declining rapidly, again recovering with equal rapidity, and now closing, after an excited day's business, at a large advance from the extreme point of depression.

On Thursday the dullness, on which our last report closed, increased in intensity, and on Friday morning some holders became anxious to realize, and several sales took place on the basis of 14d. for Fair Dhollerahs. In the afternoon of that day a slight improvement in tone was apparent, and on Saturday, with sales of 3000 bales, Fair Dhollerahs recovered to 14½d., and Middling Orleans to 22½d. per lb. The Scotia's news to hand in the morning tended to strengthen the position of holders. Cotton in New York had advanced very rapidly, and closed at 70 cents. for Middling Uplands; the reason for this great rise was the falling off in the supplies—5000 bales only having arrived in the first three weeks in November and the large amount taken from that port by the trade, leaving a very small stock on hand, variously estimated from 10,000 to 15,000 bales. At the prices ruling here when the news arrived, shipments from this port to New York would leave a profit of about 1d. per lb. to the shipper, and as it was generally believed that the New England manufacturers had large orders from government for army clothing and tents and could afford to pay even more than 70 cents for their cotton. Considerable purchases of American, Symmas, and Surats have been made for that market.

On Monday a good business was again done at higher prices the sales reaching 5000 bales. On Tuesday the market opened very strong, and as Manchester news came to hand reporting a good business going on there at a slight advance on the previous weeks, and a general disposition, both on the part of the home trade, and exporters to enter the market. Prices here rapidly advanced, and business was protracted to a late hour; the sales reached 8000 to 10,000 bales.

To-day the market has been very excited: the trade have attended in large numbers, and have bought very freely, taking 7000 bales out of a total of 15,000, and cotton is generally ½d. per lb. dearer; Middling Bowes are worth 22d, Mobiles 23d. and Orleans 22½ to 24d, and Fair Dhollerahs and Omrawuttees are well worth 15½d.

The great change that has taken place in the tone of our market is mainly attributable to the action of the trade. Encouraged by the more confident feeling in Manchester, where the smallness of the production and the diminished stock have at length given confidence to holders, and induced bona fide operators to buy to a moderate extent, they have already considerably increased their consumption; and many spinners who have closed their machinery for months are now recommencing short time, and those who were working three or four days a week find they can now run full time without loss, and in some cases to a fair profit. Our market thus is in a healthier position than for many months past; the consumption of cotton which was estimated as low as 10,000 bales per week a month ago, is now 2000 or 3000 more, and likely to reach 15,000 or over, before long, unless checked by a great rise here. It is to be feared, however, that if this excitement continues, and a further considerable advance takes place in the next few days, spinners may again, for a time, be forced out of the market. Yet the feeling now is general that we have seen the worst, and that Fair Dhollerahs will not again this year be quoted 14d., and probably not even 13d.

The news from America still forbids the hope of an early termination of the war. The Federal gunboats were in readiness once more to attempt the re-opening of the Mississippi, and an attack on Charleston was imminent. At Fredericksburg a portion of Burnside's forces were face to face with the main Confederate army, but it is hardly probable that a general engagement would there take place, or that Burnside would be so reckless as to attempt to force his way by that route to Richmond in face of such a formidable foe, at this inclement season, and with "Stonewall" Jackson in his rear. Those here, who believed that anarchy and confusion would ensue on the success of the Democrats, and that

Lincoln's Government would speedily be overthrown, will see little in the late accounts to confirm their views; on the contrary, they breathe a warlike uncompromising spirit, and indicate a determination on the part of the Northern people generally to support the President in a vigorous prosecution of the war, according to the principles of the extreme party he represents.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

LIST OF CASUALTIES IN RODES' BRIGADE IN THE ENGAGEMENTS AT BOONSBORO' AND SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND, ON THE 14TH AND 17TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1862.

SEPTEMBER 14—3RD ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Company A—(Captain Witherspoon). Wounded: Sergeant W. N. Ledyard; Privates S. M. Chidsey, Thomas Dennis, and I. Wheeler. Missing: Captain T. C. Witherspoon.
Company B—(Captain Simpson). Wounded: Lieut. Johnson, slightly; Privates Bullis and Hall, slightly; privates Lewis and Carver, dangerously. Missing: Sergeant C. George.
Company C—(Captain Bryan). Killed: Private W. J. Nedham. Wounded: I. M. Tate, R. M. Jones, I. W. Summerville. Missing: W. J. Swaringer, E. A. Wimberly, T. L. Turk, P. F. Wright.
Company D—(Captain Powell). Wounded: Lieut. E. T. Janole; Privates T. L. Yarrington, George Knowles, J. W. Hardman. Missing: A. J. Picket.
Company E—(Captain Chester). Wounded: Privates J. H. Bagby, H. Reynolds, W. H. Hues. Missing: James Dooley, F. Myer, C. Porter.
Company F—(Captain Phelan). Wounded: Privates B. Pringle, W. Keating. Missing: W. R. Brown.
Company G—(Captain Bonham). Wounded: Private N. M. Ruff. Missing: P. F. Reed.
Company H—(Captain Robinson). Killed: Private Taylor. Wounded: Privates Crockeron, Harrison, Robinson, Reese, and Dunklin. Missing: Privates Pope, Wilson, and Alexander.
Company I—(Captain Ready). Killed: Lieut. Havis; Private T. C. Lennard. Wounded and taken prisoner: Captain Ready. Wounded: Sergeant, J. A. Davis; Private R. A. Kincaid. Missing: Sergeant J. M. Smith; Privates W. E. Dennis, Barrow, E. C. Cater, T. W. Collier, J. R. Fears, J. P. Gunnels, W. G. Hart, R. S. Lewis, J. T. Nickels, D. Price and G. M. Williams.
Company K—(Lieut. J. J. Lake commanding). Killed: Lieut. Lake; Wounded: Private C. Ryder. Missing: Sergeant Childress; Privates Gendreau, Smith, Barr and Bell.
Company M—Wounded: Privates Shoufelat and McNeill.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

Company A—Wounded: Sergeant J. G. Stewart, Corporal Soto, in foot, A. B. Woodlock, W. R. Ransey.
Company B—Killed: H. D. Bullis, N. Sturdevant. Wounded: J. J. Cook. Missing: N. M. Breunau.
Company D—Wounded: R. P. Smith, Henry Foreman.
Company E—Killed: none. Wounded: V. C. Hill, J. K. Smith, Wm. Deane, Peyton, Donaldson, Elleson. Taken prisoner: Lieut. Hudgins.
Company F—Wounded: Private Castello.
Company K—Wounded: Sergeant Donaldson and Private Lessane.

5TH ALA. REGIMENT, E. L. HOBSON COMMANDING. SEPTEMBER 14TH.

Company A—Missing: Lieut. L. S. Chitwood, Privates J. P. Cohran, W. E. Cook, J. Farrier, J. L. Helms.
Company B—(Sergeant N. S. McAfee commanding). Wounded: George Wright. Missing: W. T. Vaughan.
Company C—(Captain T. Riley commanding). Killed: T. C. Stalsworth. Wounded: Lieut. John Burne, Privates J. W. Butler, J. R. McCaus. Missing: Sergeant W. A. Watkins, Corporal C. C. Nettles, Privates W. E. Cree, J. L. Chunn, H. Cumby, W. A. Dudley, W. N. Duke, D. S. Dubose, F. F. Finkles, C. L. Hutto, W. E. Leslie, A. C. McInnis, W. R. Norwood, J. L. Nixon, John Wiggins, John Watson.
Company D—(Captain J. W. Williams commanding). Killed: Private W. B. Moorman. Wounded: Privates D. G. Williams, F. E. Bayol and C. W. Hamer. Missing: Captain J. W. Williams, Sergeant W. D. Witherspoon, J. F. Christian, Corporal T. A. Frierson, Private Jas. Griggs, James Burton, R. B. Price, I. D. Webb, I. C. McGehee, David Barnum.
Company E—(Lieut. P. May commanding). Wounded: Sergeant S. C. Coleman. Missing: Sergeant J. R. Colgin. Privates I. H. Henderson, W. C. Watson, and P. P. May.
Company F—(Sergeant J. N. Andrews commanding). Wounded: T. A. Carson, P. M. Blount, J. S. Garrett. Missing: Sergeants J. N. Andrews, D. M. Hitt, Corporal W. J. Wilson, Privates J. Burritt, Thos. Chesholm, P. Castigan, W. H. Hatcher, J. T. Johnson, O. Marrow, H. C. Swan.
Company G—(Lieut. J. N. Craig, Commanding). Wounded: Lieut. J. N. Craig, Private T. N. Gee. Missing: J. H. Holmes, W. E. Mathews, Jno. A. McCauley.
Company H—(Captain T. C. Belshur, commanding). Killed: W. Williams. Wounded: S. W. Hood, J. D. Ball. Missing: Lieuts. S. P. Doss and D. N. Smith; Sergeants M. F. Wakefield, E. C. Wallis, A. Burgin; Corporal J. O. Hawthorn; Privates W. A. Burgin, G. W. Ballard, J. A. Coleman, L. S. Duncan, B. F. Darrow, F. M. Ellis, J. L. Gates, J. J. Moorhead, G. T. Spruill, J. A. Taylor, J. McGahay, J. M. Woodward.
Company I—(Lieut. Goff, commanding). Killed: J. B. Noble. Wounded: W. H. Duguntry, mortally; N. G. Finley, W. Knight, G. Shepherd, W. L. Williams, Milo Deaton. Missing: E. Herron, Jno. Lee, J. B. Nixon, J. G. Spicks, J. M. Tucker, G. W. Williams, W. Buckalew, W. F. Woodard, J. M. Williamson.
Company K—(Lieut. Gilchrist, commanding). Killed: T. Kenorick, Oscar Wiley, W. McCarty. Wounded: Lieut. J. M. Gilchrist; Corporals G. B. Diskler, J. F. Martin; Privates G. Maynard, Chas. Russell, R. Savage. Missing: B. Herbert, R. H. McCall, Catlett Murmas, A. D. Royen.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

Company A—Wounded: J. A. Fryer.
Company B—Wounded: Sergeant N. S. McAfee. Privates: J. S. Shaw, S. J. Wilson, A. M. Ballard.
Company E—Wounded: Sergeant J. C. Osgood. Missing: J. W. Faïres.
Company F—Killed: A. R. Ledlow. Wounded: William Mathews.
Company G—Killed: Sergeant J. M. Taylor; Private J. W. Terrel. Wounded: Lieut. W. H. Green; Private W. R. Deloach. Missing: E. J. Haigier.
Company H—Killed: I. C. Colson. Wounded: R. M. Noland.
Company I—Wounded: Lieut. J. M. Goff, severely in the thigh; E. W. Sims.
Company K—Wounded: H. Goodman.

SIXTH ALA. REGIMENT—COLONEL J. B. GORDON, COMMANDING—SEPTEMBER 14TH.

Company A—(Sergeant J. B. Hancock, commanding). Killed: Corporal W. Brown, Privates S. Jones, S. Jackson, James Crawford, H. M. Goode. Wounded: Privates W. Bowie, W. Sheffield, J. Whitehead, W. Wilno, A. Jones. Missing: Corporal J. Hays, Private Z. Carter.
Company B—(Captain Price, commanding). Wounded: T. A. Traywick.
Company C—(Captain Greene, commanding). Wounded: Captain Greene, and Corporal Craft. Missing: B. H. Campbell.
Company D—(Captain Russell, commanding). Killed: Sergeant G. W. Smith, Privates C. C. Dugger, J. Burtis, J. Chadwick. Missing: Sergeant J. G. Carroll.
Company E—(Captain Burton, commanding). Killed: Jno. McManus, Ben. McCain, E. Hogan. Wounded: Lieut. J. S. Bryant, Corporal C. W. Garrett. Privates W. T. Norman, D. C. Leary, O. W. Broburg.
Company F—(Lieut. Black, commanding). Killed: Sergeant D. L. Kennen; Privates R. N. Harrison, C. M. Downing. Wounded: Lieut. D. Pitts; Sergeants G. D. Madden, O. D. Smith; Corporals J. F. Bishop, J. D. Duncan, H. J. Sharp; Privates J. W. Broley, J. B. Lacy, T. W. Huguly, A. J. Smith, T. J. Ward. Missing: D. B. Poer.
Company G—(Lieut. Golson, commanding). Killed: Sergeants Hall and Whitstone; Privates R. Matley, J. Carter, H. Carter, Ben. Taylor, L. Honser, R. Alexander, S. Rodgers. Wounded: Lieuts. Golson and G. W. Thompson; Corporal W. Chavers; Privates S. J. Jones, N. Durden, R. Caver, S. Heath, R. Golson, Jas. Herman, J. Shelby, F. Davis, Collins. Missing: Privates L. M. Whitstone, R. F. Avery, O. C. Robinson, T. J. Sangford, G. H. Golson, N. Billingsler.
Company H—(Lieut. Lawler, commanding). Wounded: Sergeants J. Healey, J. Caty, J. Kardey; Corporal J. Maxwell; Privates T. Burk, A. W. Maxwell, L. Steed. Missing: Privates O. Galloway, J. Maxwell, T. Shelton, J. Martin.
Company I—(Captain Kimbrough, commanding). Killed: Private Portis. Wounded: Privates Hill and Mills. Missing: Privates Hicks and Threadwell.
Company K—(Captain Culver, commanding). Wounded: Captain Culver; Privates J. C. Gifford, N. Griffin, H. E. Chilly. Missing: Corporal W. W. Richards; Privates H. L. Hill, Wm. Payne, N. Lowery.
Company L—(Captain Rowe, commanding). Killed: C. E. T. Jones. Wounded: Lieut. A. A. Scott; Privates A. W. Humphries, W. H. English, A. H. Moore. Missing: Corporal W. H. Crawford.
Company M—(Captain Bowie, commanding). Killed: Thomas Brodnax. Wounded: Jno. Shellgrover. Missing: H. Deane.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Colonel J. B. Gordon, in face, shoulder, arm and leg; Lieut.-Col. J. N. Lightfoot, in thigh.
Company A—Killed: Sergeant J. J. Jones. Wounded: J. B. Hancock. Missing: Corporals T. Carter, W. H. Smith; Private T. Sellers.
Company B—Wounded: Lieut. H. M. Davis; Sergeant T. M. Weems, J. J. Kirkland; Corporal T. A. Dyer; Privates S. Daumel, W. Jones, W. W. Lock, John Murphy, J. J. Williams.
Company C—Killed: Private H. J. Tyson. Wounded: Lieut. S. T. Tucker; Sergeant E. S. Collins; Privates C. W. McCoy, C. W. Lockhart, W. F. Lucius, J. F. Young.
Company D—Wounded: Lieut. N. C. Clouse; Sergeants J. G. Stokes, Rogers; Corporals Dugan, Worley; Privates S. Gross, J. H. Price, G. B. Keif, M. McGraw. Missing: Privates G. Rowe, J. Farmer.
Company E—Killed: Sergeants A. Wilson, B. F. Vickars; Privates Thos. Hinkle, P. D. Claywell, J. R. Kaigi. Wounded: Captain J. W. Burton; Lieut. Geo. Gordon; Sergeant L. L. Runau; Privates J. J. Bensley, Jno. A. Olivir, J. P. Olivir, W. L. Staggers, H. W. Caffey, D. H. Pyle, Thomas Scott. Missing: C. T. Schular.
Company F—Wounded: Lieut. Henry King, Sergeant T. D. White. Missing: Corporal V. V. Lewis.
Company G—Killed: Lieut. J. D. Perry; Corporal J. H. Whitley; Privates J. A. Johnson, E. A. Johnson, J. P. Chavers, N. Graham, T. Holley. Wounded: W. M. Herman, N. M. Stondenmire, J. Bishop, W. Poole, E. Payne, T. Gaines, G. Reid, Corporal Holley. Missing: Privates L. L. Thompson, L. Keiser.
Company H—Wounded: H. Rolan, D. Shaver.
Company I—Killed: Captain Kimbrough; Lieut. Kimbrough; Privates Doek, Hayes, Pritchett, and Watkins. Wounded: Lieut. Deloach; Sergeant Vincent; Privates Campbell, Jordan, and Stockman. Missing: Private Goddy.
Company K—Killed: Sergeant T. G. Kincer; Privates H. Smith, J. E. Ingraham. Wounded: Corporal T. J. Hudgins, Private J. Adkerson. Missing: Private Jno. O'Leary.
Company L—Wounded: Privates N. O. Roberts, H. M. Bloodworth.
Company M—Killed: Privates S. Hall, H. Buzzard. Wounded: Captain M. L. Bowie; Lieut. P. H. Leary; Private Wm. Whitley. Missing: Sergeant F. Dilburn; Private S. F. Jones.

12TH ALABAMA REGIMENT—(COLONEL B. B. GAYLE, COMMANDING). SEPTEMBER 14TH.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Lieut.-Col. S. B. Pickens, (severely through the lungs). Missing: Colonel B. B. Gayle.
Company A—Killed: Sergeant Alex Portiers. Wounded: Privates J. Kearns, J. Clark, and J. Carny. Missing: J. Polis, J. Starke.
Company B—Killed: S. A. Burton, W. A. L. Veazey. Wounded: D. H. Hagans. Missing: Lieut. H. W. Cox; Privates S. H. Veazey, I. Bridges, J. T. Bice.

Company C—Killed: Private J. Schusten. Wounded: R. Jones. Missing: J. Hogan.
Company D—Wounded: Privates J. C. Johnson, J. G. Wheeler. Missing: Sergeant W. Lissom.
Company E—Killed: Private Jno. A. Mikles, J. D. Sutherland.
Company F—Wounded: Corporal A. G. Howard; Private J. Patterson. Missing: Lieut. R. E. Park; Privates Jno. Attaway, T. Risterson, D. Oswalt.
Company G—Killed: Corporal A. G. Grizzle; Privates G. W. Burks, J. Posey, Abner Riggine. Wounded: Privates Jordan White, B. E. Beril. Missing: Sergeant J. Dudley; Privates S. V. Mitchell, J. Stephens.
Company H—Killed: Sergeant A. Roper; Privates L. Hall, J. Hamilton, A. Posey, C. Runniels. Wounded: J. R. Allison.
Company I—Wounded: Lieut. E. H. Jones; Corporal W. Thomas; Private D. Fittsche. Missing: Sergeant P. L. Myers. Privates J. Williams, O. Whittaker, P. Leigumndt.
Company K—Wounded: J. Hewitt, J. N. Wood, E. M. Cobb, J. Allen, J. T. Brown. Missing: Sergeant J. R. O'Neal, Corporal B. F. Marsh; Privates W. F. Osborn, W. F. Winslett, J. Winslett, R. McIntosh.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

Field and Staff. Killed: Sergeant-Major H. W. Robinson.
Company A—Killed: Private Charles Frisbu. Wounded: Sergeants Thos. Gebbart, J. Gonzales, Corporal J. McCarey, Private Chamberlaine.
Company B—Killed: Sergeant W. G. Goodgame; Private D. C. Smith. Wounded: Corporal E. B. S. Word; Privates R. F. White, W. N. Veazey, W. J. Calfers. Missing: Private R. G. Hesterly.
Company C—Killed: Sergeant Daniel Casley. Wounded: Private N. Phelan, Corporal McGowan; Privates Toomey, J. Dougherty.
Company D—Killed: Captain E. Tucker. Wounded: Lieut. A. D. McCaskill, Sergeant J. E. Bailey; Corporal J. G. Lightfoot; Privates G. W. Dyess, William Fowler, J. P. McLenny. Missing: Sergeant T. C. Mathers.
Company E—Wounded: Lieut. J. Rogers; Sergeant D. Cunningham; Corporal R. S. Hulgins; Privates J. Glazner, J. A. McCurdy, J. J. Rogers. Missing: Privates A. Majors, J. B. Frendly, E. Moore.
Company F—Killed: Lieut. J. Fletcher; Corporal J. Nuckols. Wounded: Sergeant W. N. Carr; Corporal A. Wilkerson; Privates J. Eason, P. Chappell, A. E. Manning, R. J. Nobles.
Company G—Killed: Privates W. J. Rogers, B. Taylor. Wounded: Corporal W. W. McMillen. Missing: J. W. Kerr.
Company H—Wounded: Lieut. J. D. Spain; Corporals T. J. Lemons, E. Oryer; Privates C. D. Ryan, J. McAnear, D. J. Brown.
Company I—Killed: Corporal J. W. Weaver; Private M. Scandalan. Wounded: T. Buford, J. Coleman, J. Lyons, W. Browning, J. Nicholas, J. W. Vickers.
Company K—Wounded: Captain D. H. Garrison; Privates B. F. O'Neal, W. T. Newhall, E. Cavin, J. W. Sims.

26TH ALABAMA REGIMENT—COLONEL E. A. O'NEAL, COMMANDING—SEPTEMBER 14TH.

Field and Staff. Wounded: Colonel O'Neal, in thigh and face; Major R. D. Reddin, slightly in head.
Company A—(Captain Vandiver, commanding). Wounded: Sergeant W. S. Ennis; Corporal J. E. Ayres; Privates W. Hill, F. M. Black, C. H. Moore, O. M. Fostenblory, S. A. McGinnis. Missing—W. M. Norman, J. O. Geely, A. D. Kelly, James Townsend.
Company B—(Lieut. A. Thompson, commanding). Killed: Corporal W. T. Ridout. Wounded: Corporal J. Bounds; Private Thrift.
Company C—(Lieut. F. M. Tredway, commanding). Wounded: Sergeant C. P. Taylor; Privates M. C. Smith, J. P. Garrison.
Company D—(Lieut. David Ballinger, commanding). Killed: Sergeants J. P. Gideon, O. A. Ayers; Corporal D. M. Robison. Wounded: D. W. Wheeler.
Company E—(Captain Reed, commanding). Wounded: Sergeant P. Reed.
Company F—(Captain Turner, commanding). Killed: Corporal I. C. Ligely.
Company G—(Lieut. N. D. Goree, commanding). Killed: W. H. Parson. Wounded: T. L. Forrester.
Company H—(Captain White, commanding). Killed: Private J. L. Robison. Wounded: Corporal H. W. Miller; Privates S. P. Brown, J. C. Hill, McD. Howel, H. T. McCoy, H. L. Tucker. Missing: H. J. Glascock, M. M. Frasier.
Company I—(Captain Lindsey, commanding). Killed: J. H. Davis. Wounded: P. I. Gilpin, B. Davis, W. W. Sikes, A. Beard, J. W. Jones.
Company K—(Captain Smith, commanding). Killed: J. P. Smith. Wounded: Captain F. M. Smith; Sergeant F. W. Smith; Corporal M. C. J. Camp; Privates J. B. Hudson, W. W. Smith, W. P. Smith.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

Company A—Wounded: Captain H. H. Reed, slightly in breast; Privates A. Peters, W. G. Baker, S. W. Lane, J. Gain.
Company C—Wounded: J. Tucker, mortally, J. H. Lockwell.
Company D—Wounded: Corporal W. A. Crawford. Missing: J. D. Williams.
Company G—Wounded: Sergeant George Collins.
Company H—Killed: Private J. O. Weaver. Wounded: L. D. Turmor.
Company K—Wounded: T. B. Williams.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.

9TH ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff (Major J. H. J. Williams, commanding) slight wound in head with piece of shell; Adjutant James W. Wilson, killed—minnie ball, through head.
Company A—(A. H. Hayes 1st Lieut. commanding). Wounded: Corporal James Butler, privates J. C. Claudis, A. Bryant and O. Bryant. Missing: John Gartrill.
Company B—Killed: Privates John McGuire, and P. Mathews. Wounded: Lieut. Stewart, Sergeant Farris, J. Pasby, T. Rheady, J. Flanare, W. Malone, P. O'Neal, O. Jacobs. Missing: John Causewell.
Company C—Wounded: Captain M. C. May, left foot; Colour-Sergeant R. Coleman, arm, badly; Privates J. Austin, N. Eddy, O. C. Turner, J. T. Carter, R. G. Bailey, F. K. Moggs. Missing: Sergeant T. W. Simmonds, Private J. Pledger.

Company D—(Captain James M. Crow commanding) Wounded: Corporal Owens, Privates M. Caloy and Greenough.

Company E—(Lieut. A. Leadbetter commanding) Killed: Private Willis. Wounded: Private Jennings.

Company F—(F. B. Baugh, Lieut. commanding) Wounded: Corporal W. B. Murrah, Privates T. L. Dawson, J. B. Tucker, A. L. David, W. S. Andrews, J. G. Johnson, and S. C. Malone. Missing: T. Smith.

Company G—Killed: John Patton, John Crittenden. Missing: J. W. Lewis. Wounded: Lieut. Gambel, Privates J. M. Davis, F. Coleman, J. Burns.

Company H—(1st Lieut. R. C. Jones, commanding) Wounded: Colour Sergeant H. Watkins, Private C. Jackson, both slight.

Company I—Wounded: 1st Lieut. B. F. Taylor in knee joint; 1st Sergeant T. J. Mathews, Private Harris.

Company K—Wounded: Colour-Sergeant Rich, Private Larvin. Missing: Captain John Rayburn, Private B. Harrold.

THE 1ST REGIMENT TEXAS VOLUNTEERS, Lieut.-Colonel P. A. Work, Commanding, at Sharpsburg, Maryland, September 17th, 1862.

Field and Staff—Major Matt Hall, killed; A. Adj. W. Shropshire, wounded severely.

Company A—Captain G. T. Todd, commanding, wounded, slightly in foot; Orderly Sergeant J. C. Hall, severely; Privates C. D. Jones, do., B. R. Lane, do., G. W. Armstrong, do., neck and hand, T. E. Brewer, do. in leg, Green Baker, do. in wrist, E. P. Derriek, slightly, H. J. Epperson, severely hip, W. F. McClelland, slightly in hip, J. K. Malone, severely in thigh, W. Whitaker, slight.

Company B—Lieut. J. J. Shotwell, commanding, wounded, severely breast; Orderly Sergeant C. W. Butler, slightly jaw, Orderly Sergeant J. Victory, slightly thigh; Privates B. L. Bolling, slightly arm, R. R. Choote, severely breast, C. H. Johnson, slightly face, W. O. Pankey, slightly arm, S. J. Woodward, slightly head, A. Trinkman, missing (supposed to be killed). Killed: Privates M. B. Anderson, G. W. Borefield, S. G. McGee.

Company C—(Captain D. K. Rice, commanding). Killed: Lieut. F. L. Hoffmann. Wounded: Privates Granvil Gage, severely, Charles Watson, severely in leg, W. T. Stamper, slightly arm, G. W. Mannus, severely hip.

Company D—(Captain U. S. Conolly, commanding). Killed: Privates E. B. Brown, W. C. Jackson, A. P. Therrell. Wounded: Privates D. W. Bartlett, severely arm, J. T. Dickson, severely leg, J. P. Dunkle, slightly shoulder, J. F. Miles, slightly groin, E. W. Powell, slightly arm and foot, L. W. Thomas, slightly arm, J. P. Wood, severely thigh, W. A. T. Oliver, severely thigh. Missing: W. R. Jackson (supposed killed).

Company E—(Lieut. B. W. Webb, commanding, wounded slightly in arm). Killed: Corporal H. E. Perry. Wounded: Lieut. Charles Woodson, slightly in arm; Orderly Sergeant J. W. Smith, slightly in shoulder, Orderly Sergeant W. S. Brazier, severely in shoulder; Privates J. D. Campbell, slightly head, R. S. Clark, severely foot, C. H. Field, slightly, M. Gilbert, slightly arm and side, G. F. Heard, slightly thigh, J. H. Hendrick, severely groin, R. J. Marshall, slightly arm, E. O. Perry, slightly in thigh, E. O. Perry, slightly in thigh, T. W. Willingham, slightly in leg and arm, S. T. Watson, slightly in leg, Lieut. Clinton Perry, missing (supposed killed); Private W. M. Campbell (supposed killed).

Company F—(Captain S. A. Wilson, commanding, wounded severely in arm); Orderly Sergeant J. E. Perryman, slightly; Private S. Eagleking, severely in leg; Lieut. J. P. Runnells, killed; Sergeant A. G. Hanks, wounded severely; Private W. M. Scott, missing (supposed killed), Private Oscar Phelps, killed.

Company G—(Lieut. E. S. Jamison, commanding, wounded slightly in thigh). Killed: Corporal Basil A. Hallum; Private C. R. McFarland, Smith Bottoms, M. M. Files, R. Butler, A. J. Posey, A. M. Mathews. Wounded: Lieut. T. J. Rose, slightly in knee; Privates J. M. Corder, severely in arm, F. J. Watts, severely in arm, M. J. Aspley, severely, Z. A. Cantley, severely, James Ward, severely in back, S. D. Blackshear, severely in arm and side, M. Knox, slightly in back, James Mathews slightly in thigh, Park Mynette, missing, and supposed killed, John Cone, missing, and supposed killed.

Company H—(Lieut. John Stevenson, commanding). Killed: Privates A. Anderson, W. Hollingsworth, J. G. Tipples. Wounded: Sergeant J. H. Marshall, severely in leg; Privates J. A. Counts, slightly in arm and breast; G. W. Culpeper, slightly in hip; C. S. Bolton, severely in both thighs E. F. Ezell, in leg; L. L. Evans, slightly in head; J. R. Jones, severely in both thighs; H. G. Hickman, severely in both thighs; J. M. Harrington, in breast; A. C. Strother, in head and arm; J. C. Hollingsworth, in hand; W. L. Williams, slightly in neck; J. C. King, slightly in hip; Missing: Lieut. R. H. Gaston, supposed killed; Privates Caleb McBride and W. G. Darrough, supposed killed.

Company I—(Captain R. W. Cotton, commanding, wounded severely in head). Killed: Privates T. J. Cook, L. J. Pitts, W. M. Payne, A. A. Congleton, D. H. Hale, F. M. Box. Wounded: Orderly Sergeant R. O. Mitchell, severely in head; Orderly Sergeant A. A. Aldrich, slightly in arm; Corporal W. D. Pritchard, severely in face and breast; Privates W. A. House, severely in breast; J. Rudie, severely in arm; H. C. Patrick severely in arm, amputated; M. Youngblood, severely in hand; J. S. Harwell, severely in hand and arm; J. H. Sheridan, severely in shoulder and foot; M. Reeves, slightly in finger; T. A. Boone, slightly in foot; N. M. Berryman, slightly in thigh.

Company K—(Captain J. B. Massy, commanding, wounded, slightly in knee). Killed: Lieuts. James H. Waterhouse, Sam. E. Patton; Private Jesse M. Hall. Wounded: Privates E. Mosley, slightly in shoulder; O. T. Hanks, severely in chest; W. W. Gray, severely in shoulder and chest; S. M. Day, severely in wrist; J. O. Noble, slightly in arm; E. G. Miller, slightly in foot; W. O. Quinn, slightly in foot; J. M. Ruddle, slightly in back. Missing: A. J. Wilson.

Company L—(Captain W. A. Bedell, commanding). Killed: Lieut. J. C. S. Thompson; Private J. Frank. Wounded: Orderly Sergeant S. A. Carpenter, severely in breast; Corporals J. Hanson, severely in both thighs; W. Zimmer, severely; R. Jacovet, severely; Privates S. T. Blessing, severely in ankle and hand; H. Cohen, slightly in finger; Peter Gillis, slightly in arm; W. Hoskins, severely in leg; Austin Jones, severely in neck; C. Y. Kingsley, severely in head and thigh; James Rourke, severely in arm; H. Shultz, severely in arm; F. Schwartz, slightly in side; J. Mayrant Smith, slightly in breast; James Aisbook, slightly in foot; W. Leach, slightly in hand; James Nagle, slightly in side; W. Young, slightly

in shoulder; — Welch, slightly in both arms. Missing: (supposed killed): Geo. Bass.

Company M—(Lieut. T. P. Sanford, commanding, severely in thigh). Killed: Sergeant S. D. Roach; Privates T. J. Dorman, Joshua Boon, W. L. Story. Wounded: H. C. Stewart, severely in thigh; J. T. Evans, severely in thigh, A. Walter, severely in shoulder; James Bass, severely in arm and leg; Edmund Pope, severely in shoulder; Oliver McBride, severely in side; R. O. Bennett, severely in arm; James Day, severely in arm; W. Towns, slightly in side; E. B. Eaves, slightly in breast; W. C. Evans, slightly in back; C. Murry, slightly in breast; J. Carlton, slightly in leg; M. A. Danna, slightly in leg; John Lancaster, slightly in leg; Henry Sweet, slightly in shoulder.

The following is a list of the casualties in the "Battalion of Washington Artillery," in the battle of Sharpsburg, Maryland, September 17th, 1862:—

1st Company, Captain Squires. Killed: Sergeant G. M. Judd. Wounded: Lieut. E. Owen, slightly in leg; Corporal P. A. J. Michel, badly in leg; Corporal E. J. Kershett, slightly in leg; Privates: C. Chambers, badly in hand, F. Fowler, badly in shoulder, J. Hunter, badly in foot; J. B. McCutcheon, badly in arm, J. Harby, slightly in hand, A. Micon, slightly in head. Drivers: J. Garrity, slightly in head, P. Ryerson, badly in leg, — Penny, slightly in arm.

2nd Company, Captain Richardson. Killed: Private F. Allerwelt. Wounded: Lieut. J. D. Britton, slightly in arm, Corporal W. J. Hare, slightly in head; Privates A. Freret, badly in thigh, L. Fallon, slightly in shoulder; Driver Brooks, slightly in spine.

3rd Company, Captain Miller. Killed: Drivers H. J. Atkins, F. Duber. Wounded: Lieut. A. Hero, slightly in leg; Sergeant George McNeill, badly in shoulder; Corporal P. W. Pettie, slightly in hip; Privates John Holmes, badly in leg, G. W. Massey, dangerously in thigh, M. W. Cloney, slightly in arm, J. H. McCartney, badly in arm, S. G. Saunders, slightly in leg, E. Anvil, slightly in arm, O. De Blanc, slightly in leg. Missing: Drivers Leitz and Kent.

We have also received the following list of casualties in several regiments in various engagements:—

1st Georgia Regiment.—Wounded: Andrew Laddy, Chas. Beard, R. J. Carrol, John Roden,

7th Georgia Regiment.—J. J. Adams, E. Stashy, P. Anderson, John M. Ward, Thomas Williams, J. N. Brooks.

8th Georgia Regiment.—Wm. M. Butler, James Brooks, R. W. Gammon, Thos. Oliver, Gabriel Morse, Thomas Ransom, N. Emmel, F. W. Call.

9th Georgia Regiment.—Killed: B. Waldrop. Wounded: S. M. Wolfe, J. L. Oxford, Leroy Malden, J. Snow, James Steed.

11th Georgia Regiment.—Wounded: Wm. Stewart, Lieut. N. Paris.

15th Georgia Regiment.—Wounded: Daniel Clinton,

51st Georgia Regiment.—Killed: Captain Ware. Wounded: Frank Hough.

Phillips' Legion.—Killed: Mr. Fee. Wounded: Land, Ray, Berry, Davis.

26th Georgia Regiment.—Killed: Joseph Trowell, and Thomas Trowell. Wounded: Orderly Sergeant Hogan, Joseph Harper.

61st Georgia Regiment.—Killed: Lieut. Ed. P. Lewis. Wounded: C. J. Jones, Wm. Ford, G. W. Smith, both legs; Ben. Blair, M. P. Herndon, A. M. D. King.

Killed in various regiments: Edward Togartie, Nathaniel Hayward, John Marshall Redwood, Lieut. Mobile Cadets; Abner V. England, Captain, Henrico Guards, Yelverton Barry Egan, Lieut.-Colonel George Strother James, Samuel Stuart, Captain Paul H. Seabrook, Benjamin F. Bowen, Colonel W. T. Wilson, Colonel J. V. Moore, Lieut.-Colonel Leadbetter, Wm. H. Todd, Lieut. Wm. Bell Allen.

PRIVATE LETTER.

The following is from an English lady residing in New Orleans to a friend in Europe:—

New Orleans, October 19.

My dear Friend,—I received your letter, dated Sept. 7; this being Sunday, I take the opportunity of spending my morning replying to it. I have no doubt you will think that I might be better employed than writing, even to yourself, but alas! we Episcopalians have no longer a church; we were turned out by the order of our tyrant on last Sunday. I cannot attempt, in so short a space, to give you more than a hasty description of the disgraceful proceedings. Because we do not pray for his Majesty "Abraham L." Major-General Strong entered the church, and while we were on our knees, ordered us out, and as we did not go immediately, had a guard of 200 soldiers drawn up in front of the church. I hope to send you a printed account of the whole transaction. Mr. Goodrich, the minister, was arrested, but has not received his sentence yet. If this were the only act of which we have to complain, we might try to be content; but, my dear friend, I do not believe that even the Reign of Terror under Robespierre equalled what we are undergoing; we just want the guillotine, and I expect to see it every day; men are arrested on no charge whatsoever; Mr. Hamilton W— is working on Ship Island, with a ball and chain round his leg. Mrs. Zacharie was turned out of her house with her children, Mrs. Net is safe, her husband being a foreign consul. Mrs. Doctor Campbell has notice to quit immediately—in fact, we do not know whose turn comes next. I shall try to mention some of the houses they have already taken; Doctor Kennedy's, on Julia Street; Mr. Brother's, on Camp Street; Mrs. Marquize's, Daniel Adams', General Twigg's, and the one next, Mr. Tarnbull's, Dr. Palmer's, Mr. Griot's, Shepherd Brown's, Mr. J. P. Harrison's, Mrs. Tilton's, Mr. Norton's, and so many on Canal Street that I cannot pretend to name them all; whenever they see a house that suits them, they

take it, and the lady dare not move even a towel; they have also possession of Mr. G. M. Pinckard's, Colissenm place. We dare not speak, being surrounded by spies; our negroes say what they please, for you dare not reply; if they complain, you have to hush or go to prison. The officers live publicly with the mulatto women, and parade Canal Street with them in open daylight. I suppose you saw the celebrated letter compelling every one to take the oath, or "register as an enemy." I did the latter, though thousands took the oath, hoping thereby to obtain protection; but what a mistake! they are treated worse than those who stood up for the Confederacy. The old "Satan" calls them perjurers, liars, and says that "Hell" is made up of just such stuff. Mrs. Zacharie took the oath; notwithstanding, she was the next day driven into the street! Tell Mr. — (your husband) I "swallowed the cat, tail and all," and expect to fare no worse than the "Union" people. You must not think that I am exaggerating the horrors of our position; it is the plain unvarnished truth. My negroes are still with me, and I do not believe any more will leave on the 1st of January than have left already, as there is no business doing, and they do not exactly care to starve; this being the case with most of those who ran away from their owners, as the Yankees are tired of feeding any but the soldiers. Do not mind the accounts you read in Northern papers of the misery in the Confederacy, most of it being untrue; out of New Orleans and its environs everything is tolerable; our troops being well fed, well clothed, and flushed with victories. I know how your sister is; she belongs to the desponding kind; but you must cheer up, there is a bright star in the distance, and not so distant neither. This gives me strength to bear the yoke of our tyrants, extremely galling as it is, and when I think of our poor soldiers, I try to wait patiently, knowing that we will and must succeed. I wish they had bombarded this place, the people would then have been delivered of their oppressors. But I fear we are to continue "prisoners," no passport being granted except for plenty of money, which can achieve everything. If a person owes you money, you dare not present a bill, for if discovered, you, as a Secessionist, are sent to prison. You may imagine how economically we have to live; every house in the city and on the river has been taken; that fine equipage, which you so often sat in, has been sent away for safe-keeping; only our rulers and their minions ride. Taking a house, all the male clothing is confiscated for the officers, and if too much ladies' apparel be found (whereof they are the judges) they give it to the "negroes." The health of the city has been excellent, but the loss among their troops dreadful. I wish they all had been swept off! Every one, who could, has left, there being no prospect of any business. Provisions are reasonable, i.e., groceries, but meat is bad and high; mutton 50c., beef 40c. They have stolen all the cattle from the plantations, mules and chickens, and no cattle is coming from Texas; still, we manage to keep body and soul together.

I am glad to hear that you are enjoying yourselves though you cannot be happy when you think of us. I wish I could tell you the names of all the true men who refuse the oath. Mr. Musson, Mr. Watt, Doctor Mercer, Doctor Campbell, and all the cotton factors and brokers, are among the number; you know we are. Love to Mr. — and the children.

The subjoined letters, coming from reliable sources, contain some facts in relation to the campaign in Maryland and Northern Virginia which have not before appeared in print:—

Baltimore, November 8.

When the Confederates crossed the Potomac into Maryland, you may imagine what a state of excitement the people were in—the Unionists were frightened terribly, while the Southern sympathizers were in exultant spirits—but the short stay of Lee's army was a great disappointment to them, and prevented many from joining him who were making their preparations to do so. He, however, obtained four or five thousand recruits, and among them two companies of cavalry, mounted, armed, and equipped, from York county, Pennsylvania. The battle of South Mountain was fought by the rear-guard of Lee's army against great odds, and they held the pass until Lee's army were in position near Sharpsburg. McClellan attacked Lee's army there in vastly superior force, and was repulsed at all points, the Confederate loss being between six and seven thousand, and that of the Federals, including 11,500 prisoners, captured by Jackson at Harper's Ferry, being not less than 40,000. Lee offered battle twice to McClellan the following day, but he declined the invitation, and Lee then retired beyond the Potomac without molestation. After crossing, Jackson stationed 200 men, with two pieces of artillery, on the south bank, with orders to retire in confusion, through a ravine making down to the river, so soon as the Federals returned their fire, he having stationed a strong force in ambush on each side of the ravine. When the Federals made their appearance on the north bank, the 200 fired several rounds, which was returned by the Federals, when, pursuant to orders, they broke and fled in disorder up the ravine. The Federals at once threw over the river a force of nearly 10,000 men, the Corn Exchange Regiment of Philadelphia among them, who pursued the retreating 200, and when they had penetrated the ravine some distance from the river, Jackson closed in upon them on both flanks, and inflicted upon them a slaughter more terrible than any which has taken

place since the beginning of the war, only 800 having escaped. The Confederates followed them into the river, and bayoneted them in the water, while batteries on the bank mowed them down by scores at every discharge. Then followed Stuart's raid into Pennsylvania, which carried terror, not only to the Unionists in this State, but to the whole population of Pennsylvania as far north as Harrisburg. He captured large supplies and a large number of horses, and took them all safely over the Potomac, near Poolesville, having made the complete circuit of the Federal army. The Union army has now crossed the Potomac, and is advancing in great force; the Confederates slowly falling back before them. That part of the army which advanced from Harper's Ferry towards Winchester was met last Sunday (2nd of November) and driven back to the Potomac; this is not published in the newspapers, but it is nevertheless so, and I heard the guns during the time the battle was in progress.

A friend of mine, whom you know, —, distinguished himself in one of the battles before Richmond, having volunteered to take despatches a mile and a-half through the fire of both armies at the hottest of the fight, and succeeded in passing safely, and was cheered from one end of the line to the other as he went; a gentleman who was present said that his escaping unhurt was a miracle, and that — was "a perfect hero." When Jackson got into Pope's rear, at Manassas, —, who is now a lieutenant of artillery, captured the telegraph operator there, and being in want of artillery harness, he made him telegraph to Washington for it, and they sent up two ear loads, which he secured.

The elections in the Northern States, resulting in a defeat of the Republican party, have been a tremendous blow to the Administration, and I think will do more to bring the war to a speedy close than a dozen victories gained by the Confederates. Lincoln will hold to his policy, and the Democrats will refuse to furnish men or means while he does. It is true that the same Congress which was in session last winter will be in session this winter, but the moral effect of these elections will be very great; rebuking, as they do, the Administration and evidencing a condemnation of its policy. The men to fight the battles are furnished through the agency of the Governors and Legislatures of the different States, and none will be furnished by the Democratic States while Lincoln pursues his present policy—that is, they will make that an excuse for refusing to do what they have no inclination to do; notwithstanding, they talk of a vigorous prosecution of the war for the "Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," or did talk so before the election. Several leaders of the Old Plug Ugly party in Baltimore were found by General Wool circulating a petition for signatures for his removal from his command in Baltimore, when he at once arrested them, and sent them to Fort Delaware. He, however, released them in a few days, but their arrest aroused the indignation of the whole Plug Ugly and Yankee party, with the Governor at their head, and I am very much afraid they will succeed in having him removed. I shall regret it, for he is a gallant old soldier and a gentleman, and cannot be made use of or controlled by the rascals who have control of the State and City Governments, and I think he is disposed to act fairly and justly. The draft caused great excitement here for some time. In Baltimore county adjoining this city, 978 men were drawn, about 300 of this number have furnished substitutes, and about 40 have reported in person, and the balance, some 630, have yet to be found and taken to camp. It is said a company of cavalry will be sent out to hunt up the missing. Many have gone to Dixie, and will be hard to find. Eighty-one went in one body to Dixie from one of the counties the night of the draft, 46 on another night, besides others in smaller parties. About one-half of the substitutes furnished from Baltimore county have deserted, after receiving from their principals \$250 to \$350 each. It is very strange that the Union men who have been urging people to volunteer and approved of the draft, now that they or their friends have been drawn, are utterly disgusted with drafting and as violently opposed to it as they were before in favour of it—so much for their principles and patriotism.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 13, 1862.

The self-sacrifice and devotion of the people of Maryland to the Confederates is almost without a parallel in history. You will be surprised to learn that over \$45,000 have been expended in this city alone (and principally contributed by its citizens) for the relief of the Confederate sick and wounded prisoners since the battles in Maryland. A large number of wounded were brought down to the city after the battle of Antietam, and cared for in their own houses and the hospitals by our devoted women, who are untiring night and day; in almost every house one or more of its inmates are at work for the sick soldier, and many a fair hand among us, who previous to this war did not know what labour was, now plies her needle night and day, and is willing cheerfully to endure any privation for the cause. In collecting money it is painful to us to take money from those who cannot afford to give, but we must do it, or wound their feelings. Such is the spirit of the people of Maryland. Out of our resources we sent considerable sums to the Confederate prisoners in the West, and from all quarters are we called on. We have now but little chance to make money here, nearly every avenue of trade is cut off from us; we cannot send a package of the

value of \$5 to any place out of the city without taking the oath. Many of our small dealers, whose families are dependent on them, must take this oath or let their families starve, those who can live on for awhile longer prefer to do no business than take it.

With reference to the Confederate invasion of Maryland, I would say that it was only a move to take Harper's Ferry, and nothing more. When Marylanders offered themselves to General Lee to fight their cause on their own soil, he said to them, "Remain quiet for the present, your time has not yet come." It was not expected by the Confederates to fight the battle of Antietam, but the delay in taking Harper's Ferry rendered it a necessity, and nobly was it done. General Lee's army in that battle did not exceed 45,000 men, that of McClellan was fully 120,000; had Jackson's army arrived in time, and the ammunition of the Confederates held out, McClellan would have been defeated, Washington fallen, and the war probably ended.

I spend a good deal of time in New York, and I can assure you that the war spirit of the North is dead. You note the rapid strides of Democracy; well, the Democratic party means peace, and this is well understood by the Lincolnites. Heavy demonstrations will be made shortly in the ports of Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston; but, from what we can learn, the Confederates are well prepared, and we do not fear for the result.

The Confederate army now in the Valley of the Shenandoah is in fine spirits and splendidly equipped for a winter campaign. President Davis reviewed at Winchester, some two months since, 80,000 of his army, all newly clad and in fine spirits.

The depredations of the "Pest of the Ocean," otherwise the Alabama, have had a terrible effect on Yankee commerce, and the dread of new depredations causes many sleepless nights to the loyal merchants of New York.

We have news that the Confederates got in the rear of the Federal army at Ashby's Gap; took their trains, &c., 500 Federal wounded were carried into Harper's Ferry. The Federal sutlers are here who lost their supplies. Nothing is now allowed to be published by the War Department but the most infamous falsehoods; believe nothing you see now in the Northern papers, they are worse than ever.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 22.

The Treasury notes bearing 7.30ths interest, and falling due on the 1st of October, 1864, have been taken at about 3 per cent. premium, payable in "Green backs." The whole amount only \$13,000,000 could have been disposed of in the market at 4 per cent. without any parade, as people might be supposed to be glad to get something that promises to yield an income in specie over an inconvertible and unredeemable non interest-paying currency. It is remarkable, however, that not a single bid was made by an individual for investment; all the applications came from brokers and speculators who expect to make "a turn." Besides these Treasury notes only \$68,000,000 of Government bonds have been sold, notwithstanding Mr. Chase has had agents in every large city endeavouring to palm them off upon the innocent public. Surprise is manifested that he has been enabled to carry through the Government up to the present time, but he is pretty near "the end of his rope," and so will be all the members of the Administration if they persist in carrying out the emancipation scheme. But it is supposed that Mr. Lincoln, who is as disingenuous as he is fanatical, is merely playing with the Radicals, until Congress meets, when he will assume the Greeley side in such a strong manner that the representatives of the country will be forced to oppose him, provoking a collision of sentiment, and thereby end the war. The movement of Burnside is as much to gain time as anything else, in order to keep up a show of activity. The war spirit is completely broken, and cannot be revived under any pretence.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 2.

The apprehensions of a rupture between England and France have been very materially diminished by the conviction that though the Greeks might elect Prince Alfred, the British Government would not, in any case, consent to the acceptance of a throne beset by so many dangers. In spite of official and semi-official assurances, it was generally felt here that the transformation of Greece into an English dependency must inevitably—not immediately, perhaps, but still inevitably—lead to a rupture and possibly to an European war. The public are, therefore, glad to suppose that one cause of the disturbance of peace is removed. The general feeling throughout the public (who are not profound politicians) is, that

England would be very glad to gratify the wishes of the Greeks, but that the attitude of France and Russia has deterred her from complying with them.

The London Ministerial prints have been very indignantly denying the charge brought against the Ministry, of putting forward the young Prince. Such an imputation against the virtue of Downing Street! It is supposed, however, in Paris that the whole affair was managed between General Kalergis and an unofficial agent of the British Government. Whichever way it may end, this little electioneering campaign has by no means improved the relations between the two Governments.

The debates in the Italian Parliament have led to the result which unbiassed minds had foreseen from the day when M. Ratazzi gave the ill-advised order to shoot down Garibaldi. The Ministry has given in its resignation. Italy, during their tenure of office, has suffered loss of prestige, and a still heavier loss—that of the feeling of mutual reliance which existed between the King and the Revolutionary party. When M. Ratazzi resorted to a low backstairs intrigue to displace Baron Ricasoli, France and England were both eager to show their friendship to the new kingdom; the "party of action" was under control—Garibaldi and his influence were kept back as a powerful reserve. M. Ratazzi has undone everything. His subserviency has not conciliated France; his hunting down Garibaldi has disgusted England; the party of action are ready to rise at the first opportunity; anarchy prevails throughout the kingdom; the Roman question is as far from a settlement as ever; and Garibaldi is, physically and morally, a complete wreck. Ratazzi has anticipated a vote of censure by laying down office. He should have done so long before.

Clerical influence continues to prevail in exalted quarters, but symptoms are not wanting to show that the tide is beginning to turn. Among these symptoms not the least significant is the pamphlet of Prince Napoleon. It is not easy to believe that so long and powerful a series of indictments against the Papacy would have appeared if the Emperor was really disposed to trust himself to the embraces of the clerical party. I have heard it surmised that the object of His Majesty is simply to allow the *parti pretre* a sufficiency of rope, and provoke the Liberals to a great manifestation of opinion. *Qu'en savez-vous?*

Next Sunday will be a great day for all Parisian sight-seers. Flat or no flat, the new Boulevard will be formally opened by the Emperor. There is to be a great display of troops—the National Guard, *dit on*, will take no part in the ceremony. There will be immense crowds astrir—guns will be fired, the mob will cheer, the Prefect of the Seine will make a speech, and the Archbishop of Paris will deliver a prayer. Whether the Emperor will reply at any length to the addresses of the municipal functionaries is at present a matter for speculation. Beyond giving employment to the labouring classes, there is not much to be said for the new Boulevard, which was not in the least required, and the only advantage of which is, that it forms a short cut between the barracks of the Prince Eugene and the fortress of Vincennes, and isolates the revolutionary Faubourg St. Antoine in a triangle of good military roads, where barricades are impracticable.

Several of your contemporaries have grossly overrated the importance of a slight disturbance at the School of Medicine. Dr. Roger, a second-rate man, having been appointed Dean of the Faculty over the head of Baron Dubois, who occupied the post, was vigorously hissed, and a couple of policemen were bonneted. Only two students were arrested, and released on the payment of a small fine. The disturbance had nothing political about it, and was altogether a very foolish and not over creditable affair; and I may add that even in the Quartier Latin it has produced not the slightest sensation.

The lion of the week has been Mille Patti, whose success at the Italian Opera reminds us of the good old days—*cheu fugaces*—when Sontag, Grisi, and Persiani were in their prime. The public are perfectly in love with the young prima donna—with her voice, with her musical instincts, with her pretty child-like ways, and her simplicity. None of the critics ventured to do more than hint that great natural gifts may be improved by study. The public seem to think her perfect as she is, and are not far wrong in considering her utter want of any artifice as her principal charm.

Last night a comedy by Emile Augier was brought out at the Français, and was eminently successful. It is called *Les Fils de Giboyer*, and is professedly a satire mainly social, but with a tendency to hover about politics. To any one not familiar with French society the plot would be unintelligible; and, besides, you are so moral, so virtuous on your side of the Channel; bribery

and corruption are so utterly unknown, that you could not possibly take an interest in the wicked people M. Augier puts upon the stage. Prince Napoleon and Princess Clotilde were present throughout the performance.

THE MERCHANTS AND FINANCIERS OF NEW YORK ON FEDERAL FINANCE.

The following memorial of the merchants and financiers of New York on the finances of the nation, and proposing a new plan of public credit and currency, has been published:—

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Your memorialists respectfully represent that the financial affairs of our Government require to be so systematized as to command the confidence of the country in the administration of the business of the Treasury Department. That the system pursued by the head of the Treasury of issuing irredeemable demand notes, certificates of indebtedness, seven-thirty bonds, and certificates of deposits for short loans, is accumulating an enormous demand debt that will soon create an uncontrollable alarm among business men, if it does not totally destroy the national credit. It appears from statements made by the chief of the Treasury that only sixty-eight millions of our public debt have been funded in 20-year bonds since the rebellion commenced, and that the Treasury depends upon temporary loans to supply all the funds required for the expenses of the Government beyond the income from revenue and taxes. It is not possible to invent a more hazardous plan of finance to provide money to pay the current indebtedness of a great country involved in an expensive and protracted war. Against this extraordinary practice your memorialists respectfully but earnestly protest. It is a custom among business men as well as Governments to make short loans when money is dear, and long loans when money is cheap; but the Treasury reverses this common practice, for while money has been cheap beyond all precedent during the last eight months the Treasury has made few 20-year loans, and has restricted its borrowing to loans of an extremely temporary character. The only reason we have heard assigned for this plan of national financing is that this war must be of very short duration, and that when it ends our 20-year bonds will bring a great premium. Your memorialists are not able to fix the time when peace will be restored to our country, but they do say that it is a matter of mathematical certainty that if peace is restored within a few years a demand for money will spring up in all departments of trade, manufactures, and commerce, to so great an extent that the price of money will rule higher than at any former period of our commercial history; and, when money is thus in demand, can the Treasury expect the capitalists of our country to divert their funds from these natural channels of business to invest in 6 per cent. bonds? The time when the Treasury could have funded 6 per cent. bonds at par to the extent of five hundred millions has now passed away, not soon to return. The paralysis of trade, which destroyed business and the demand for money, and threw it back upon banks and capitalists, is disappearing, and speculation, trade, commerce, and manufactures are gradually creating the same demand for capital that existed before the rebellion. Thus it becomes necessary to resort to some other means of obtaining money to carry on this war and meet the wants of the country. It should be remembered that our condition as a people is different from any other. It is a well-known fact that we have no large capitalists who can absorb any considerable amount of new securities. Our capitalists have their money invested in bonds and mortgages, real estate, State bonds, bank, insurance, and other local stocks. It would be extremely injurious to the interests of all classes of our people were these securities and properties forced upon the market to raise money to invest in Government bonds at any time; but especially would it be so at a time when trade, commerce, and manufactures shall, after the peace, again ask for the facilities which can alone be obtained in an easy money-market. It is also an important fact that the greater portion of the available capital of this country is employed in trade and business, and is thus used for the profit it will earn, instead of an annual interest upon revenue securities. This condition of our country is known to us all, and is the practical demonstration and evidence of the intelligence, enterprise, and thrift of our people; and hence we esteem those evidences of debt most valuable that possess the most convertible character, while they contain the intrinsic merit of certain value. In consequence of these facts and conclusions, your memorialists desire to present to you a system of American finance which will conform to the condition and genius of our people, and which will make the burden of a heavy debt bear as lightly as possible upon all interests by adjusting it to the shoulders of traders, bankers, and capitalists. In our country "money" is that article which the Federal Government should declare to be a legal tender, and the public will take this money so long as trade and business may demand it. Trade will employ money so long as the use of it will produce a profit greater than the amount of interest paid for its use. When we wish to float more money than can be profitably employed in trade, we must make it bear an interest, or it will depreciate in current value. It is not the quantity of bonds bearing interest that creates inflation or over issues, but the large quantity of irredeemable bills forced upon the public as currency that bear no interest. The principle we now propose to embrace in our national finances we trust may be the one that will preserve the credit and life of the nation, and alleviate the fears of those who consider a national debt an unmitigated evil. Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully request you to authorize and direct the Treasury Department to issue coupon bonds, having twenty years to run, of the denomination of \$20, \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1000, and \$5000 each, bearing an interest of 4½ per cent., and to make such bonds a legal tender. Your memorialists represent that these bonds will be taken and held by all classes of people, and especially by merchants, traders, and manufacturers, to a very large extent, and that the introduction of these bonds will induce business men to use more capital and less personal credit in their business, because surplus capital invested in these interest-paying bonds will still be money in the hands of the holder. We propose 4½ per cent. interest, because we find, by a careful estimate of current values, that 4 per cent. would be too low, and 5 per cent. too high, and that 4½ per cent., with the legal tender clause, making the bonds money, will make a merchantable as well as legal par value. This will cause them to be freely used in the general business of the country in place of bills of exchange, bank credits, and individual acceptances. Another important

advantage will flow from this system of finance. This rate of interest on Government bonds will not so seriously depreciate mortgage securities or the current value of real estate as the rate of 6 and 7 per cent. now being paid by the Treasury upon its issued bonds; and, again, these bonds, being money bearing interest, will soon take the place of as well as absorb the irredeemable demand note, because these bonds will possess all the characteristics of money and bear interest. By adopting this system the Treasury will not be compelled to ask another loan; for, as these bonds will be a legal tender, the Treasury may use them as other money in payment to public creditors. Thus will the national credit be protected against dishonour, to which it is now exposed by the plan of demand notes and call or short loans. It is probable that these bonds may be absorbed in the business of the country, without materially affecting values, to the extent of more than one thousand millions within six months, and, by allowing a short time to bring about a proper appreciation of the value of this new money bearing interest, and gradually placing the bonds into the hands of the public, it is not unlikely that two hundred millions may be profitably taken in our country. By issuing these bonds that will take the place of the irredeemable demand note, the Treasury will be enabled to resume specie payments within ninety days from the time these bonds shall be offered to the public. If the public shall require the Government to continue the issue of demand notes of denominations less than \$20, then provision should be made to redeem such notes in specie at the Sub-Treasury. This plan will keep such issues within proper limits, and will not in any degree affect bank issues, because those institutions, like individuals, may use the bonds and notes of the Government in place of specie. If Congress should adopt this system, and thus make all its funded promises a legal tender, it will be placing the credit of the Government where it should be—above all other credits in our country. These propositions bring the obligations of the Government down to two kinds—one being a time promise, having twenty years to run and bearing interest; the other bearing no interest, and payable on demand in specie, both being a legal tender. This system of credit will make as simple and perfect a plan of American finance as any statesman can desire to see established. Two thousand millions of Four-and-a-Half per Cent. Bonds will require \$90,000,000 to pay the annual interest thereon, whereas the present rates paid on the bonds of Government of 6 and 7 per cent will demand \$120,000,000. Thus, to all the other advantages hereinbefore stated, is added a saving of \$30,000,000 per annum of interest on the debt of \$2,000,000,000.

LORD RUSSELL'S SPIRITED DESPATCH TO DENMARK.

The following despatch from Lord Russell to Mr. Paget appears in Tuesday's *Gazette*:—

Foreign Office, Nov. 20.

Sir,—Since my conversation with M. de Bille, related in my despatch of the 11th ult., that Minister has placed in my hands the copy of a despatch addressed to him by M. Hall of the date of the 15th ult.

I am sorry to see by that despatch (of which I enclose a copy), that the Danish Government show a strong repugnance to the adoption of the counsels given them by Her Majesty's Government. I am persuaded that the Danish Government have not sufficiently reflected on the evils of their present position, and have exaggerated to themselves the consequences which they think would follow their consent to the plan of arrangement sketched out by Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, are desirous, with a view to the maintenance of the Danish Monarchy, and not to its dismemberment or its subversion, to point out more fully the obligations of the King of Denmark and the means of fulfilling them.

It will not be denied that the King of Denmark holds the Duchy of Holstein, as Duke of Holstein, and Lauenburg as Duke of Lauenburg, and that in both capacities he is a member of the German Confederation, bound by its laws, and amenable to the authorities constituted by the Federal Act.

Neither can it be denied, as that Duke of Schleswig, the King of Denmark is bound to Austria and Prussia, and to the German Confederation collectively, as sovereign States of Europe, by certain promises made in 1811, and which (as M. Hall reminds me) I have always stated His Danish Majesty is bound in honour to fulfil.

Such being the position and such the obligation of the King of Denmark, I feel sure that M. Hall will agree with me when I say that no argument *ab inconvenienti* can be allowed to prevail against these positive stipulations and honourable engagements. It will not be enough to say that by the arrangement which has been proposed the march of the Danish Government will be retarded; and that it is difficult to obtain the sanction of Holstein to measures which the Danish Ministers think expedient. Considerations of this kind must yield to the demands of justice, and to the good faith due from a Prince towards those with whom he has contracted engagements.

Taking, then, these obligations in this order, I must remind M. Hall that Her Majesty's Government have always declined to give an opinion upon matters belonging to the competence of the German Confederation. Speaking very generally, Her Majesty's Government see nothing unreasonable in a demand that no taxes should be imposed and no laws should be binding on Holstein which have not obtained the consent of the people of that Duchy, represented in the States thereof.

But, on the other hand, when M. Hall declares that the Danish Government are ready to accede to the demands of the Diet in regard to Holstein, "whatever dangers to the integrity of the Monarchy that concession may involve, if this eventual position of Holstein can be defined in such a manner

that the rest of the Monarchy should not be reduced to a constant dependence on Germany, and if by this sacrifice our relations with the Confederation might be re-established on a permanent basis, the principle thus stated has the cordial assent and approbation of Her Majesty's Government.

Before I go further I must ask you to state to M. Hall that it is with great satisfaction I find that, as regards Holstein and Lauenburg, no difference of principle will prevent the adoption of the views set forth in my despatch of the 24th of September. The differences, if any, will rather be on questions of detail.

We come, next, to the question of Schleswig, the real obstacle to a final and solid arrangement.

Upon this subject, also, there is little difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Denmark as to general principles. M. Hall does not disavow the two principal Articles of the Declarations made by the King of Denmark, by which, in substance, he assured his people of the Duchy of Schleswig that that Duchy should not be incorporated with Denmark, and that his Schleswig subjects of German origin should be placed on an equality with those of Danish origin. M. Hall, I say, does not deny either the existence or the validity of these premises, but he maintains that they have been fulfilled.

M. Hall's words are:—"The intentions with respect to this Duchy—namely, Schleswig—which the King had spontaneously expressed at the time—the engagement of honour, to use the term employed by Lord Russell, which the King had taken—were immediately and conscientiously fulfilled by him."

The question is thus converted into one of fact. The Cabinet of Berlin and the Germans generally have maintained that these engagements have not been fulfilled.

Some time ago a British agent, acquainted with the country and with the language, was sent into Schleswig to ascertain on which side the truth lay.

His report, which was very detailed, and appeared very trustworthy, was to the effect that the inhabitants of Schleswig did not wish to change masters, that they were loyal to the Crown of Denmark, but that in many places the German inhabitants complained that they were obliged to attend church services in Danish, to send their children to schools where the teaching is in Danish, and that before their children could receive the right of confirmation they are obliged to undergo an examination in the Danish language.

When I reported these complaints, the Danish Government replied that the parents might employ private tutors, and that their children might receive the rite of confirmation in German, although the examination must be in Danish. These replies appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be insufficient and illusory.

Among other instances, I reported, from information I had received, that the inhabitants of Schleswig were not allowed to sign more than three names to one petition, and that the liberty of the press, which exists to the fullest extent in Denmark, is not allowed in Schleswig. When these restrictions were mentioned to the Danish Minister in London he did not deny the truth of these allegations, but justified them by urging the necessity of counteracting German aggressive agitation.

It has been my duty repeatedly to advise the Danish Government to remedy the grievances of Schleswig, to fulfil completely all the promises of the King on this matter, and thus to take away all pretext for German intervention.

In these representations Her Majesty's Government have acted in concert with the Governments of France and Russia; but these three powerful and friendly Governments have seen their advice neglected, and the oppressions and inequalities complained of but little abated. It has become necessary, therefore, to consider and to select some other course.

Such being the case, there are various courses to pursue:—

1. To allow the present state of uneasiness and danger to continue till it ends in some violent explosion.
2. To adopt a common Constitution, in which the German element would have more weight than mere numbers would give it.
3. To divide Schleswig into two parts, of which one to be German, and closely connected with Holstein; and the other to be Danish, and to be incorporated with Denmark.
4. To adopt a plan framed upon the basis which I have suggested.

The last of these courses appears to Her Majesty's Government the most favourable to the integrity and independence of Denmark, and therefore most in accordance with the treaty of London.

M. Hall does Her Majesty's Government justice when he says that he does not believe I intend to renounce or put myself in contradiction with the sentiments of sympathy and sincere interest which I have always expressed for Denmark.

Her Majesty's Government, however, are bound to weigh the position of Denmark uninfluenced by those passions which in the course of a long controversy may have gained an ascendancy among all parties in the controversy. Nor does Her Majesty's Government stand alone in its view of these matters, for Russia partakes the views of Great Britain, and France thinks them deserving of the gravest consideration. Her Majesty's Government can only, therefore, express a hope that the voice of impartial friends may be listened to, even amid the storms of controversy; and that this long and bitter dispute may at last be terminated in such a manner as may be consistent with the honour and conducive to the interests of all parties concerned.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the cessation of this long strife may increase the stability and strengthen the independence of Denmark.

I request you to read and give a copy of this despatch to M. Hall.

I am, &c.,

RUSSELL.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1862.

The New Base of Operations.

Again Virginia is the selected battle-field, again the Northern foe is in her borders, and again all other operations of the war are of secondary interest, and the general attention is fixed on the course of events in the Old Dominion. Will there be a great battle? Do the Federals intend once more to threaten the Confederate capital? It is difficult to answer these questions. The movements of the Federal army may only be a pretence to satisfy the clamour of the Republicans. The present activity may be a parade preceding the retirement into winter quarters. On the other side, it is quite possible that General Burnside is going "on to Richmond," if he can, and that he means to eclipse his predecessor, or to let his army perish in the attempt. The movements of the Federals betray so much uncertainty, the changes of bases are so frequent, their plans are so often frustrated and disconcerted by a single move of the Confederates, that we are in the position of a looker-on at a game of chess in which one of the players is forcing the attack without calculating a single move in advance, and is consequently obliged, by every move of his antagonist, to act on the defensive. And we have the further difficulty of not being quite sure as to what are the Federal movements. The Southern generals and the people of Richmond know them, but the people of the North and we in Europe are uncertain about them. Audacious deception is the undisguised policy of the Lincoln Cabinet. It was announced in Washington that the Army of the Potomac had occupied the gaps in the Blue Ridge Mountains, and now we are coolly informed that these reports "are believed to have been unfounded, though their publication was authorized by the War Department." The only points on which there is no doubt are, the extraordinary ignorance of the Federals, not only as to the probable designs, but also with respect to the whereabouts, of the Confederates; and that the movements of General "Stonewall" Jackson are still a profound and harassing mystery. We may likewise conclude that for political reasons General Burnside will not be allowed to retire into winter quarters, except as a last resource, and, therefore, there is some ground for the prevalent opinion that the rival armies are to be engaged in the attack and defence of Richmond. What are the prospects of the Federal commander? Are his resources greater than those which were placed at the disposal of General McClellan? Do his plans evince any improvement or even any marked change in strategy?

The Northern papers are rather reserved as to the number of troops in Virginia; and their reserve is discreet. From a cursory glance at the state of the Federal forces, we may gather that they are not so numerous as they were last spring. The call for 600,000 recruits has not been responded to, and neither immense bounties nor the partial enforcement of the draft have enabled Mr. Lincoln to get the 300,000 men which were necessary to replace the losses sustained by the disastrous campaigns of the spring and summer. The War Office muster-roll is a very deceptive document. The

high bounties have made desertion the rule and not the exception. Some regiments have been considerably thinned, and others so much diminished by desertion as to be no longer effective. The true stories that have been told of the thousands who have died from pestilence, the thousands that have been killed in battle, and the thousands that have been wounded and maimed, have given the Northern mercenaries such a thorough dislike for campaigning in the South as makes them prefer the small risk of desertion to the great risk of going southward. Further, we are told that 100,000 Federal soldiers are on the sick list. If, then, McClellan had 150,000 men under his command, we may be tolerably sure Burnside has a less number, and even that is being decreased by death and sickness at the rate of a hundred a day.

We should not attach very much importance to Burnside's army being smaller, if he were as well supported by contingent armies as was McClellan. The Confederate Generals may now direct almost their entire force against the Army of the Potomac; formerly they had other Federal armies in Virginia to watch and contend against. Another important matter is the equipment of the Northern army. When McClellan invaded Virginia his troops were the best-equipped in the world, and the Confederate army was badly equipped; now the Federal army is badly equipped, and the Confederate army is well provided with the *materiel* of war. Lastly, the present Army of the Potomac is not so well drilled—that is, it has a larger proportion of raw recruits in its ranks than formerly.

With regard to strategy, it appears that General Burnside is glad to follow the example of General McClellan, who intended to make Acquia Creek the base of his operations. Acquia Creek has some advantages, if the Federal commander is thinking more of defence than aggression. It is on the Potomac, by which he can, by defending the south bank of that river, obtain his supplies without molestation. To some extent it covers Washington on the south side, and from Acquia Creek the Federal army could be withdrawn, with comparative ease and safety, to the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. But if Richmond is to be attacked, Acquia Creek cannot be the base of operations. It is about seventy miles from Richmond, and therefore too remote. Between that place and Richmond are the Rappahannock, Pamunkey, and Chickahominy Rivers, and the intervening ground, at this season, is very unfavourable for military movements. Besides these natural impediments to the advance of an enemy, Richmond is strongly fortified on the northern side. If Burnside succeeds in crossing the Rappahannock, he will only be at the commencement of a march which would be an arduous undertaking if there were not an enemy to dispute his advance.

But will the Federal commander advance with a portion of his army only? Must he not take the main body of his army with him? If so, what is to protect Acquia Creek? The Confederates will be able to move against it; and the only protection for it will be the Federal gunboats. But Fredericksburg is on the way to Richmond, and sixty miles distant from that city. To keep open his communication with Acquia Creek Burnside must hold Fredericksburg. How? Not by the aid of gunboats, and if by a sufficient land force, then not without weakening his army. With a heavy column like that of General "Stonewall" Jackson, or a force like that of General Stuart, always threatening his flank and rear, General Burnside will find it all but impossible to keep open and protect a communication more than sixty miles long. If, as suggested by the North, Acquia Creek is only a temporary base of operations, to be abandoned as soon as Burnside has opened his communications with the James River, whither the Monitor is said to be gone to co-operate with his army, Burnside might as well have proceeded to the James River by water transport, and saved his army the losses that must result from a march through a swampy country, in the face of a numerous and well-equipped enemy. And granting that he reaches the James River, where is the force to prevent the Southerners entering Maryland and

carrying the war into Pennsylvania? It may need the whole Northern army to besiege and attack Richmond, but it does not require the whole Southern army to defend that city. When the last mail left New York it was thought possible that General "Stonewall" Jackson was in the Federal rear, and it is certain the nearer General Burnside gets to Richmond the easier will it be for the Confederates to operate in his rear.

The assurances of the advance to Richmond are so positive, and the political extremity of the Administration make such an advance so desirable, that we will not venture altogether to discredit it. But we are far from being convinced that Acquia Creek is to be the base of operations against Richmond, and that Burnside intends to keep open a communication of about sixty miles. We are not at all convinced that he means to leave the borders of Pennsylvania *via* Maryland to be dealt with as Generals "Stonewall" Jackson and Stuart shall please. It is, we will not say possible, but certainly very probable, that the Federal commander has no intention of menacing the Confederate capital, and that he only echoes the cry of "On to Richmond!" in obedience to the requirement of the Lincoln Government.

The Memorial of the New York Merchants and Financiers.

There are many roads to financial ruin. Among the short-cuts from fortune to bankruptcy are a partiality for the *demi-monde*, a taste for book-making at Tattersall's, dabbling in bricks and mortar, assuming the lesseeship of a theatre, or operating on the Stock Exchange. But though the roads to ruin are so numerous, the gradations are in all cases well defined and similar. The estate which took a lifetime to gain is soon spent. Then comes the credit, which is soon exhausted. Then come the promises to pay, which are soon worthless. Then come promissory notes and bills, which soon become a drug in the market. At length nothing remains but a confession of insolvency. Through some of these stages the United States has already passed. The Federal Government has spent all its ready money, and exhausted its immediate credit, and now the merchants and financiers of New York recommend Mr. Chase to adopt the bill system. These gentlemen seem to be under the pleasing illusion that bricks can be made without straw, and that if debts are postponed they will, in some way or other, pay themselves. It is very singular that men so wise in their counting-houses, and so far-seeing in the conduct of their mercantile transactions, should fall into such absurd blunders with regard to national finance. But that they have done so is beyond question, as any one may see by reading the memorial they have addressed to the Federal Congress, with regard to the financial position and prospects of the United States.

We agree with the financial luminaries of New York in their condemnation of Mr. Chase's policy; for it certainly is pregnant with national insolvency; but neither Mr. Chase nor any other Minister can adopt sound financial measures if he has to provide for an enormous expenditure on the one hand, and on the other hand, is to do so without hurting the sensibilities of the people by the imposition of additional taxes. The Federal Secretary had his choice of two courses. If he avoided Charybdis, he could not help wrecking his unwieldy bark on Scylla. He had to provide for the carrying on of war on a gigantic scale. If, at the outset, he had asked for a revenue from taxation equal to the payment of the interest of the expenditure, and if he had imitated the example of European financiers, and instead of allowing the whole cost of the war to be bequeathed as a legacy to posterity, he had insisted upon the present generation bearing its share of the burden, he and the Government of which he is a member would have been unpopular, and the war would have come to an end long ere this. Mr. Chase, under these circumstances, was obliged to get into debt, and he did so by the easy means of substituting

paper for a specie currency. On this side of the Atlantic the expedient was unequivocally condemned, but in New York, Mr. Chase was lauded for the issue of greenbacks, and was regarded as a genius of the highest order, and spoken of as though he was the first to hit upon the device of meeting a pressing emergency by the issue of irredeemable paper; whilst European criticisms were treated with supreme contempt, and were said to be prompted by envy at the El Dorado which Mr. Chase had created by the erection of his printing presses. At present, Mr. Chase, like his greenbacks, is at a considerable discount. The Lincoln Cabinet has found it impossible to cultivate such a taste for Federal paper money as to make foreign merchants, or indeed the people of the United States, look upon it as equal to the gold or silver it professes to represent, and now he who wants \$100 in specie must pay for it \$132 in Federal Treasury notes. This depreciation in the value of Mr. Chase's paper is an awkward fact that Mr. Lincoln cannot get rid of by a proclamation, and that will not be modified by the ingenious despatches of Mr. Seward, or by the compliant and patriotic brokers of Wall-street abstaining from publishing, as heretofore, the price of gold. Mr. Lincoln need not blush that he has been foolish enough to attempt, and signally to fail, in making commerce subservient to his will, for potentates as illustrious for their ability as he is remarkable for the lack of ability have tried the same thing, and equally failed.

We are rather inclined to think that the financial operations of the Lincolnites have shown more talent than their diplomacy or conduct of the war; but, to be sure, it is not exceedingly difficult to keep up appearances, and delude a people whose merchants and financiers know so little about the rudiments of finance as do the 'gentlemen of New York, who are good enough to teach Congress a new way to pay old debts, and how to replenish the national Exchequer without authorizing the tax-collector to put his hand into the national pocket. We do not mean to say that these gentlemen propose to do away with taxation, but the evil wrought by Mr. Chase getting into debt without providing for his indebtedness they propose to remedy, not by providing means, but by postponing the day of payment.

It is more convenient, to have a large funded than a large floating debt. In the one case, if the interest is regularly paid in specie or convertible paper, the stock gets a normal value, dependent, of course, upon the public feeling as to the stability of the Government, or rather as to the solvency of the nation; but whether that normal price be high or low, and though at certain crises it may be subject to violent fluctuations, national savings are invested in it, and it possesses an intrinsic value. But a large uncovered floating debt is in itself a sham, for so long as it exists the Government promises to pay on demand, or at a short notice, sums of money which it has no means of raising, and the national credit is in constant jeopardy, because, in a moment of panic, the Government may be called upon to redeem its promises; whereas with a funded debt the only effect of a panic is to send down the price of the stock.

If, then, the merchants and financiers of New York had simply proposed the funding of the debt their advice might have been impracticable, but it would have been theoretically sound; they do, in fact, first condemn a floating debt, then repudiate a funded debt, and finally propose a plan which has nearly all the disadvantages of the first, without having the advantages of the second.

They point out the shock to public credit that results from a practically unrestricted issue of irredeemable paper. In this respect we altogether agree with them. Next they dilate on the prosperity that ensues from the whole capital of a country being invested in productive industry and trade. But this happy state of affairs is incompatible with a war expenditure that cannot be met by current means. All the money that this war has cost the North—whether it is paid in twenty years or whether it remains as a national trophy of national folly—is so

much taken from the capital of the country, and the only questions to be decided are these—Are the resources of the United States sufficient to pay the debt in a few years? Supposing they are, is it advisable to cramp the resources of the country by the immediate redemption of the national debt, or is it better to pay the interest upon it from year to year, and leave it a perpetual charge on the national revenue? Whether the Northerners admit it or not, they now have a national debt that has attained gigantic proportions in two years, that is increasing at a ratio without precedent, and that is, however secure with respect to principal, at present unprovided for with respect to interest. The North has eaten its cake. In 1860 it was free from the burden of debt, for what it owed then was a trifle hardly sufficient to remind the 'debt-encumbered world that there was one nation that had not to labour on account of liabilities of past generations. The North cannot resume that position, not even if she resorts to repudiation, for repudiation, even when it gets rid of debt, involves the loss of confidence and credit, which are at the very foundation of social prosperity; for without them industry languishes and commerce dies.

And the curious part of the affair is, that the merchants and financiers of New York propose in effect the establishment of a funded debt; their plan is for the Government to issue coupon bonds for sums of \$20, or if needs be, less than that, to sums of \$5000, these bonds to have twenty years to run and to bear an interest of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. They say two thousand million dollars worth of these bonds may be floated by the Government. For the moment let us grant it. What then? The memorialists write not a word about providing for the payment of these bonds at maturity, and they do not contemplate their payment. In twenty years \$2000,000 cannot be paid, for even the payment of the interest will be a heavy drain on the country. The proposed bonds would be a species of funded debt renewable every twenty years. We now come to the grand part of this scheme—these coupon bonds are to be made a legal tender.

Mr. Chase issues irredeemable greenbacks nominally payable on demand, or Treasury notes at short dates. His censors propose the issue of irredeemable bonds nominally payable in twenty years. Is it possible that men of business, sharp traders—men who have carried on a vast commerce with brilliant success—can be so self-deluded as not to perceive the rottenness of this scheme? The document is before us, and we must believe the merchants and financiers of New York are blind leaders of the blind, or that some of them, in the name of the rest, have propounded this scheme to deceive the public, and bolster up the shaken credit of the Lincoln Administration.

Let us glance at the difficulty of an interest-bearing currency. The twenty-dollar note or bond would continually be changing its value. The tradesman could afford to sell his wares for less the day before the interest became due, and he would require more the day after the interest was paid. The very essence of a currency is, whether it be metallic or paper representing the precious metals, that it should in itself express a certain defined, unchanging value—that is, it should be the standard of value. It is irresistibly droll to contemplate the inconvenience, the utter confusion, that would follow the adoption of an interest-bearing currency. In every bill of exchange the time of its falling due would have to be considered in regard to the currency. If, for instance, a bill for \$1000 is to be paid the day before the interest on the currency is due, the payee will gain \$22 $\frac{1}{2}$ unless the payer stipulates for an allowance, and this allowance must be calculated for the interest on the currency according to the time when the payment falls due. We venture to say no youth fresh from school, and big with plans for paying the national debt and making everybody rich and happy, ever thought of such a puerile scheme as an interest-bearing currency.

But the practical inconvenience is not the only absurdity. The value of the bonds would still depend upon the credit of the Government or country.

They would only fetch what they were worth, as is the case with greenbacks. The memorial says: "The introduction of these bonds will induce business men to use more capital and less credit in their business, because surplus capital invested in these interest-paying bonds will still be money in the hands of the holder." Now, supposing these bonds to become equal to gold in value, how are business men to get them? Are they to be furnished gratuitously by the Government to encourage trade? No; they are to be purchased with capital. But if men of business exchange their capital for these bonds we do not see how they will have more capital in their business and less need of credit. It seems to us that capital, before being invested in these precious bonds, is "money in the hands of the holder." Therefore we do not understand how changing capital for bonds increases the stock of money. Take it all in all, the memorial of the merchants and financiers of New York is the most comic interlude of the war, though we protest it is sorry work to jest upon so grave a subject. Sooner or later the Northerners will have to admit the existence of a national debt, and they will have to fund it; but we do not believe they are likely to try the experiment of an interest-bearing currency. The United States is fast coming to the point when her customers must be compounded with by the funding of the floating debt, and the industry of unborn generations must be pledged to pay the interest on the debt that has been contracted.

The War Debt of North and South.

Some months ago we informed our readers that the expenditure of the Confederate Government, since the commencement of hostilities, had been at the rate of \$25,000,000, while that of the Northern Power was \$100,000,000 per month; the statement in reference to the former was confirmed by the publication of the official report of the Southern Secretary of the Treasury a few weeks since, and that in relation to the latter has just been verified by the New York merchants in a memorial to the Federal Congress. In other words, the respective indebtedness of the two American Governments will be, on the 1st of January, 1863, \$500,000,000 and \$2000,000,000.

We, however, disagree with the Wall-street financiers, in the assertion that there can be any new "system of American finance, which will conform to the condition and genius of the people," for monetary affairs in that country must be, to ensure success, conducted on precisely the same principle as in other parts of the civilized world, where commerce is carried on in an extensive manner; we, therefore, desire to point out a few of the false reasonings of these Trans-atlantic economists.

It is true that only \$68,000,000 of the Federal debt have been funded in bonds having twenty years to mature; but this is no fault of Mr. Chase, who has had agents in every large city for more than a year endeavouring to dispose of such securities, and even descending to the use of displayed sensation advertisements to pass them upon the people. In addition to this amount there have been sold, principally by cajoling the banks and threatening the extermination of their circulation, \$150,000,000 of 7.30-100ths Treasury notes, which, with \$62,000,000 of debt prior to the war, makes the whole amount of actual loan \$280,000,000. The Treasury notes are due in 1864, and \$53,500,000 of the old issue of bonds are payable in 1863, 1865, 1867, 1868, 1871, and 1874. Exclusive of these sums there is a deficit of \$1700,000,000, which has been met by the emission of \$350,000,000 of irredeemable and inconvertible notes, and \$650,000,000 of "certificates of indebtedness" and call deposits, the former at twelve months date; leaving about \$700,000,000 unsettled for in any manner. The assertion, then, is false, to say that there was a period when the Treasury could have funded \$500,000,000 in 6 per cent. bonds at par; the truth is, that the solid men of the North have never had their hearts in the conflict, as the recent elections

prove, and that it has been conducted by the politicians and contractors, the system of credit adopted in the North having thus far facilitated their operations. The loss of the Southern trade paralyzed commerce to such an extent that the business paper, which usually floated to about \$800,000,000 or \$900,000,000, has been reduced to between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000; contractors' notes, with Government scrip, filling up the space; the displacement of specie and country bank-notes making another void, which "greenbacks" have filled into. But so soon as these channels of credit and currency are completely monopolized by Mr. Chase, the paper house must fall to pieces. It is also true that the "capitalists have their money invested in bonds and mortgages, real estate, State bonds, bank, insurance, and other local stocks," and it may be added that most of the stock and bonds of the Northern and Western railways are owned, some of them exclusively, in Europe. How, then, by any "system" of finance, is Mr. Chase to meet his payments without the aid of a foreign loan, which is entirely impracticable, when trade, commerce, and manufactures shall, after the peace, again ask for the facilities which alone can be obtained in an "easy money market?" The suggestion to create bonds for \$20 and upwards bearing 4½ per cent. interest, to the extent of \$2,000,000,000, to be used as a legal tender, will turn out to be fruitless; such "new money" cannot be "floated," and will depreciate as rapidly as other kinds of Government issues when placed in competition with gold and silver; and cannot be "absorbed in the business of the country without materially affecting values."

The fact is, there is very little uninvested capital in the Federal States; even that of the banks is, in a great measure, locked up in State bonds, pledged as security for the redemption of their circulation. The whole machinery of commerce is carried on by credit, the mercantile and banking indebtedness to Europe being estimated at \$200,000,000, and with the cessation of shipments of breadstuffs this vast sum, now hidden in the various ramifications of trade, will begin to be apparent.

The South is in a different condition; she owes nothing to Europe of a commercial character, and her State and railway bonds and stocks are held principally by her own people. Her vast stores of produce awaiting shipment will speedily place her in a comfortable financial position. At the present time she possesses a larger amount of precious metals per head than her Northern neighbours. Like all agricultural countries, her transactions have been based upon a metallic currency, and hence there has never been a large circulation of bank notes within her borders.

"Supported by Voluntary Contributions."

A distinguished French statesman once said that the sight in all London which most impressed him was that of the above inscription on the façade of our hospitals. His admiration, no doubt, had a political reference: he thought of the absence of State interference, as well as of that public generosity which more than supplied the place of that interference which the public temper will not tolerate. Foreigners are seldom so observant; and Englishmen are, for the most part, too familiar with the special instances of private liberality which fall under their own notice to inquire into the general subject, and ascertain how many useful institutions throughout the country are, like the hospitals, "supported by voluntary contributions." We have, it is true, magnificent endowments bequeathed to us by the charity of generations long since passed away. We have hospitals like Guy's and St. Thomas's; we have schools like Rugby, founded by one Lawrence Sheriff, a citizen of London in the sixteenth century; the Charterhouse, and Christ's Hospital; we have the numerous and wealthy colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, founded by the pious liberality of princes, prelates, noblemen, and even physicians; but the work of to-day is done chiefly by the wealth

of to-day, and the wants of each year are met by the contributions which flow in from year to year. Every considerable town has its infirmary, some have two or three, where its sick poor are tended at the charge of their more fortunate fellow-townsmen—tended, says Miss Nightingale, generally much better than those who pay for them are tended in their own hour of need. The poor man who is maimed or injured by the fall of a scaffold or the breaking of a wheelstrap is taken at once to the nearest hospital; and there, admitted without question, here receives without delay all the aid that the highest surgical skill can render him, as promptly and as carefully given as it would be given to the richest of the benefactors who have built and support the hospital; and he is so nursed that the best of nurses has often wished that she could send her wealthy patients to share the benefits of the same care, order, and discipline that are applied to save the life of the peasant, the artisan, or the outcast. Nine-tenths of this good work is paid for by annual subscriptions and donations. Again, the education of the people is provided for in a similar way. Government gives a little aid in money, and a good deal of aid in organization; but even where its aid is received, it is only supplementary to private exertions, and it is only given to a minority of our primary schools. Even when, as in the case of the factory operatives, Parliament takes upon itself to enact that a certain class of children shall be educated, it does not pretend to provide them with education. It is left to masters or parents, to the Church, or to the people, to make such a provision; and the provision is made. The children are taught—well taught, for the most part—and not at the parents' expense. The schools of England are "supported by voluntary contributions." We have missions, doing much good and a little mischief, among the Mahomedans, the heathens, the embroiled savages who cannot even be called heathens, in every quarter of the globe; we have missions to the Jews, which accomplish nothing, and missions to the Catholics, which breed endless feuds, ill-will, and mischief; better than all, we have missionaries working in our back streets, our noisome courts, and pestilential alleys, among the savage heathendom that infests the heart of our civilization, and amid the squalid poverty that gathers round the great centres of our wealth; the Home Missions, the missions to the poor; and all these are "supported by voluntary contributions." Churches are built and endowed, reformatories are maintained for the criminal youth, ragged schools for the infant vagrancy, refuges for the fallen womanhood of the population, "by voluntary contributions." The whole system of Dissenting worship, from the building of chapels and the payment of ministers, down to the smallest expenses of each congregation, is in the main supported by "voluntary contributions." In the country, where every local work is well known in its own neighbourhood, and where men are not estranged from one another by their very aggregation, you will hardly find a family of respectable position that does not set aside a certain sum for local subscriptions, exactly as it sets aside a sum for taxes or for poor-rates. If the amount annually raised for various purposes by voluntary subscriptions could ever be ascertained, we suspect that it would not appear insignificant, even by the side of that enormous taxation which provokes so much comment and complaint. It may be, or it may not be, that England is the most heavily taxed country in the world. That distinction is reasonably disputed by France; and if America should ever think of paying her debts, she may probably have to boast of heavier burdens than those of France; but England is certainly the country whose people tax themselves most heavily in the form of voluntary contributions. And yet, with all their expenditure in doing good, they think they have done too little; and spend large sums in doing pure and unmixed harm by what is known as indiscriminate alms-giving. Catholic teaching, the absence of a poor-law, a national indulgence to the national vice of laziness, rather than a really charitable feeling, may account for the prevalence of mendicancy in Southern

countries. But in Protestant England—where, if anywhere, the virtue of mere alms-giving is not unduly exalted, where the reproach of idleness is scarcely less severe than that of cowardice, where the maxim "that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat," is in every mouth, and where the law provides work for all who can work, and food and shelter for those who cannot—the fact that the beggar's trade is a lucrative one speaks volumes for the strength, if not for the soundness, of the charitable instinct of the nation.

It is possible that these instincts have been greatly strengthened and fostered by the traditional ideas of the relation between rich and poor, which still have a powerful hold on the national mind. Except as between employers on a larger scale, trading capitalists, manufacturers, and those whom they employ, this relation is not supposed—at least, it is not felt on either side—to be entirely a matter of bargain. If it were, whence the feeling which dictates respectful demeanour to the man who renders a service, and liberality to him who pays for it? The habitual overpayment of domestic servants, the gratuities to servants at hotels, to railway employés, and so forth, all are relics of the old feudal idea, that liberality is one of the duties of a gentleman. If equality between class and class were really recognized by society as by the law, there would be no reason for any of these things—no cause why we should think it shabby to give a cabman sixpence for driving 1759 yards, or why we should pay a servant higher wages in proportion to the length of time he or she has been in our service. Between equals, overpayment is neither offered nor accepted, and liberality, beyond a certain point, would be mere impertinence. The principle of the Poor Law, too, that the people who live on the land have a claim on the land for subsistence—a principle not strictly in accordance with economical laws, but of almost immemorial antiquity in the law of England, has no doubt done a good deal to teach, in a practical fashion, the doctrine that charity is the duty of wealth. In the face of that law, and of the social usages of England, no landowner can fancy that he has an absolute moral right to do as he will with his own. At the same time, we must admit that where feudal traditions have least influence, and where the higher classes, in the name of political economy, theoretically repudiate the duty of maintaining the poor, English liberality is as conspicuous as anywhere else. The merchants and manufacturers of Lancashire have always been liberal subscribers to every local and national object; and we could point to many and many a country place where a millowner, worth perhaps £100,000, has done as much for his people as would any landowner with an estate of four times that value; to dozens of cases in which the same class are spending on the relief of those whom they once employed many thousands a year out of an income of much less than nothing.

One reason which may have something to do with English generosity should be briefly noticed—the honour in which trade and industry are held. There are countries in which men enter into trade only in order to get out of it as soon as possible; in which firms of fifty years' standing are almost unknown; each man retiring as early as he can, and making money only in order to retire. This is not the case in England. Business concerns descend from father to son for many generations; men live and die in harness, not from necessity, but from choice; they are not saving in order to have done with their calling, for they respect it and enjoy it; and therefore they can afford to bestow on the poor a part of that constant increase in their wealth which they never intend to interrupt by withdrawing from business.

Such is the ordinary course of charity in England. We are now witnessing one of its extraordinary exertions. Men still young have seen several such. The Irish famine drew from the national purse of England a nominal loan and real gift of eight millions. The sufferings of our soldiers in the Crimean war called forth from the nation not merely passionate expressions of anger against the Government, but lavish

gifts for their relief; and, to provide for the widows and orphans of those who fell in that war, a fund was raised which, if we mistake not, reached the sum of one million sterling. Immense subscriptions were raised for the benefit of those who fell victims to the treachery of the Bengal soldiery in 1857; and not long afterwards a very large sum was collected for the relief of a portion of our Indian provinces which were afflicted by famine. Already very little, if at all, less than a million has been raised for the relief of the operatives who are deprived of bread by the American war; and this in despite of the diligent efforts of the leading journal to discourage national charity by accusing the wealthy men of Lancashire of neglecting their duty in the matter. England has behaved nobly towards the sufferers; but it is impossible to overrate the generosity of the class most maligned—a class who, be it remembered, are themselves suffering ruinous losses by the cotton famine. Men whose mills are a dead loss to them are spending the money which they fairly earned in prosperous years to support the hands to whom they paid in those years the full value of their labour; men who are sustaining a dead loss of from £2000 to £10,000 a year are spending twice as much in this kind of charity; and we are told of one firm which has sacrificed £50,000 rather than let its workpeople starve, while the *Times*' correspondent was reviling it for not giving to the Relief Fund. It is not merely in the patience of the poor that England may be proud of Lancashire. Nor has she cause to be ashamed of herself. In what other country would the attempt be made to do what she is now doing? where in the world could be found half a million and upwards of human beings wholly or chiefly "supported by voluntary contributions"?

Carl Russell's Danish Despatch.

Lord Russell has completely vindicated himself from the charge of timidity, by writing and publishing a diplomatic despatch which is so bold and so outspoken as to be almost insolent and insulting; but our courteous Foreign Secretary knows that on great occasions there is merit in disregarding the niceties of official etiquette, and the exacting politeness with which it is usual for one Government to treat another, even when the two Governments are hostile. This despatch of Lord Russell's, which we elsewhere reproduce, may well excite the envy of Mr. Seward, for it is impossible that that gentleman, or any other United States' Minister, will be able under any circumstances whatever to assume a haughtier tone towards a foreign Power; and to reply to Lord Russell's despatch by defiance and a declaration of war would be but poor revenge; for no rejoinder, be it ever so indignant, can equal the high-handed character of our Foreign Secretary's expostulation. Henceforth, whatever Lord Russell's enemies may say of him, they cannot accuse him of a want of pluck—that quality so greatly esteemed among Englishmen. His famous Durham letter, in which he defied the thunders of the Vatican and recalled the daring of the martyrs of the Reformation, was a mild dove-like epistle compared to that brave despatch which the *London Gazette* of Tuesday last gave to the world. We have on several occasions felt it our duty to hint, and even plainly to declare, that in our opinion the conduct of the noble lord was sometimes tinged with pusillanimity. We have thought, and we have said, that Lord Russell has betrayed a want of spirit in his dealings with the Federal Government; it is, therefore, but an act of justice on our part to direct particular attention to the manner in which this charge has been rebutted:

Lord Russell instructs our representative to inform the Government to which he is accredited that he is persuaded it "has not sufficiently reflected on the evils of its present position," and that "Her Majesty's Government are desirous, with a view to the maintenance of the United States, and not to its dismemberment or its subversion, to point out more fully the obligations of the Federal Government and the means of fulfilling them." He reminds Mr. Seward "that no argument, *ab inconvenienti*, can

be allowed to prevail against positive stipulations and honourable engagements," and "considerations of this kind must yield to the demands of justice and to the good faith due from a Government towards those with whom it has contracted engagements." Thus our bold, not to say audacious, Foreign Secretary, in a plain and unvarnished manner, charges the Federal Government with dishonourable shuffling. Further on, in the same undaunted style, he notifies to Mr. Seward that he (Lord Russell) did not choose to place implicit, or indeed any, faith in the assertions of the Federal Government, and that "some time ago a British agent was sent into the South to ascertain on which side the truth lay;" and he goes on to state that the British agent pointed out certain grievances, which Her Majesty's Government reported to the Federal Government, and that the replies to his remonstrance "appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be insufficient and illusory." Surely, than this stronger language could not be employed. In private life such observations, even from a superior to an inferior, would be considered ill-bred and impertinent; but the position of our noble Foreign Secretary prevents any such epithets being applied to his despatch, calculated as it is to assure Europe that the diplomacy of England, under the direction of Lord Russell, instead of being feeble and subdued, is, on the contrary, singularly lofty and daring. Towards the conclusion of the brilliant State document before us, the noble lord lectures the Federal Government upon being influenced by passions excited by a long controversy; and hopes "that the long and bitter dispute may at last be terminated in such a manner as may be consistent with the honour and conducive to the interests of all parties concerned." But in order to effect this he suggests the only possible means is "to adopt a plan framed upon the basis which I have suggested."

What reply will be made to this remarkable despatch? This time last year we were preparing for war on account of the Trent outrage; may we not still more anticipate the outbreak of hostilities on account of the defiant conduct of our undaunted Foreign Secretary? Not at all. A fortunate mistake saves us from the danger. Lord Russell has not insulted the Federal Government; the bold despatch is not addressed to the Foreign Secretary of the United States, though evidently intended for that Power—which is the bugbear of Lord Russell—but it is addressed to M. Hall, the Foreign Secretary of the little kingdom of Denmark, which may be lectured, insolently lectured with impunity, because she has no means of resenting the insolence of a great Power. The British agent was not sent to the South, but to the little Duchy of Sleswig. It is clear Lord Russell prepared the draft of the despatch, and his Secretary not duly allowing for the daring of his chief, thought it was intended for Denmark, and so sent it to Mr. Paget instead of to Lord Lyons.

But does this detract from Lord Russell's claim to be considered the boldest of bold Ministers? We ought rather to rejoice that by a clerical error his boldness has not led us into difficulty, or for an instant assuming that Lord Russell intended the despatch for the court to which it is addressed, should we not rather admire the ingenuity with which he shows what big words he can use, without in the slightest degree compromising the security of English commerce, or incurring the slightest danger of involving England in war? People have said Lord Russell was afraid to intervene in the American contest, even so much as to join with France in the proposal of an armistice. Well, is it not possible to be brave and prudent? Did not the gallant Sir John Falstaff gain a reputation for heroism without encountering the slightest personal risk? We know the disposition of our countrymen, and it is not impossible that they may feel somewhat indignant at Lord Russell's spirited intermeddling in the domestic concerns of a small but gallant and independent nation, which has always been highly esteemed by England, not only on account of its present worth, but by reason of past associations—a nation from

which the future King of England has selected his Royal bride, much to the gratification of the people of this country. But Englishmen, if they will not adopt our theory of the clerical error, must not allow their chivalry to make them forget that Lord Russell could not treat an independent Government insolently without danger of retaliation, unless he selected a Government too weak to retaliate. What more can we desire than such an union of unsurpassed boldness, combined with the most statesman-like prudence?

Butler's war on women, Turchin's infamy at Athens, the savage inhumanity of McNeil, the often-repeated insults to the British flag are the things that justify our prudent Foreign Secretary in presenting a spirited, even insulting remonstrance to the Federal Government; but because the Danish Government in its own Duchy of Sleswig insists—we do not say rightfully or wrongfully, for we are not entering into the merits of the dispute—upon the children of its subjects who speak the German language passing an examination in Danish before they can receive the rite of confirmation, and because in Sleswig there is not perfect liberty of the press, Lord Russell would not think of lecturing the Danish Government in a style that a Belgravian menial would not tolerate from his master. We grant Lord Russell's conduct is not courteous, but we repeat again and again, that it is not mean-spirited, because the despatch which found its way to Copenhagen was intended for Washington.

Most of our readers will recollect an anecdote told about George III. and the British envoy upon whom devolved the unpleasant duty of communicating to the Danish Prince the demand of the English Government for the surrender of the Danish fleet. His Majesty asked the envoy whether his Danish cousin had received the communication on the ground floor of his palace, and upon receiving an affirmative reply, remarked, "that was fortunate, for I know something of his spirit, and if your interview had been upon the first floor, you might probably have been kicked down-stairs." Perhaps our bold but very prudent Foreign Secretary, if he did intend the despatch for Denmark, accompanied it with a private note to Mr. Paget, in which he cautioned that gentleman against reading the despatch to M. Hall at any inconvenient altitude from *terra firma*. If the Danish Minister had so far forgotten good manners as to assault our representative, we should of course have been highly indignant, and our Government would forthwith, and very properly, have bombarded the undefended city of Copenhagen; but for all that there are thousands and thousands of Englishmen who would have thought the insulting despatch something like a justification of M. Hall's violence. But here again we have an instance of Lord Russell's good fortune. If the despatch had been addressed to some small Powers, it might have led to retaliatory insults which we could not avenge without a loss of dignity; but no provocation can make the Danish Government forget its self-respect, and although M. Hall may reply to the despatch with becoming spirit, he will do so with such courtesy as not to offend the sensitiveness of the English Government or of the people of whom Lord Russell is the representative to foreign courts.

Garotting in London.

Amongst the sensation items in a late New York telegram was one to the effect that Richmond was in a fearful condition of lawlessness, in consequence of the presence of garotters. This intelligence is taken from a paper which is not celebrated for toning down unpleasant facts, but all that we could gather from the paragraph in question was, that there are some thieves in Richmond who ply their vocation in the streets after sunset. We could not discover anything in such an announcement to account for the rejoicing manifested by the amiable and Christian friends of the North. It does not seem to us that there is any more prospect of the Southern population being exterminated by garotters than there is of the Federal armies conquering the South. No one has asserted that there is not a criminal population in the South, though statistical returns show that it is less numerous, and comprises a less percentage of the entire population than it does in the North. In Richmond, as in Boston, there are persons who prefer to steal rather than to work, though we admit that in Boston religion is used as a cloak for villany; whilst in the Confederate capital scoundrels make no pretence to sanctity. But the absurdity of assuming the demoralization of the South because there are some garotters in Richmond is still more palpable when we consider the present condition of London. Just now our city is panic-stricken, and strong men feel a little nervous when they are out after dusk, and anxious wives are distracted if their husbands are five minutes later than usual in returning home. The tradesmen have suffered from a panic which is, indeed, anything but groundless. There have been a number of cases of garotting in public thoroughfares, calculated to terrify the timid, and to make the brave somewhat nervous. If, allowing

for the difference in population, 5 per cent of the late London garotting has taken place in Richmond, we can quite understand that it has caused a great deal of alarm and indignation. But we do not conclude that London is a lawless city, even when such things take place in a time of profound peace; although we may think that the executive, or the system of repression, is to blame.

Garotting is the term now popularly applied to street robberies with violence. No doubt the violence is partly due to the savagery of the garotters, and partly to a hope of intimidating the public. They will not believe that honesty is the best policy, but they might learn from experience that brutal violence is very bad policy. In the good old times, when highwaymen were mounted, and stopped carriages in melodramatic style, they offered their victims the option of life or money; but with garotters it is not "Your money or your life;" but first they make an attack, inflicting bodily injury and endangering life, and afterwards steal money and jewellery. And, in some cases, if they get the plunder easily, they inflict the violence afterwards; so it is no use submitting to the loss of property, but it is better to offer strenuous resistance. The truth is, however, that individuals can do little or nothing to protect themselves against such violence, and they must rely upon the authorities for their safety.

We suppose no one, except Sir Joshua Jebb and Sir George Grey, has any doubt that the present panic is due to the ticket-of-leave system, which turns our convicts loose as soon as they have been long enough in prison to recruit their health and strength. In fact, the hard labour to which our burglars are assigned is only part of their sanitary training; and we venture to say they do not go through half the exertion or endure half the privations of a prize-fighter whilst he is in training. We only repeat what is true when we assert that, so far as care and comfort are concerned, it is better in this country to be a convict than a pauper, and that whilst the former leaves the prison in the enjoyment of robust health, the latter leaves the workhouse dispirited and debilitated. We do not advocate a harsh treatment of our criminals, but we consider the discipline ought to be felt as a punishment, so that when the convict's term expires he should be anxious to avoid another conviction. What we most dislike is granting tickets of leave. It is both inexpedient and unjust. The duration of the punishment is left to the discretion of the judge, so that he may be able to apportion it according to the enormity of the offence and the previous character of the offender. Now, what right has Sir Joshua Jebb, or the Home Secretary, or any other person, to interfere with the discretion of the judge and the punishment of the convict? If our judges cannot be trusted why trouble them to pass sentence? Why not leave the degree and duration of punishment to Sir Joshua Jebb? The argument about the hope of getting their freedom inducing good behaviour is not worth much. If a man truly repents he does so from a higher motive than the hope of escaping deserved punishment; and if a convict does not behave himself well he ought to have some punishment in addition to that for the offence for which he is imprisoned. It seems to us a moral contradiction to say to a convict, "You have been sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for burglary with violence, and you deserve the punishment; but conduct yourself well in prison, and you shall not be punished more than so-and-so who is convicted for four years for a much less offence. If you behave yourself badly, you shall remain your full time in prison." Our criminals are sharp enough to appreciate the natural results of such unjust proceedings. They know that it does not matter whether the judge sentences them to four or ten years' penal servitude; with a little hypocrisy they can get out at the end of four years, and consequently, if they determine to commit a crime, they may as well commit a great crime, since the punishment is no greater. Small offenders have no mercy shown them, it is only atrocious criminals whose sentences are modified by our benevolent authorities.

The so-called garotting and ticket-of-leave systems, though new in England, are well known in those of our colonies which formerly received our convicts. In one case in Australia two convicts had robbed in a few days no less than eighteen backwoods' travellers. But the Australian is more merciful than the London garotter. He first bids his victim throw up his hands, and if his mandate is obeyed no personal violence is offered; but if there is resistance the garotter shoots his victim, generally through the leg, and after robbing him ties him up to a tree in the bush. These deeds of violence becoming very numerous, the ticket-of-leave men were placed under a rigid supervision, and if caught in any act of violence were summarily and effectively disposed of by Lynch law, and a convict is easily distinguished by the peculiar halt in his walk, which results from his having a heavy weight attached to his right leg. We ought, at least, so far to follow the colonial plan that if a convict is a second time found guilty of a serious offence against the laws he ought not to be allowed another chance of making war upon society; or we might compel the released convict to report himself from time to time to the police authorities, and if he cannot show that he is earning an honest livelihood let him be forthwith remitted to prison; for if a man cannot live by fair means he will inevitably resort to robbery. Surveillance is necessary even when the convict has served his full term; with a ticket-of-leave man, something more than surveillance is needed. We hope that an increase in the police, the severe sentences of the judges, and a modification, if not the abolition, of the ticket-of-leave system, will put an end to garotting in London. If not, we must try other means. Ruffians are arrant cowards,

as may be seen from their attacking in gangs, and from their hasty flight if any resistance is offered. If all other efforts of repression fail, it has been suggested by some of our contemporaries that those concerned in garotte robberies should be publicly whipped and then imprisoned for life, and we have no doubt that such a regulation would have the desired effect. Better still is the proposal of Mr. Justice Byles—to return to the punishment of transportation. It is the punishment the convict peculiarly dreads, yet it is the most merciful that can be inflicted on him. Away from his old associations, and with the means of earning his bread honestly, he has every chance and encouragement to forsake his evil ways; and we know that in Australia convicts have become useful members of society. We have a colony willing to take our convicts, and the expenses of transportation is not worth consideration.

Reviews.

GREECE AND THE GREEKS.*

Notwithstanding the attractiveness of the struggle that now convulses the New World, the little and hitherto bloodless revolution in Greece is, from association and from the possible political complications involved in the change of dynasty or form of government, an event which men regard with interest and anxiety. The publication of Miss Bremer's travels at such a juncture will induce many persons to read them for the purpose of gleanings something new about the political and social condition of the Greeks. Nor will they be altogether disappointed, though the most valuable part of the work is that which describes the place rather than the people. Miss Bremer is an enthusiast, but not a visionary. She admires the beauty of the scenery and the climate; and every rock, name, and ruin recalls to her mind some incident in Greek history or Greek mythology; but she does not forget the peculiar charms of a Swedish winter, or the faults of the Greek heroes, or that Greek philosophy, wonderful in its way, is not to be compared to the Divine philosophy of Christianity. "For I know something still higher, O Hellas, than thy sacred temples—something nobler than thy wine." In these days of literary pantheism it is pleasant to meet with an author who can admire without worshipping, and who does not regard everything above mediocrity as a divinity. Since, "it is not every one that can go to Corinth," Miss Bremer's account of the country is a valuable book, because it is not only didactically truthful, but feelingly truthful. It is not the kind of information we get from a hand-book or a gazetteer—it is not a map, but a panorama. If we were inclined to be censorious, we might complain of such digressions as that in which we have a slight sketch of the life and eloquence of Demosthenes; but where there is general excellence we do not think it necessary or gracious to note minor imperfections; and, moreover, Miss Bremer's digressive passages are not put in here and there for the sake of filling up the two volumes, but are always appropriate, and never so spun out as to be wearisome.

Our author is not free from the common prejudice that the present inhabitants of Greece are the lineal representatives of the ancient Greeks, and we know it would be useless to adduce arguments to prove to a Philhellenic that there is less old Greek blood in Greece than there is old Roman blood in Rome. The actors appear on an old stage, wear an antique costume, and speak a language that bears some affinity to the old language, and it is therefore assumed that they are of the same race as the old actors. We have not the slightest desire to disparage the Greeks, but it is absurd to reverence them as the offspring of the men who made little Greece so great and imperial in the empire of mind and government. In vain do enthusiasts like Byron and Constantin Rhigas exhort the people, by the memory of a past with which they are unconnected, to emulate the deeds of that past. It is not the country that makes the people, but the people make the country. In every clime the Anglo-Saxon race manifests commanding energy, and the brave Swiss would not be the tools of a tyrant, though sunny Naples became their abode. The present Greeks have a mission, but it is not that of conquest. Let them do well with the few talents now committed to them, and hereafter their dominion may be extended. Miss Bremer remarks that the Industrial Exhibition consisted of two departments—the one devoted to products of agriculture and home manufacture, and the other to works of art—and that "the products of industry seem to be less worthy of observation, and are said not to show any marked advance within the last thirty years." Now, in these times commerce is the

only and the sure road to national power, and if the modern Greeks desire to become nationally great they must develop to the utmost the resources of their country. We do not denounce the sword as a last resort, but it is riches that make the appeal to the sword possible. No one doubts the pluck of modern Greeks, and it is equally certain that they have a genius for trading. In our own community Greek firms are noted for the extent of their dealings and their prosperity; and it is the same in Constantinople and in other places. Greek merchants do not devote the whole of their energies to trade. Politics and literature claim no inconsiderable share of their attention. Some excellently written and even profound scientific works have lately been published by Greek merchants who are well known "on Change." This proof of capacity and vigour gives us better hope of the progress of Greece than any of the dreams of Philhellenes. The Greeks would not be so prone to national castle-bulding, if it were not for the encouragement of their foreign friends.

The political incidents noted by Miss Bremer have just now an exceptional claim on our notice, because the revolution that sent King Otho and his Queen into exile, though now a very little cloud, may soon darken the whole political horizon of Europe. It is a difficulty that the election of Prince Alfred to the vacant throne, whether he accepts the crown or not, will increase; and as diplomatists do not seem prepared with any plan for settling the difficulty, it is not impossible, though we hope improbable, that the sword may be called into requisition to cut the Gordian knot.

Unfortunately for Greece, she owes her existence entirely to European assistance, as is very clearly set forth in our author's succinct history of the War of Independence. The Greeks were unable to cope with the power of Turkey, and though the nations of Europe sympathized with their gallant struggle for freedom, the Governments would not intervene until they were prostrated, and then the Great Powers imposed their law upon Turkey. By this course both Turkey and Greece were weakened, a result which did not advance the Eastern interests of the Western Powers. Greece, then, is to some extent in bonds to the great Powers, or her right to elect a prince to her throne would not have been so openly canvassed and so stoutly denied as it has been. It is a farce to talk of Greece being independent if her people are limited in the choice of a Sovereign by a protocol signed by foreign Powers. The failure of the Government of King Otho, or rather of Queen Amalia, was owing to the commonplace cause of having a written Constitution opposed to the *de facto* system of government. A sham Constitution is worse than no Constitution at all. The Chambers were filled with creatures of the Government: and the people became disgusted with the mockery of constitutionalism.

But if King Otho had been as constitutional in his rule as Queen Victoria, it is not at all certain that at this moment he would have been seated on the throne of Greece.

Young Greece considers the time to be come for the great catastrophe in the East, and is all on fire to arm and hold itself in readiness, either to-morrow or the day after to-morrow, to take possession of Constantinople. It has neither eyes, ears, nor thought for any other object than this, which is one with the political extension of Greece.

One of the most unjustifiable demands made by the Greeks on their monarch is that he should place himself at the head of the Greek martial force, and go to war with Turkey. "At the same moment," say these fiery heads, "the Greek population in all the Turkish provinces—in Thessaly, Albania, Macedonia, Syria, and on the islands—should rise, and make common cause with Greece, and then the whole of Greece would be united into one free, great, and powerful kingdom."

Thus no king will be popular who does not defy the whole power of Europe, and embark the fortunes of his people in a hopeless enterprise. Do the Greeks think in this respect Prince Alfred would suit them better than King Otho? We can assure them that the whole influence of England would be exerted to stop such a ruinous proceeding, and if the scheme was persevered in it would be forcibly opposed by England, notwithstanding the election of an English prince. Constitutional King Alfred would have to tell his subjects that it is the duty of a Government not only to do justice at home, but to act fairly abroad, and that whatever may be the destiny of Greece she must wait the course of events, and meanwhile observe treaties; and it is likely that the English prince would be more unpopular than the Bavarian, because more in this respect is expected of him. We are a loyal people, but we have not much regard for dynastic ties, and we should not think of injuring England for the sake of benefitting a member of the Royal house, or rather a country that selected a ruler from our Royal family. If other nations want our princes they must take them without the dowry of our possessions or our political influence.

* Greece and the Greeks. The Narrative of a Winter Residence and Summer Travel in Greece and its Islands. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)

Miss Bremer reminds us that the Greeks are only united on particular occasions, as that in 1823.

The same Greek demon which, in the most ancient times, split up Greece by intestine feuds, which caused the Peloponnesian war, and later led to the calling in of foreign Powers to decide the internal warfare of parties, or to give a preponderance to some of them—the demon which opened the way for the Romans to Greece, for Frank domination, and afterwards for the Turks—the demon of individual ambition and selfishness again came forth on the theatre of action in the hour of the regeneration of Greece, and threatened to nullify all the victories it had won, and to hurl it anew into disunion and anarchy.

Indeed, it is the spirit of faction that prevents the Greeks choosing a native prince for king, and it is certain to make a foreign ruler sooner or later unpopular. Let him be ever so impartial, he will not escape the charge of favouritism.

Still more important is the religious question. The members of the Liberation Society may be right or wrong in their views as to the evils of an alliance between the Church and State; but they will not, we presume, deny the evil of a king professing a different religion to that of his subjects. Miss Bremer dwells on the peculiar position of the Hellenic branch of the Greek Church. It has a tendency to approximate to the doctrines of the Protestant Church—as against the Romish Church, it has always been Protestant.

The Greek Church has stood like a firm wall as well against Mahomedanism as against the encroachments of Roman Catholicism. It has never been a persecuting or bloody Church; it has not made but it has given martyrs for the Christian faith. It has shown a great ability to penetrate the national life, to become one with it.

We think the Hellenic Greek Church is likely to become a reformed Church, but the reformation must come from within her pale, and not from the labour of those without her communion; as has been the case with all Church reformations. A monarch who is an alien to the Greek faith cannot encourage, much less lead, a reformation without a grave suspicion of an intention to force his own faith upon his subjects; yet if he remain quiescent and impartial he is hindering a momentous work, and a work which, if undertaken, is sure to enlist the warmest sympathies of his people. The throne of Greece is by no means a bed of roses, and the prospects of the prince who receives the crown are not particularly brilliant. We do not the less wish Greece well because we see the dangers that beset her future career. There is no reason for despair, but every reason for anxious care—a single false step might make the regeneration of Greece a thing of the past.

As a specimen of the lively passages with which this excellent book abounds, we will extract an account of a royal ball, at which Prince Alfred was the “observed of all observers.”

England's young Prince Alfred makes, in the meantime, sunshine at Athens. Yesterday a great ball was given for him at the Palace. I also was amongst the guests, in consequence of an invitation from Her Majesty. I had already seen the young Prince in Malta, but I was very willing to see a royal ball at Athens; and at eight in the evening I accordingly went to the Palace. The Prince had grown since I saw him last—now a year since—but had still the same charming characteristic, the unpretending boy united to the gentleman in bearing and fine tact. It was beautiful to see the graceful, simple lad, out of uniform and without the slightest distinguishing ornament, leading in the polonaise, which always here opens the ball, the Queen of Greece, resplendent with jewels and good humour, a real Semiramis, a queenly figure, captivating all eyes. This evening, however, perhaps the greater number were captivated by the unpretending son of Queen Victoria. During the polonaise their Majesties gave their hands to one and another person present, belonging to the diplomatic corps or other notabilities, and led them a turn round the hall. After that the dancing became general, and people danced as in other European capitals, francaises and waltzes. You might have fancied yourself in any one of these ball-rooms, had not some old-Greek costumes reminded you that you were in Athens. Amongst the young ladies wearing the Greek costume, the prettiest were two of the Queen's maids of honour, Aspasia Karbonny and Marie Grivas, whose gold-embroidered spencers—kontougonies—and red fezzes, with long tassels of dark-blue silk and gold, were extremely becoming to their slender figures and beautiful heads. A couple of Smyrniote fezzes, worn also by very pretty heads, seemed to me overloaded with gold embroidery. The Hydriote head-dress is not particularly becoming in a ball-room however richly embroidered its silk kerchiefs may be; still it gives to the head and the figure a peculiarly modest grace, especially when, as was the case here, the young dancing ladies who wore them were distinguished by an expression of goodness and gentleness, which I have so often seen amongst the ladies of the islands. The dresses were of heavy, costly materials, but they who wore them were not therefore the less light and graceful in the dance. Most of the dancing ladies wore wreaths, gauze, and crinolines—*tout comme chez nous*. No gentlemen wore the Greek costume, excepting officers and the King's adjutants, in most cases heavy with gold embroidery. Around the dancing circle stood or sat from three to four hundred spectators, amongst whom I observed twenty or thirty old-fashioned costumes and countenances on the men's side, and about the same number on that of the ladies, for here the two are separated as if in church. More than one elderly lady, whose daughter was dancing in the modern costume, sat herself in the royal ball-room in her fur-bordered kaftan, and with her Athenian kerchief carelessly rolled round her head, unlaced and unembarrassed, and as much at her ease as if she were sitting in her own “sal” or “aula.” Amongst the men I became acquainted with some Palicars from the time of the War of Independence, who were here, it was said, merely to see the young English Prince.

Did the Palicars foresee the revolution of 1862, and think of the young Prince as their future Sovereign? We suppose not; but we may be sure that the young Prince, if not the Queen, would have laughed heartily if any one had intimated to them the possibility of what has now occurred—that in so short a time she should be in exile, and that her partner, “the graceful, simple lad,” would be chosen by the Greeks to fill the throne left vacant by the revolutionary dethronement of her husband.

SHORT NOTICES.

A Treatise on the Continued Fevers of Great Britain. By Dr. MURCHISON. (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn).

If the public benevolence in reference to the distress in Lancashire needed stimulating, this work would have the desired result. We have heard very much about the average mortality of the cotton famine districts, but we must remember that if the approach of death is slow, it is not less sure. As we remarked some months since, if few of the operatives die from the immediate effects of destitution, many die from the effects of the famine when the rich have forgotten the sufferings of the poor in the return of plenty. Fever, especially typhus, is brought about by destitution, and this Dr. Murchison proves by authorities and by statistics. He recommends prevention by the immediate alleviation of want; and he also directs attention to the sanitary regulations, which are useful adjuncts to the supply of food and clothing. His advice would be of great practical value to those who are superintending the relief in Lancashire.

Campaigning with General Pope. The “*Cornhill Magazine*” for December. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

If General Pope had known what a chiel for taking notes the writer of this article is, he would not have allowed him to accompany his expedition. The vulgar, boastful manner, and the character of the general who did great wonders on paper, and was so quickly extinguished in Virginia, are faithfully and graphically portrayed. The battle of Cedar Mountain is described with considerable power, as the narrator does not attempt to give a professional account of the engagement, but details what he saw, and the impressions produced on his mind by the conflict and the after survey of the battlefield. Unlike most eye-witnesses of battles, he does not pretend to ubiquity, or to understand the plan of the fight better than the general himself.

ENGLAND, THE AMERICAN UNION, AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—There are not at present two opinions concerning the imbecility and blindness of the poor creatures who, seventy or eighty years ago, governed the British Empire under George III. Yet they were at that time considered statesmen. Fashion, general opinion, literature, party, united in accepting them in that quality. The French Emisary reported, on his return from America, that he had been astonished at the fervent loyalty of the Americans; that they were ready to grant any money to George III. if he would only ask it through their State Legislatures, and not seek to extort it by acts of the British Legislature. This gentleman had no difficulty in seeing and recognizing the real state of things in America. The statesmen of George III. did not, and could not, and would not see it, and the fashion of the day, the Houses of Lords and Commons, maintained them in their blindness. “In vain did Burke warn, and Chatham exclaim, ‘This is the paltry scheme of a miserable financier, bringing a peppercorn into the Exchequer at the cost of millions to the country.’”

The tale is old, but what a lesson does it give! Men in power, when a great political question is beginning to arise, seem almost always to be surprised in its origin into some superficial view of its nature. They are accepted as the authorities; and they see nothing in it—nothing to be alarmed at; thereafter their self-love leads them to go on with their first hasty views and impressions, which thus become gradually fixed opinions: to go back upon these, to re-examine them, would look like confessing themselves mistaken. Hence they are insensibly led, in subsequent stages, to dispute the character of plain facts, and frequently to shut their eyes to them altogether. Their growing prejudices are generally strengthened by what they learn from their subordinates, who are, not unnaturally or intentionally, led to view everything in the light which harmonizes best with the ideas of their superiors. Thus there forms around them a sort of public opinion which encourages them in a career more or less disastrous, according as the subject to which

it relates is more or less important to the welfare of the country and mankind.

To tell the Norths, the Butes, the Wedderburns, of the present day, that, previous to the year 1839, the sovereign States of the South had unalterably resolved—on the specific ground of the violation of the Federal Constitution by the tariff of spoliation which the New England States had imposed upon them—to secede from the Union; to tell them that in that year the leader of the South urged an English gentleman, to whom he had fully explained the position of the South, and the intolerable tyranny which the North inflicted upon it, to be the bearer of credentials from the chief persons of the South, in order to invite the attention of the British Government to the coming event; that on his death-bed he called around him his political friends (one of whom is now in England)—warned them that in no event could the Union survive the Presidential election of 1860, though it might possibly break up before that; urged them to be prepared; leaving with his dying words the sacred cause of Southern secession a solemn legacy in their hands—to have told this to Norths and Dartmouths of the present day, with more and even stronger evidence of the coming event, in November 1860, would have been like speaking to the stones of the street. In November 1860, they were thoroughly ignorant of all the momentous antecedents of Secession—of their nature, their character, their bearing, import, and consequences.

So when this mighty event took place, one of them—and he not the least among them—expressed himself as thinking that the secession of the South was the most unwarrantable, unprovoked, uncalled for political act he had ever known or heard of, and that it must soon come to nothing. He was thoroughly ignorant of the grounds of it. Had he been at all aware of them—perhaps had he even suspected them merely—he would have seen the reasons why the war, if once begun, could never come to an end in reality but by the armed interference of England and France; he would have seen this, because he would have felt and known that the South was fighting to defend itself against the continuance of a spoliation which at last amounted to the confiscation of one-half of its annual production; and the North to secure the continued possession of the only market it can hope to have for commodities in the production of which it has invested millions upon millions of capital. That capital, by Southern secession, becomes entirely valueless as far as it is invested in manufacturing plants, and almost entirely valueless as far as it is invested in shipping. Men will fight hard enough to preserve a natural market, but monopolists—as history, if read aright, evinces, and as our experience of the action of Trades' Unions confirms—will shrink from no crimes and sacrifices to preserve a market unjustly and artificially created. These two antagonistic motives—resistance to spoliation on one side, and lust for it on the other—are all powerful in human affairs; their potency has now placed arms in the hands of the South and the North; and the North, which has held the South in fee so long, desperate and frantic at the revolt of its vassal, will fight for ever to regain its lucrative ascendancy, and now, since that is impossible, to exterminate, as they openly avow, the people of the South. And, on the other hand, the South, it is very clear, prefers, and nobly prefers, extermination to submission. In this frightful contest there is no possibility of compromise. Mediation, arbitration, are wholly inapplicable to the real nature of the case. They cannot even touch its foundation. “We do not want you; we will have nothing whatever to do with you; you shall not rob us any longer; we loathe and abhor you,” says the South. “We will, in despite of you, be your factors, merchants, manufacturers, and carriers,” says the North; “and if we find we can rob you no longer we will certainly exterminate you.”

This is the real and true condition of things in this contest—let the *Times* and the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Reviews* say what they like; it will not be altered in any respect by any success of the Democratic party in the late elections; and how long it is to be permitted to continue, to the scandal, not merely of civilization, but of human nature itself, depends upon England and France. It will continue until one or other, or both, of these Powers shall blockade the coast from Portland down to the Chesapeake, and then it will terminate in two or three months. Even if the North and West should come to blows between themselves, as probably they will before long, and if the finance of the North should blow up, as it certainly will, this frightful contest will drag on; for New York, New England, and Pennsylvania must continue in it, or consent to fall from the pinnacle of profit and power on which they have hitherto stood. The Emperor of the French—honour be to him for it—

seems to think that there is no other issue to it than intervention. Nor is there.

In our English ideas about foreign politics there are notions and opinions which have the semblance of facts, that pass current from mouth to mouth, which become accepted as facts and acted upon as such without any examination into their real existence. Among these is the general belief in the naval and military power of the Northern States. "To maintain all our operatives on turtle soup and champagne would be cheaper," says Mr. Cobden, as quoted and approved of by the *Times*, "than a war with America." In the year 1841 the late Sir William Napier sent in two plans, for subduing the Union, to the War Office; in the first of which the South was to be treated as an enemy; in the second, as a friend and ally. I was much consulted by him as to the second plan, and was referred to by name in it, and he showed me the acknowledgment of this in Lord Fitzroy Somerset's letter of reply. This plan fully provided for the contingency of an invasion of Canada, and its application would, in eighteen or twenty months, have reduced the North to a much more impotent condition than it exhibits at present. At this very moment the most difficult portion of that plan has been perfectly accomplished by the South itself; and the North, in accordance with Sir William Napier's expectations, now lies helpless before England, and at our absolute mercy. Nor is there any doubt of this, and if Lord Palmerston is not aware of it, Mr. Seward certainly is. We have nothing remaining to do but to stretch out our arm, in the way Sir William Napier proposed, and the Northern Power—Power as we ignorantly call it—must come to an end. Sir William knew and well estimated the elements of which that quasi-power consisted; and he knew how to apply the substantive power of England to dissolve it. In the best interests of humanity, I venture to say that it is the duty of England now to apply this power without further delay—its duty to itself, to its starving operatives, to France, to Europe, and to humanity. And in the discharge of this great duty to the world at large there will not even be the dignity of sacrifice or danger. For the quasi-power of the North now, at any rate,

Primo nutat casura sub Euro.

I pass to another topic. The South—as it seems to me—has mismanaged its case on the point of its recognition by England. Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Virginia, are severally recognized, each by its own proper name, as "free, sovereign, and independent States," in the first article of the Treaty of Peace in 1783, and George III. solemnly declares in it that "He treats with them as such," and as so being. These sovereign States, then, had merely to notify to England that they had dissolved confederation with the Union to which they belonged in 1783, and with that other Union which they formed subsequently, in 1788-89, and, sending each of them their respective Ministers, with the treaty of 1783 in his hand, to call upon England *not to violate it*. They should now send a Minister to protest against the flagrant breach of that treaty of which England has been guilty towards them, by accepting and treating with the agents and Ministers of the United States' Government, assuming to be agents and Ministers of, *inter alia*, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, which England has acknowledged to be severally "free, sovereign, and independent States." They should denounce the proceeding of England as a breach of the treaty of 1783, and declare before the world that she is responsible for affording a precedent by which the faith and trust in English treaties must be for ever shaken. The right of England to accept Mr. Adams, assuming to be Minister and agent of, *inter alia*, the sovereign State of Virginia only, is far less defensible than would be that of accepting such a personage as M. de la Roche Jacquelin—if appointed by Henry V.—as Minister of France, because Lords Palmerston and Russell know that by "the Act of the sovereign State of Virginia, adopting the Federal Constitution, passed the 25th of June, 1788," that so-titled State reserved to itself the right of retiring from the Union at pleasure; that she has exercised that right; and that competent authority on international law has declared that this exercise of her right by Virginia "drew with it a dissolution of the Union of the United States as existing in 1861—that the remaining sovereign States might, if they should so choose, continue united, and even retain the same title, but by so doing they would not retain all its rights, nor could they be called upon to fulfil all its obligations."

If the sovereign States just named will take up their ground I have just indicated, they will find their position impregnable, legally as well as morally. They may then demand to know by what right England has thought fit, in the face of the treaty of 1783, and of the secession

of Virginia in 1861, drawing with it a dissolution of the Union, to recognize as legal a blockade of their territories instituted by an Union which England knows to be legally defunct and dissolved, and which, moreover, flagrantly usurps a right and claims a title to act on behalf of those very sovereignties that have legitimately dissolved it, and renounced all connection with it, and all constituent parts of it, and which blockade is directed against them whom England has recognized as "free, sovereign, and independent," and whose freedom, sovereignty, and independence, she thus becomes an accomplice in infringing.

Such a line of action teems with consequences and advantages all-important to the South, too obvious to need indication, and it will place our actual Wedderburns, Norths, and Dartmouths in a well-deserved dilemma. But should these States—as I fervently hope they will—adopt it, I venture, with the utmost humility, to suggest that they should carefully distinguish between the Ministers of England and the people of England. The latter is perfectly well meaning and honest in the whole of this matter to both North and South—it is ignorant of the real merits of the case—it is a long time in coming to an understanding of them—it has been shamefully misled, but it desires to act rightly and justly to both parties. Its sympathies are almost entirely with the brave and noble South, but it fears, in ignorance of the right, to give practical effect to them. Let the South, therefore, think charitably and tenderly of the people of England. But I should indeed blush to put in a plea for its Ministers. They have consciously acted, as regards the South, with a mean pusillanimity for which I can conceive no excuse, and for which they deserve no mercy. The States I have named now hold them at the strongest moral and legal disadvantage, and will, I hope, avail themselves of their own advantage of position to the utmost extent that is consistent with their own dignity and self-respect. In dealing with such characters let them be confident that they will gain nothing by temporizing and forbearance. Let those States arraign them at once before the world as treaty-breakers, and then, indeed, the nation itself, should it allow them to continue in their present course, will become an accessory after the fact, and will assuredly hear, to its cost—and deservedly hear—of such a delinquency at a future day.

JOHN W. COWELL.

Cannes, Alpes Maritimes, November 21, 1862

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

(From the *Richmond Whig*.)

"Let no one," says Machiavelli, "who begins an innovation in a State expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention." The sagacious Florentine spoke not merely from his profound insight into human nature and his comprehensive knowledge of the science of government, but from long and varied experience of revolutionary agitations. He had witnessed the fierce commotion of turbulent democracies and the restless changes from the dominion of the people to the rule of an oligarchy, and from that to despotism. The mechanism that controlled the operation of those petty States of mediæval Italy whose eventful history bears such a parallel to that of the Grecian republics, had been laid bare to his scrutinizing gaze. He had seen the proscription of the great and the oppression of the humble, the vain effort to repress popular enthusiasm, and the exhaustion of unbridled passion. The throbbings of the national heart had been noted by him with the cool judgment of the scientific anatomist.

The universality of the truth he enunciates has been attested on many more important and extended stages of action. Reformers, who have placed themselves at the head of popular movements, in the hope of securing moderate changes and gradual abolition of abuses, have found themselves in the van of a raging mob, that aimed at nothing less than destruction of existing institutions, and their reconstruction on entirely new foundations. To halt in the advance was to be crushed by the impetuous mob. No alternative existed but to lead, or to become a victim. The cautious and the timorous essay prudent counsels, and are contemptuously cast aside; the bold and unscrupulous dash on in the race, trusting to opportunity, seconded by boldness, to direct the unchained energies, and, finally, to replace the broken barriers by others not less stringent. So may be traced the progress of many struggles for liberty, breaking from abject oppression into wild and lawless license, until the exhausted impetus has borne them into the refuge of despotism.

Now, if it be impossible to check the onward progress of a movement once fairly started, is it less so to confine its operation to the purposes which guided its commencement. Collateral questions, flowing in like branches to a main river, enlarge the volume and extend the surface of its influence. Disturbing causes—opposition more or less effectual, and co-operation, tinged with desires alien to the original question—cause it to deflect from its course, and even to retrace its march. Men, heated by the desire of success, or stung by resentment, are found battling against the very principles of which they had been the original standard-bearers.

There are not wanting signs which may give us just cause for apprehension that in the immensity of the struggle in which the South is now engaged, she may suffer from these inherent perils of revolution. A movement begun for the maintenance of our honour and our rights, resting upon the principle of State Rights, has ripened into a war of so malignant a character and such gigantic dimensions that the preservation of the common existence has become the paramount and almost the only consideration. In the discussion of the means necessary to accomplish the end, their expediency is

almost the only point touched upon. Constitutional limits are not investigated with that minute nicety which has so often illustrated the acuteness of Southern statesmen. That the safety of the republic is the supreme law is proclaimed, and until that is secure all other questions must be adjourned.

Acting upon these principles, men may be found in Congress and out of it, avowing doctrines which under the old Union they would have been quick to protest against. The lines which separate State from Federal or Confederate authority are to a great extent ignored. The Conscription Bill has been voted for by gentlemen who intimate more than doubts as to its constitutionality, and other measures of similar character are treated as matters of course.

To any objection to these measures the answer is ready. The emergency is too critical to allow of delay or discussion. Let us save the country and regulate these matters afterwards. The reason is a valid one where the necessity is really so urgent. It is the tyrant's plea, and serves his purpose, because it is so good a one. Undoubtedly there may be occasions which will not only justify but demand an overstepping of the strict limitations of law. The wise and prudent course of English Ministers has always been, in such cases, to obtain an Act of Indemnity from Parliament. In reference to the purchase of Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson was held to be justifiable in adopting a similar course. The object to be obtained was of such vital importance, and time so valuable, that the greatest sticklers for law approved his conduct.

While, however, these departures from the strict letter of the Constitution are permitted, they should not be allowed to ripen into precedent. The ship may be driven from her course by the violence of the gale, but if the deviation be carefully noted, and good reckoning kept, it will be easy to bring her back. If it be clearly expressed that it is necessary to exceed the powers of the Executive or of Congress, or of both combined, let the ultimate decision of the case be remitted to the people. Their sanction will give indemnity for what has been done, while the discussion of the question and the acknowledgment of unconstitutionality will avert the danger of repetition, as undoubted right, of what was originally the assumption of prerogative.

It is not uncommon to hear all questions of constitutional rights treated as puerile trifling. There will be time enough for refined distinctions and legal discussion after the war is over. Those who hold this language seem to consider the means necessary to the preservation of constitutional liberty as worthy only of pedantic orators. They look on them as ingenious exercises of the mind, fit to occupy the quiet times of peace, but in time of war as senseless as the disputes of the Greek sophists, or criminal as the wranglings of the Athenians when the Macedonian was thundering at their gates.

Those who reason in this way commit the common mistake of giving to the means a greater importance than the end. This war was entered into for the preservation of the great principles of constitutional liberty. Let that be kept ever in view, and let not temporary exigency induce us to sacrifice undying principles. If urgent danger demand a temporary suspension of established laws, let the danger be clearly shown, and let the temporary nature of suspension be clearly expressed. Even a dictatorship, as in Rome, may be stripped of danger under strict and well-defined precautions. A considerable degree of power may be safely entrusted to Government so long as an exact accountability is required. A much smaller degree may become dangerous without this safeguard, for it may make gradual and unquestioned encroachments until it bids defiance to tardy resistance.

The danger in which the State may be, while it may require these occasional stretches of power, demands also that they be watched with jealous vigilance. Amid the din of war, and in the exultation of victory, have been ever found the fairest occasions for the subversion of liberty. Entire confidence in the patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution of those who are entrusted with the making and the execution of the laws should not prevent us from exercising this caution. Too great security is ever dangerous. To desire that no measure or policy should be subjected to discussion is to doubt both the ability of those who lead and the patriotism of those who follow. It evinces a distrust, not very flattering, of ability to cope with our enemy without abandoning the encumbrance of constitutional restraints.

To such straits we are not yet reduced, and everything concurs to assure us we shall not be. The skillful mariner does not throw overboard the most valuable part of his cargo until shipwreck is otherwise inevitable. If we pass unscathed through one of the severest ordeals to which a nation has ever been subjected, we may justly feel proud of the solidity of our liberties. The glory which the South will have won in so fearful a struggle, waged against such desperate odds, will be doubly enhanced if, when she emerges from the contest triumphant and independent, she can, as she takes her place at the council board of nations, point not merely to the well-won trophies of the battle-field, but to the maintenance, under such difficult circumstances, of well-ordered liberty and the preservation of constitutional guarantees.

CONFEDERATE RESOURCES AND CURRENCY.

The following, which has been published in the Southern papers, will be read with interest:—

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRODUCE LOAN.

The object of Government in issuing the bonds having a long period to run is to postpone to that extent existing liabilities, absorb Treasury notes, and by keeping down the circulation maintain the reputation of these notes.

The first issue of bonds was taken up very promptly in the cities and towns, the planters alleging, with no lack of patriotism, their inability to respond, but declaring their willingness to do so, whenever their produce, of which the harvest promised abundantly, could command a market.

With full faith in the patriotism of this wealthy and influential interest, and taking it at its word, Government at once provided for the issue of one million of what are called "Produce Loan Bonds," drawing 8 per cent. interest, and protected the issue by a direct or war tax. Subscriptions thereupon came in generously and largely, but when the time fixed for payment arrived, it was ascertained that no demand existed for many of the articles pledged, except at a ruinous sacrifice. The interest of the Government, as well as of the subscriber, dictated delay, and this was publicly announced by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Thus matters stood, the contract itself being in no wise regarded dissolved or dissoluble, except by mutual consent, but simply suspended.

The pressure of the war, as it progressed, developed a new state of things. Capital in large amounts, the result of past or present earnings, hitherto seeking the greater and minor

branches of commerce and other industry, finding itself without employment, began to be attracted to cotton, for which it entered in active competition, at prices regarded fair during the past few years, and in certain sections, supposed to be best protected from the enemy, very much above the average of those years.

Such a fact brought home to the knowledge of the Government justified a prompt calling in of the subscriptions, it being supposed that a more favourable state of things did not enter into the contemplation of parties, and that the subscriptions involved something of a patriotic offering, in which personal sacrifice was not excluded.

Meanwhile, too, representatives of the capital held abroad, approached in an informal manner the Government with propositions looking to favourable advances of foreign credits upon such of the commercial staples as it might control, and negotiations of this character, on a large scale, seeming to be practicable, Congress, by act approved the 21st of April last, authorized such staples to be taken, when subscribed, at a fair market value, should the subscriber prefer this course to that of selling and investing in the bonds as was at first contemplated. The Secretary of the Treasury is instructed by the act to make arrangements for the disposition and custody of the articles, to issue produce certificates covering them, and to hypothecate or dispose of the same as may best promote the public interest.

Thus you will perceive that the whole matter is reduced into a very narrow compass.

The gist and spirit of the contract being that the planter should invest in bonds the proceeds of a certain part of the whole of his crop, the place, time, and manner in doing so are mere accidents to be controlled, modified or abrogated by circumstances that may arise. The objection that a more favourable opportunity of selling may occur hereafter, under some supposed condition of things, could have been raised last spring had the ports been opened, with at least some, if not as good, show of reason. The ruling prices are about what would have been regarded fair then. Those of the future will be effected by diminished consumption as well as production, and the holders of cotton must regard as set off against the prospective advantages, heavily increased costs of transportation, taxation, the chances of the article being burnt and the delay which must result in that case in procuring settlement and the possibility by no means remote, since it is hinted in certain channels, whatever you or I may think of the policy, that the crop destroyed will be charged upon the crop saved, which it has directly benefitted.

It will be at least a source of gratification to the planter, that if any advantage has been lost to him in the transaction, it has conducted to the benefit of a government with whose fortunes in its hour of adversity or prosperity alike his all of prosperity, of honor, or of life are involved.

It is entirely consistent with the reasoning of this note that the subscriber may come forward if indisposed to part with the property, and liberate his crop by the payment of an amount which at present prices would cover the subscription.

The purpose in view being to convert the cotton into money or credit, it follows that new subscriptions to any extent will be received, but that the article must of necessity be in merchantable order, well baled, unencumbered with individual or State liens, well protected from the elements, not in quantities too small for judicious and economical administration; and not immediately exposed to the enemy.

It has been determined to restrict the quantity received on any one plantation to not less than twenty bales, and subscriptions of not less than that amount will be kept recorded unless released by sale and payment of the proceeds.

At the time of purchase by the Government the subscriber will sign the following, which will be furnished by duplicate.—

"In consideration of _____ dollars, paid me in bonds of the Confederate States, I, _____ of the country and State aforesaid, have sold to the Confederate States of America _____ bales of cotton, marked and numbered as in the margin, now deposited at _____ (naming location of plantation), and I hereby agree to take care of the said cotton while on my plantation, and to deliver the same, at my own expense, at _____ (naming the usual shipping point), in the State of _____, to the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, or his agents, or his or their assigns."

The agreement must be endorsed by an agent, and such agencies are expected to be created by me at an early day in each of the counties of this State and of Louisiana, who will certify to the quality, quantity, weight and condition, and market value of the cotton, that it is under secure cover, and has been marked with the name of the planter and the initials of the Confederate States.

The bonds of the Confederate States drawing interest of 18 per cent. constitute one of the best securities and most advantageous investments that can be offered to capital, and those who have control of even the smallest sums cannot do better than to invest them in funds which are now believed to be everywhere in demand, and at par. The interest is payable semi-annually by the Treasury agent in each State, and, as has been explained, is secured by the war tax or an export duty on cotton. Considerations of patriotism and devotion to our glorious cause should alone, however, induce every good citizen to give his aid to his country by taking as large an amount as possible of these bonds.

J. D. B. DEBOW.

CONFEDERATE CURRENCY.

Our ancestors supported the war of the Revolution almost entirely by artificial credit. Up to 1779 they had issued 200,000,000 of paper dollars—had borrowed 85,000,000 on loan office certificates at home, and all they could in Europe, besides the monthly supplies received from the States, founded on paper issues also, amounting to 15,000,000 more. All this was done when Congress was but an assemblage of State Commissioners, without any form of Government-powers, except such as were derived from their discordant commissions. In 1780, however, the taxes and loans proposed failed, and the old emissions ceasing, Congress was under the necessity of scaling the old debt, to sink it, and of beginning anew, or of giving up the cause. It was wisely determined, however, to choose the former, and Congress was sustained by the very people who held the money, and who were to be losers by its depreciation. But if the Old Congress, of Continental creation, in the midst of a distressing war, without even the semblance of a regular Government, with nothing to tax, and, therefore, without resources, violated its faith, can we be justified in pursuing such a course, now or hereafter? We have an established Government, created by the will of the people of the several

States—a Government with a permanent Constitution, and having power "to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States," and with power, also, "to borrow money" on their credit.

The only question then to be considered is, have we subjects of taxation sufficient to enable us to raise a revenue for the payment of debts contracted by the Government? Every note issued by the Confederate Government contains on its face a promise to pay, and is just as much the bond of the government as your bond or mine is the individual obligation to pay whatever purports to be the amount for which it was given. In the one case the holder of your bond or mine has a right to look to our effects, to our houses, lands, and other estate for payment. But the holder of the government bond looks to the estate of every man in the community as furnishing security for the redemption of the pledge of his government. If we are to remain as we now are, separate from the rest of the world, and with no balance of trade to adjust with foreign nations, we make our own money in whatever form we may issue it, the standard of value which is to regulate exchanges between man and man. When our recognition by others as a nation shall have been duly published, and we take rank among the nations of the earth, then the standard of value as regulated by all civilized people, in the form of the precious metals, must induce us to look at home and abroad also for the development of our national resources, so as to cause this standard of the world to operate for our own benefit as a nation also. In other words, if we then sell more than we buy from abroad, gold and silver will have opened for a channel through which they may flow freely into the country, and our promises to pay may be soon redeemed. The obligations of the government will be quietly and silently discharged from the ability of the people to meet their respective portions of the national liabilities. Within six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace with the United States Government, our own Government will be found to redeem its promises to pay. But this must necessarily be as it was and has been with the old Government, by the issuing for the time of other notes, or by funding its floating debt by certificates of stock, bearing an interest of 1 per cent., to pay which, all the resources of the Government may be pledged until every dollar is paid off and discharged.

Now, as to our resources. The two great staples of the South, tobacco and cotton, alone will furnish the most ample basis, and give us, at all times, a balance of trade in our favour if we but practice economy, and make at home in our own families as we may do much of what we are accustomed to go abroad for, and this, too, without protection by the imposition of duties on imports to any great extent. Tobacco and cotton are necessary to the support of European governmental revenues, and to the employment and clothing of European subjects. They are compelled to resort to us, but we are not bound to go them for any but a few of the articles of our consumption. The value of the tobacco and cotton exported for the year 1859, amounted in the aggregate to \$182,508,961. To this must be added other products of the South, such as sugar, rice, turpentine, wheat, flour, &c., amounting, altogether to \$40,000,000 more, and making, with the two combined, \$222,508,961; but it must be remembered, also, that the United States has become to us a foreign Government also, and they will consume, as they have heretofore done, as much, or more, of our raw material if permitted to do so. Now, these are but items in the grand aggregate of the wealth of the Confederate States, but, when looking for sources of revenue in time of need, we cannot pass by our lands, our slaves, our cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, &c. The Confederate States have an area of 600,000 square miles an area greater than England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Spain, and Portugal, all combined, and with taxable property estimated in the aggregate at twenty-two thousand millions of dollars!! They have all the sources of wealth, too, yet undeveloped in the richest mines and in the most inexhaustible supplies of coal, lead, iron, copper, salt, &c., &c., with a network of railroads nearly completed, besides the finest harbours in the world.

Let us hear no more, then, about the repudiation of Confederate notes—for if the notes of the Government are rendered worthless by any failure to maintain our position as an independent nation, the notes of the State Banks must be worthless—for as they are owned by loyal Southern men, and have furnished "aid to the rebels" they will be confiscated under the laws of the Lincoln Congress, as they have already gone forth.—But we mean to achieve our independence, and we shall, in due time, redeem every dollar of our debt necessarily created in the struggle to support the cause of Liberty, Truth, and Justice, down trodden as it is by wicked and corrupt rulers who have tyrannized over the people.

WM. L. GOGGIN.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF MRS. BRINSMADE.

The following correspondence between the counsel of Mrs. Brinsmade and Simeon Draper, Esq., Provost-Marshal General, is published by request of her friends:—

TO SIMEON DRAPER, ESQ.

Office of Bowdoin, Larocques, and Barlow, No. 45, William-street, New York, Nov. 8.

Dear Sir,—The friends of Mrs. Brinsmade, late of New Orleans, have requested me to ascertain the facts connected with her arrest and imprisonment. I believe they are substantially as follows:—

About two months since Mrs. Brinsmade, the wife of Dr. Brinsmade, a young lady about twenty years of age, having a pass from General Butler, arrived in this city from New Orleans, having been placed by her father, Mr. Theodore A. James, a highly respectable merchant of that city, in the charge of Dr. Phelps, one of the surgeons of the steamer upon which he had secured her passage.

She brought letters from her father to Messrs. J. D. Scott and Co. and other gentlemen of this city. Upon her arrival here she was accompanied to the Everett House by an invalid naval officer, who had been requested by Commodore Morris, at New Orleans, to protect and assist her.

Mrs. Brinsmade's object in visiting the North was to reside

with her uncles, one of them in Washington, the other in Troy. She remained a few days in this city and Brooklyn, and then went to Washington, where, after remaining four days, she was arrested by Marshal Baker, who kept her a close prisoner for four days, carefully guarded.

Some ten days after she left this city for Washington a hackman called on one of her friends in New York, and said that a lady was brought on in the train of the previous night by a detective from Washington, and conveyed to the Forty-seventh-street Police Station, and that her name was Mrs. Brinsmade.

An immediate application was made to Mr. Kennedy for the cause of her arrest and for permission to see her. This was rudely refused by Mr. Kennedy, who threatened to lock up the applicant if the inquiry was repeated.

Another friend of Mrs. Brinsmade then saw a deputy-marshal, and was informed that she could only be seen by permission of Mr. Kennedy. He stated that she was a giddy, foolish, scotch woman, who had been singing scotch songs; that it was thought best to send her home to her father, at New Orleans, and that she would sail in a day or two, but that no one be allowed to see her.

With this assurance her friends were forced to content.

Thirty-five days afterwards a letter was received by one of her friends, stating that she was still a close prisoner in the Forty-seventh-street station-house.

Application was at once made to you. Her friends were informed that you knew nothing of her case, that you would at once address the proper authority at Washington for information, and if in your power would release her.

Pending this correspondence, two ladies, the wives of two of our most reputable merchants, who had been for many years the neighbours and friends of Mrs. Brinsmade, called upon Mr. Kennedy for permission to see her.

They asked, "What were the charges against her, and who were her accusers?"

Mr. Kennedy, in his usual manner, answered, "I, madam, am her accuser; she is a general spy; from the moment she set her foot in this city my presence overshadowed her. I did not leave her for a moment. She went to Brooklyn to visit her friends; I watched her, and when she returned to the Everett House I watched her there. She went to Washington, and when I got her in the right place I arrested her and brought her back here and put her where she is."

In reply to the inquiry if there was no more proper place for the confinement of this lady than a police-station, he said,—"No, that was the place for her. That her whole conduct on board ship indicated that she was a spy, and that she ought to be hung—that a thoughtless, giddy thing like her and the one who was arrested a few days since in Washington, who was making a waggon of herself, carrying quinine to the rebels, were the very ones to be employed as spies, and that they all ought to be hung."

In reply to the inquiry as to whether she was to be kept shut up where she then was and had been for five weeks, and her friends unable to see her or know where she was he replied,— "That is with the department."

Through your kind intervention, after this long confinement this lady on Monday was restored to her friends.

I learn that she was arrested without the authority of any one in Washington; that the fact of her arrest was never reported by Mr. Kennedy to any department of the Government; that no charges had ever been filed, and that even her name was unknown at the War Department; that as soon as you were enabled to learn the facts you obtained from Mr. Kennedy her release.

Will you be so kind as to examine the facts as I have related them, and inform me whether or not they are correctly stated, so far as they have come to your knowledge?

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW.

TO SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, ESQ., NEW YORK.

Office of the Provost-Marshal-General of the War Department, New York, Nov. 10.

Dear Sir,—In reply to yours of the 8th inst., I can only state that up to the 29th ult. I had no knowledge whatever with regard to Mrs. Brinsmade's case. On that day Mrs. Elliott called and informed me that she was under arrest, and inquired what was the cause.

I on the same day wrote to Washington, directing inquiry to be made of the Judge-Advocate-General.

On the 1st inst. I was informed that the Judge-Advocate-General knew nothing about the case.

Upon this I asked Mr. Kennedy by what authority he held her as a prisoner; he replied that she was arrested and held by order of Colonel Baker, the Provost-Marshal of Washington. This I forwarded to Washington, and on the 3rd inst. received from Colonel Baker and the Assistant Secretary of War information by telegraph to the effect that the arrest had been made by one of Mr. Kennedy's officers, and Mrs. Brinsmade was detained by him without authority from the War Department.

I then called upon Mr. Kennedy, received from him an order directing Mrs. Brinsmade's release, and went with it to the stationhouse, took her from it, and placed her in charge of her friends.

The foregoing is all the information that I can give bearing on the subject.

Your obedient servant,

S. DRAPER, Provost-Marshal-General.

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Profits for ten months to 30th April,
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THE INDEX, although only in its Second Volume,
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THE INDEX

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

On the 21st of November, as we announced in our last issue, General Burnside demanded the surrender of Fredericksburg, and gave sixteen hours for the removal of the women and children. The municipality of the town complained of such a short time being allowed for the purpose, and the Federal commander postponed the bombardment until the 23rd, thus giving forty-eight hours, instead of sixteen. We might have congratulated General Burnside on his humane conduct, but the bombardment did not commence on the 23rd, nor had it commenced on the 27th; and on the 28th it was reported in New York and Washington that the bombardment had been postponed, some said for a few days, and others that the postponement was for an indefinite period. It is evident that General Burnside barked before he was in a position to bite, and that his generosity in regard to the women and children cost him nothing, because it was a matter of necessity.

The Northerners, if we may judge from the tone of the New York press, are somewhat surprised at this inactivity after such solemn promises of going on to Richmond without delay, and the Washington Government is doing its best to excuse the change of policy. The most plausible explanation given is that the change of base to Aquia Creek was only a stage of the movement of the Federal army to the James River; and that the threat of bombarding Fredericksburg was merely a feint to cover the transportation of the army from Aquia Creek to the peninsula; if so, the device was a very poor one, because, if the danger of Fredericksburg had any influence on the movements of the Southern army, it would be to attract it in a large force to that spot; and we must remember that Fredericksburg is inconveniently near to Aquia Creek. We should think General Burnside can have little hope of deceiving the Confederate generals. The Southern army is, or was at the latest advices, resting on the south bank of the Rappahannock, where it was ready to dispute the passage of the Federals, and where it could observe the movements of the enemy, so that it would be impossible for Burnside to embark any considerable part of his forces without the movement being known to the Confederates.

Either from the inveterate habit the Northerners have of divulging their plans of campaign, or for

the purpose of giving a semblance of truth to the rumour of Burnside's change of base to the James River, it is reported, not only that a fleet of gun-boats has received orders to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac, but that the expedition under General Banks, which has been going everywhere, and until now has gone nowhere, is also to proceed to the James River.

Some persons whisper—for it is almost treason to give expression to such a thought—that Burnside has no intention “of going to Richmond,” either by Fredericksburg, or by the James River, or by any other route, and that, having shown how skillful he is in changing his base of operations, he intends going into winter quarters. This opinion is not generally entertained, for it is evident that the Republican party is determined to run any risk rather than remain inactive until the Democrats are actually in power. It is felt in some quarters that the very existence of the Lincoln Government depends upon something being done. Such are the views that we gather from New York letters and from the Northern newspapers.

The uneasiness about the movements of General “Stonewall” Jackson has been increased by a dash of sixty Confederate cavalry into Poolesville, Maryland, where they captured the telegraph operators, and—with that keen enjoyment of a joke for which it appears General Morgan's forces are not alone remarkable—they permitted their prisoners to telegraph their capture to Washington; it is a pity they could not see the look of blank astonishment with which the Federal authorities must have received the unexpected intelligence. The Northerners say, and it must be confessed with some show of reason, that if General “Stonewall” Jackson and General Stuart choose to enter Maryland, and to threaten Washington, or to cut off the railway communication between the North and the West, there will be no force to prevent them so doing, if the Federal troops are massed in the peninsula. Even those who are eager for another attempt to capture the Confederate capital do not deny the danger of making it, and call for a new army to protect Washington and the borders of Pennsylvania. Mr. Lincoln, of course, would not object to having another army placed at his disposal, but how is he to get the men? The draft is unpopular, and high bounties, even if the Treasury was not at a very low ebb, do not recruit the ranks. And if the men were forthcoming, where are their equipments, and how are they to be paid?

A document, too, has lately been published, which shows conclusively that the Marylanders only wait an opportunity for throwing off the Federal yoke. The document we refer to is the defence of Major-General Wool, which appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Amongst the charges brought against General Wool was, that he refused to tender the oath of allegiance to the Baltimore Secessionists; and the reason he gives is, that he would not “send 20,000 men to swell the army of Jefferson Davis.” Such testimony to the Southern sympathies of the people of Maryland is very significant.

On the 27th of November, Mr. Lincoln had an interview with General Burnside at Belle Plain. The object of the visit has not transpired, but it is probable that Mr. Lincoln desired to impress upon his general the extreme urgency of doing something.

President Davis has demanded satisfaction for the Palmyra massacre, which, to the lasting disgrace of the North, has not been execrated by the press and people. The following is the order of the Confederate President:—

Executive Office, Richmond, Nov. 17.

General,—Enclosed you will find a slip from the *Memphis Daily Appeal* of the 3rd inst., containing an account, purport-

ing to be derived from the *Palmyra (Missouri) Courier*, a Federal journal, of the murder of ten Confederate citizens of Missouri, by order of General McNeil, of the United States' army.

You will communicate by flag of truce with the Federal officer commanding that department, and ascertain if the facts are as stated. If they be so, you will demand the immediate surrender of General McNeil to the Confederate authorities, and if this demand is not complied with, you will inform said commanding officer that you are ordered to execute the first ten United States' officers who may be captured and fall into your hands. Very respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Lieut.-General T. J. Holmes, Commanding
Trans.-Mississippi Department.

The justice of this demand is, we think, unquestionable; and if the Federals refuse to give up the miscreant McNeil, the reprisals that President Davis orders are no more than justice and humanity demand, for if the South permitted the atrocious crime to pass unpunished it would be a direct encouragement for its repetition. President Davis will not punish the privates of the Federal army, who must obey the orders given by their commanders, but he directs the execution, if McNeil is not delivered up to justice, of the first ten officers captured; for if they did not prevent the horrible outrage, they at least can, if they choose, refuse to serve in an army disgraced by the presence of McNeil. We agree with the *New York Times* that President Davis will fulfil his threat to the letter, and if upon inquiry he finds the facts are as stated by the Northern press, he will hang McNeil or execute ten Federal officers. Such reprisals are terrible, but they are necessary, and so far from having the effect that some of our contemporaries dread, of inaugurating a war of extermination, we believe that the decision of the Confederate President will henceforth make Federal commanders fear to torture and murder their prisoners of war in cold blood. The New York press seems astounded at the order for reprisals, as though the North was to commit all kinds of barbarity with impunity. When McNeil butchered his prisoners the affair was not worth a passing notice; when President Davis issues an order for reprisals, we are told that if carried out “it will form the most frightful incident of the present war, demanding instant serious consideration of the people.” McNeil's crime was nothing, it is only the fear of its being punished that is terrible. So far as the Palmyra massacre is concerned, consideration comes too late, for it cannot disarm justice; but those who are gloating over the prospect of inciting a servile war in the South have yet time to consider the inevitable consequences of such attempts, and how they will be met, be they ever so futile.

The proposed mediation has been received in the United States in a manner that must surprise Earl Russell if he was sincere in saying that he thought the temper of the North would not brook the proposal of an armistice, and that any interference, however slight, lawful, and courteous, would stir up the flagging war-spirit of the North. There has not been an outcry of indignation. It is true France is accused of sinister motives in making the proposal, but it is not less true that England is accused of being prompted by still worse motives in refusing to accede to the proposition. The *New York Herald* says England “prefers her neutrality with the hope that the North and South will finally succeed in destroying themselves, when she can step in and gather up the pieces for her own aggrandizement and power.” The *New York Times* finds fault with the wording of Lord Russell's despatch, and although the following criticism is a little strained, it cannot be denied that our Foreign Secretary does adopt a style singularly incautious:—

The reply of Earl Russell to the circular of M. Drouyn de L'Huys discloses more than at first strikes one. He declines

to join the French Government in the proposed mediation—first, because, as he avers, there are as yet no signs that it would be received by the United States' Government with favour; but secondly—and it seems to us mainly—because that, "up to the present time, the Russian Government had not agreed to co-operate, although it may support the endeavours of England and France."

We do not wish to suspect the English Government of malevolence towards us, verging to unfriendly demonstrations, but we do not like that phrase in regard to Russia. It is "moral suasion" only that England was contemplating, in what respect was the absence of the "active co-operation" of Russia a baulk to mediation, provided that Power "supported the (moral) endeavour" of France and England? Was there anything contemplated in the contingency of the utter rejection of mediation that rendered the "active co-operation" of Russia a desirable thing to have?

Both the *Times* and *Herald* regard the affair as an incentive for the continuation of the war with renewed vigour, which would not have been the case had the French offer been accepted by England. The first-named journal says:—

The divulgement at last of the consultations that have taken place between the Governments of France, England, and Russia, in regard to American affairs, will be beneficial to all parties concerned—and we suppose we, on this side of the water, are most deeply concerned of any. It will give a definiteness to American policy that will leave the Governments of Europe no room to doubt what will be the result when they shape and indicate their own course. Whatever is done or said hereafter will be done and said with a distinct understanding of the very grave interests involved.

There will be a long train of conjectures and speculations suggested by this exposure of European diplomacy. It was not without a reason it is given to the world. What the reason and purpose is we will not attempt here to discover, but earnestly hope the progress of the national arms will not give occasion to a revival of the consultation now temporarily dismissed, or suspended we had better say, by Earl Russell.

Thus mediation is looked upon as being postponed, and as being inevitable when another bloody campaign is over. The only severe thing said about the proposal of the Emperor of the French is an innocent sarcasm in the New York journals recommending the Federal Government to offer mediation between France and Mexico.

Mr. Lincoln will jest, even if it is at his own expense. He is again disposing of the lion's skin before he has caught the lion. The Confiscation Act was amusing, but not so absurd as President Lincoln instructing the Attorney-General to enforce the Act. The following is the order:—

Executive Mansion, November 13, 1862.

Ordered by the President of the United States, that the Attorney-General be charged with the superintendence and direction of all proceedings to be had under the Act of Congress of the 17th of July, 1862, entitled "An Act to Suppress Insurrection, Punish Treason and Rebellion, Seize and Confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for other purposes," in so far as may concern the seizure, prosecution, and condemnation of the estate, property, and effects of rebels and traitors, as mentioned and provided for in the 5th, 6th, and 7th sections of the said Act of Congress; and the Attorney-General is authorized and required to give to the attorneys and marshals of the United States such instructions and directions as he may find needful, touching all such seizures, prosecutions, and condemnations; and, moreover, to authorize all such attorneys and marshals, whenever there may be reasonable ground to fear any forcible resistance to the act in the discharge of their respective duties in this behalf, to call upon any military officer in command of the forces of the United States to give them such aid, protection, and support as may be necessary to enable them safely and efficiently to discharge their respective duties; and all such commanding officers are required promptly to obey such call, and to render the necessary service, as far as may be in their power, consistently with their other duties.

(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

We should not be surprised to hear that there was a little resistance, and that the commanding officers do find it incompatible with their other duties to render prompt assistance. Perhaps Mr. Lincoln is not aware that his officers, without waiting for his commands, have, when they had the power, confiscated and appropriated Southern property.

A much more feasible and sensible business is the following order issued by the War Department for the release of prisoners arrested for political offences:—

War Department, Washington,
November 22, 1862.

Ordered.—First, That all persons in military custody, who have been arrested for discouraging volunteer enlistment, opposing the draft, or for otherwise giving aid and comfort to the enemy, in States where the draft has been made or the quota of volunteers and militia has been furnished, shall be discharged from further military restraint.

Second, That persons who, by authority of the military commander or governors in rebel States have been arrested, and sent from such States for disloyalty or hostility to the Government of the United States, and are now in military custody, may also be discharged upon giving their parole to do no act of hostility against the Government of the United States, nor render aid to its enemies; but such persons shall remain subject to military surveillance, and liable to arrest on breach of their parole; and if any such persons shall prefer to leave the loyal States on condition of their not returning again during the war, or until special leave for that purpose be obtained from the President, then such person shall, at his option, be released, and depart from the United States, or be conveyed beyond the military lines of the United States' forces.

This order shall not operate to discharge any person who has been in arms against the Government, or by force and arms has resisted or attempted to resist the draft, nor relieve any person from liability to trial and punishment by civil

tribunals or by court martials or military commissions, who may be amenable to such tribunals for offences committed.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND.

Assistant Adjutant General.

Amongst those released is the Honourable Pierre Soulé.

Our Richmond correspondent informed us that the question of the constitutionality of the Confederate Conscription Act had been submitted to the judgment of a law court. The case was brought, on appeal, before the Supreme Court of Georgia, and on the 12th of November that Court unanimously decided that the Conscription Law of the Confederate States is constitutional.

The Legislature of Georgia has voted \$500,000 for obstructions to be placed in all the navigable streams in Georgia.

General McClellan has refused a public reception in New York, observing that it would be distasteful to him whilst his comrades were engaged in warfare.

It is supposed in New York that some more legal tender money will be issued.

The *New York Times* gives us some news about New Orleans that will rather surprise our readers. It says:—

The morals and manners of no class of women in the world were ever so rapidly improved as have been those of the secession women of New Orleans, under the stern but admirable regime of General Butler. General Butler is beginning to be so greatly respected and liked by the citizens of the city for whom he has done so much, that when a rumour lately got currency that he was about to be removed, New Orleans was thrown into a panic.

The gratitude of the people of New Orleans is quite touching. No one would have suspected it, from General Butler's own accounts.

An expedition is being prepared in Kentucky by the Federal General McClelland, to open the Mississippi. The flotilla under Commodore Porter was to consist of ten gunboats, mounting 121 guns. Vicksburg was regarded as a formidable obstacle. The ditch that was to turn the course of the river has been refilled by the Confederates, and their new fortifications are extensive.

The Confederates are obtaining immense supplies of cattle from Texas by way of the Red River.

The *Richmond Examiner*, in commenting on the defence of Fredericksburg, remarks:—

No city of the Southern Confederacy that can possibly be defended from actual entry should ever be surrendered for fear of shells and cannon balls. Between Fredericksburg and the enemy there is a deep river, which the foe cannot pass without a struggle and great loss, and the suffering of no community, whether of Richmond, Fredericksburg, or of Vicksburg, can be taken into account in a war like this, when the least military advantage can be gained by endurance of bombardment.

Two Federal gunboats and a mortar boat have, according to the Southern papers, bombarded Fort M'Alister at Garnise's Point, on the Ogeechee River, without result.

The Confederates have driven in the Federal outposts at Newbern, North Carolina.

A Democratic meeting has been held at New York, at which resolutions were passed in favour of prosecuting the war "to re-establish the Constitution throughout the Union." Hopes were expressed that the reunion might be brought about in order to attack England. We are also informed that "Denunciations against England continue to be poured forth from the press and the pulpit, and by public speakers on all occasions, which seem to elicit popular approbation."

Admiral Wilkes is again insulting the British. The *Nassau Guardian* asserts that Admiral Wilkes had threatened to enter Nassau without the permission of the Governor, but that he afterwards bore away and lay at the distance of a marine league from the shore. The *Guardian* expresses fears that Admiral Wilkes's hasty conduct may embroil America and England in war. If our Government had not borne so many Federal insults patiently, we should think the contingency of embroilment highly probable.

The same journal likewise states that the captain of the Federal steamer Octovora had infringed the Queen's proclamation in capturing a schooner within the Abaco Reef, near Allen's Cay.

The trial of Kennedy for the imprisonment of Mrs. Brinsmade created considerable excitement. It was not over when the last mail left New York. An infamous attempt to disparage the character of Mrs. Brinsmade was unsuccessful.

ENGLAND.

The increase of pauperism this week in Lancashire is not so great as it has been for some time past; chiefly, we fear, because the number of those operatives who are not paupers is so small. The addition to the long muster-roll of Mr. Lincoln's victims is under 9000; a diminution of about 350 in certain

unions having to be set against the following increase:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne	630	Manchester	2,220
Blackburn	800	Preston	650
Bury	220	Rochdale	170
Chorley	200	Salford	560
Chorlton	1,920	Stockport	220
Glossop	130	Warrington	180
Haslingden	60	Wigan	160
Liverpool	860		
Macclesfield	30	Total	9,010

Manchester has been hitherto less severely affected than its neighbours, because it had fewer mills in proportion to its population, and many of those mills belong to the class which suffers least from the failure of American cotton, because it uses chiefly the Egyptian and other finest sorts, and because it consumes less material per head than any other. But Manchester is now suffering severely. Chorlton and Salford are parts of that city, as Southwark and Lambeth are parts of London; and the total increase of pauperism in the town during the last week has therefore been 4700, or over one-half of the total increase.

One feature of the distress, to which we have ere now incidentally referred, is now becoming painfully prominent; we mean the poverty and difficulty of keeping above water entailed on the lower portion of the middle-classes by the destitution of the operatives. Formerly the latter spent among the small shopkeepers something above half-a-million a month, which is now withdrawn. And not only this, but the shopkeepers have trusted them often to the full extent of their means, and have no available capital left whereon to fall back—sometimes are heavily in debt. At such a time, of course, creditors are lenient; the tradesmen cannot press the destitute operatives, and the wholesale houses cannot press the retail dealers for a payment which it is utterly out of their power to make. But of course this does not prevent the "small men" from suffering severely. They can but just subsist; and if demands are made on them for heavy rates they cannot pay them. The poor shopkeepers of Blackburn have protested against the imposition of such rates as are required, and their petition seems by no means unwarranted.

At the guardians' meeting held on Saturday, a deputation of small tradesmen and cottage owners attended to ask the Board, "in conjunction with other authorities of the town, to join us in applying for a loan of £50,000 from the Consolidated Fund, the repayment to be spread over a number of years." The memorial, which the deputation presented to the Board, sets forth that "many of the small tradesmen and cottage owners are in that financial strait that they know not how to obtain food. Some of them have paid rates and extended aid in goods to their unemployed customers until their own credit and stocks are exhausted; while those among them who, after a life of struggling, had succeeded in obtaining an interest in a few cottages, in hopes of preventing dependence on charity when old, find that the value of their little properties is almost consumed through the loss of rents, claims for mortgage interests, and the payment of excessive rates." The deputation intimated that they had seen the Mayor, and that he was willing to co-operate with them, with the view of having a town's meeting on the subject. The memorial was signed by nearly 900 persons, and a considerably larger number could have been obtained had they desired Government to make them a grant from the Treasury. This they did not wish; they merely asked that they might be allowed time—say one or two years—after the distress times had terminated. They had no wish to shirk any liability, but as they could not get rents they could not be expected to be in a position to pay rates, and they begged that the guardians would not levy any additional rates for a few months.

The condition of this town, which is a fair instance of the general state of the manufacturing districts, is well described in a letter from Mr. Fielden, the Secretary of the Local Relief Committee. We call especial attention to the passages which refer to the misfortune of the smaller manufacturers. Mr. Fielden says:—

Blackburn is entirely dependent on one trade—viz., cotton manufacture, and three-fourths of the machinery is employed for one market; and any merchant can testify that the trade in East India cotton fabrics has been most unprofitable for the past two years.

Out of a population of 63,125, no less than 24,845 earn their livelihood and the means to support those at home in our cotton mills and sheds.

It scarcely needs remarking that the value of property, the profits and loss of shopkeepers and all the various trades that are necessary to supply the requirements of cotton and its workers, are regulated and governed by the prosperity or adversity of our staple trade.

The present state of employment, including mechanics and other artisans, is 5713 full time, 4769 short time, and 16791 entirely unemployed. The present weekly loss in wages is fully £13,500, and the total deficiency since the crisis commenced averages £19 to every worker, or the enormous sum of £451,800. This amount is equal to 3½ times the whole assessment of the town, and, taking 10 per cent. as an average

profit, it represents a loss of £100 from this cause alone to every shopkeeper in Blackburn.

From the above items it is easy to conclude that great losses must have been sustained from idle and unproductive machinery and buildings.

There were 73 firms in the cotton business, 18 of whom have suspended payment, compounded with their creditors, or have been made bankrupts. The rateable value of sixty-three firms is £42,541 on which during this year a 6s. poor-rate and 2s. 5d. for improvement rates have been levied and paid, making an average of £284 to each firm, or a total sum of £17,902. Twenty of these firms are rated at £32,469 and the remaining forty-three at £10,072, thus showing that two-thirds of these consist of men in a small way of business, and refuting the idea that has been pressed upon the public, especially in the south of England, that they are, as a rule, men of fabulous wealth.

The subscription list contains the sum of £6,940 from our local manufacturers, and this is no real criterion of what they have done. Many of them are supporters of sewing and educational classes; several other funds for special purposes they have given liberally to; and, together with what has been done in such movements, it is not too much to estimate their subscriptions at £13,000.

Without going into details, I may state that the Blackburn overseers of the poor are more than £10,000 in debt, and there is exceedingly little of the old rate that can be collected.

The present weekly relief by the guardians is twelve times the amount expended in ordinary times; and were it not for the Relief Committee and the private efforts made in the town, a 30s. rate would not meet the case, assuming the distress to continue as at present for the next twelve months. If it is considered a desirable thing that small property owners, small manufacturers, and small shopkeepers, composed chiefly of and regularly recruited from the most thrifty, intelligent, and industrious operatives—I say if it is desirable that this class should be reduced to the condition of receiving relief, then the most effectual way to do this would be to levy a 5s. poor-rate. I know that manufacturers who have been ruined in this crisis are now receiving flour and meal from the Relief Committee.

I unhesitatingly say that the great bulk of the property in the town is unproductive, and that no more rates in Blackburn will be quietly submitted to by a large body of struggling tradesmen until better times shall again bring cheerfulness to this at present gloomy Lancashire.

The Mansion-House Committee held a meeting on Friday. Altogether they have received about a quarter of a million, and distributed about £175,000. The receipts last week were £32,000, and the grants £15,000. A debate, commenced by Mr. Alderman Cubitt, late Lord Mayor, as to the propriety of handing over the distribution of their funds to the Central Relief Committee at Manchester, occupied the chief attention of the meeting. There are many good and strong reasons why this should be done; but several of the gentlemen on the Committee are very reluctant to lose the power and importance they enjoy as the distributors of so large a sum of money; and they find support from the local Committees in a good many places, for the simple reason that the Mansion-House Committee does not and cannot distribute its grants with the same knowledge and the same strictness of rule that guide the action of the Manchester Executive. The latter will not give where there are deficient local efforts or mal-administration; the Mansion-House Committee gives indiscriminately. Certain members of the Committee, and others, disgraced themselves by very unfounded abuse of the Manchester Committee, to which they imputed unfairness, party and sectional motives, and so forth, without the smallest warrant, and, of course, utterly without truth.

The Central Executive Committee held its usual weekly meeting on Monday; Lord Derby taking the chair, as he has regularly done. About £25,000 was distributed. Mr. Farnall read the following very important report:—

TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE RELIEF COMMITTEE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ending the 29th ult., on 27 unions in the cotton manufacturing districts will show you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 5584 persons. There were on the 29th ult. 268,969 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 56,442 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 212,527 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 376.5 per cent. The total weekly cost of out-door relief on the 29th ult. was £18,544 7s. 4d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2767 8s. 5d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £15,776 18s. 11d., or 570.2 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions on the 29th ult. was 13.6; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.8. The average amount of out-door relief per head per week, both in kind and in money, in these unions on the 29th ult., was 1s. 5½d.; the lowest was 1s. 1d., and the highest 1s. 11½d., at Stockport. Of the 268,969 persons receiving parochial relief on the 29th ult., 12,579 were in-door paupers. During the last eight weeks, the average weekly balance in the hands of the treasurers of the 27 unions adverted to was £60,366 4s. 6d., and the average weekly expenditure in out relief alone for the same period was £13,734 2s. 4d. In my report, dated the 1st inst., I showed you the amount in the pound, on the net rateable value (after deducting 25 per cent.) of 12 of the most distressed unions which would be required to meet the cost of out-door relief and in maintenance for a year, based on their weekly expenditure. It has been suggested to me that it might perhaps be of service to show you also the amount in the pound on the net rateable value of the same unions (without deducting 25 per cent.) required for the same purposes and time, and based on the expenditure of the corresponding week in 1861. I told you that the amount in the pound now required in—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Ashton-under-Lyne.. is	11	4½	Last year it was..	0	7
Blackburn	7	7½	"	1	0
Burnley	5	4½	"	0	9½
Bury	4	6	"	0	8½
Glossop	12	8½	"	0	7½
Haslingden	9	3½	"	0	6½
Manchester (township)	5	8½	"	1	0½
Oldham	8	2½	"	0	9½
Preston	8	2	"	1	1½
Rochdale	6	5½	"	0	8½
Stockport	6	8½	"	0	8½
Todmorden	6	4½	"	0	10½

I have received returns from eighty-one local committees, formed for the distribution of charitable aid in the cotton manufacturing districts, and I am enabled to state that they are now aiding 188,405 persons, who are not receiving parochial relief from the guardians of the poor, and that the weekly expenditure of the eighty-one committees is £19,157 6s. 4d. The total number of persons, therefore, included in this report, who are either receiving parochial relief or are aided by the local committees of charity, is 475,374, or 23.0 per cent. on the population of the unions adverted to in this report. The present total weekly expenditure by the guardians in out relief and by the eighty-one local committees of charity is £37,701 13s. 8d., or 1s. 8½d. per cent. to each recipient.

This disposes completely of the absurd accusations brought against the ratepayers of Lancashire, of keeping the rates lower than in those parts of England which are subscribing for the relief of Lancashire distress. Besides the immense amount given in private charity, Lancashire has subscribed at least half-a-million of money, and is giving £15,000 a week through the Poor-Law Guardians. We believe that before the end of next summer, should the distress endure so long, she will have given a million in subscriptions and half-a-million in poor-rates.

The Conservative party have gained a victory of which they are very proud; the Radical borough of Southampton having elected their candidate, the Lord Mayor of London. The real history of the election is a curious one. Southampton is under the influence of three great commercial companies—the Peninsular and Oriental, the West Indian Mail, and the Southampton Railway. Captain Mangles, the Liberal candidate, was Chairman of the last, and had great influence with the second. The first had had the late member (Mr. Wilcox), and did not wish that their rivals should now take possession of the vacant seat; so they supported the Lord Mayor. The South-Western Company having opposed the entrance of the Great Western Railway into the town had thereby incurred a good deal of unpopularity; the sitting radical member, Mr. Digby Seymour, is not considered a credit to his constituency, and Radical principles are just now at a discount. So the Conservatives triumphed, by a majority of 68, in nearly 3400 votes.

Considerable indignation has been excited by the result of the Totness election. In that little borough the Duke of Somerset, First Lord of the Admiralty, is chief proprietor, and wields a most powerful influence. Finding that the Conservative candidate, Mr. Dent, was almost sure of his election, the Duke took measures to have his tenants threatened, one and all, with ejection if they dared to vote against his party. Learning this, in compassion to the consciences of those who had to choose between ruin and submission, Mr. Dent withdrew. The Duke will probably hear of the matter when Parliament meets.

A frightful calamity has occurred in a colliery near Barnsley. At a time when about 250 men were in the pit, an explosion took place. As many as could made their escape, but a great many were cut off, and about fifty who still remain in the pit must have perished miserably, or will perish before assistance can reach them.

Mr. Leatham, brother-in-law of Mr. Bright (who narrowly escaped being unseated and prosecuted for bribery) addressed his constituents on Tuesday upon the American war passionately supporting the northern cause.

It is expected that the remains of his late Royal Highness the Prince Consort will be removed from the Royal vault in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, before the 14th inst. to their last resting-place, which has been prepared in the new Royal mausoleum now in the course of erection in Frogmore-gardens. This beautiful building is gradually advancing towards completion.

An action has been brought against a doctor for certifying the insanity of a tradesman, and thereby causing him to be imprisoned for some time in a lunatic asylum, without any probable or reasonable cause. The man's wife wished to get rid of him, and the doctor complied with her wishes without investigation, and indeed took her part in so decided a manner as to give rise to suspicions of something worse than carelessness. Great attention has been directed to the case; for under the English law the imprisonment of a sane man under medical certificate of insanity is a very easy matter, only two signatures being required. The jury have given a verdict for

£150 against the offender; and much regret is felt that the case was not such as to afford much hope of success in a criminal prosecution.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The great event of the week has been the opening of the Boulevard Prince Eugene—named after one of the best, bravest, and most loyal of the adherents of the first Napoleon. The boulevards serve two purposes—they beautify Paris, and they ensure that the mob of the capital shall not again dictate terms to France, and arrogate to itself the right of choosing and cashiering the Government of the country.

The Emperor is killed almost as often as a Confederate general. There have been two or three reports of attempts to assassinate him lately, for which no foundation whatever can be discovered.

GERMANY.—The King of Prussia remains stolidly indifferent to the complaints of the Opposition. The following expressions, occurring in a speech addressed to a "loyal" deputation, explain his views accurately enough:—

The present movement is not so much directed against the new organization of the army as against the army itself. Attempts are being made to relax the military discipline, as has been especially proved by the late events at Graudenz. The subscriptions in money which are now being made on behalf of those who are styled victims of their constitutional sympathies prove that a perfect consciousness of these tendencies prevails among the leaders of the movement, and that they try to extend them to many other questions. The necessity under which the Government was placed of acting against some functionaries caused these national subscriptions on their behalf. The acts of the Government against these public officers are made the pretext for pursuing aims of quite another character. The aim which is principally pursued by every means is the inauguration of a Constitutional Government. The Constitution has not promised this, but only legislation, with the co-operation of the Parliament. I am fully determined not to part with the Constitutional rights of the Crown, which form its power. Nothing shall divert me from these views, which I have pursued since I assumed the Regency, because they serve the welfare and the power of the country, which requires a powerful Crown and a powerful army. The leaders of the present movement, who desire neither of these things, are quite conscious of the ultimate object they have in view. Although there are not many of them, they have nevertheless succeeded in creating great confusion in the public mind.

ITALY.—After a considerable period of doubt and uncertainty, a Ministry has been formed under the auspices of Farini, the historian of Rome during the present century. The offices are filled as follows:—

Signor Farini	President of the Council.
Signor Pasolini	Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Signor Peruzzi	Minister of the Interior.
Signor Pisanelli	Minister of Justice.
Signor Minghetti	Minister of Finance.
Signor Dello Rovere	Minister of War.
Signor Menabrea	Minister of Public Works.

The Ministry relies on the support of the Right, or moderate Conservative party in the Chambers. It will probably hope for the aid of Ricasoli, who commands, as no other man does, the confidence of the country.

It is to be hoped that the new Government of Italy will do something to reform the prisons of Naples, which are the scene of cruelties scarcely less atrocious than those practised under the old Bourbon tyranny. Political prisoners are beaten, shut up in damp underground cells, have filth thrust into their mouths—are ill-used in every way; and the *Times*, whose correspondent is bitterly reviled for his inexplicable devotion to the Piedmontese party, refuses insertion to letters which reveal an amount of brutality on the part of the Government, and misinformation on that of the great English journal, which are truly amazing. Other organs, which are not so blindly attached to the cause of the Italian monarchy, have given the unhappy victims a fair hearing. Mr. Bishop, the Englishman who was convicted of being concerned in some reactionary conspiracies, and sentenced to the galleys, writes a letter of indignant complaint to his friends, which appeared in the *Morning Herald* of Monday. He says:—

Santa Maria Apparente, Nov. 22.

A fortnight ago I was taken very ill with cold, dreadful pains, &c. I sent several letters to Mr. Bonham (our Consul), and got no answer. Then the director of the prison sent to say I was to write in Italian; I did so, but it seems that none of the letters reached him. I begged the director to have something done for me, as I was getting daily worse, my rooms being constructed between two currents of air. No answer; and, as you know, the present regulations forbid a prisoner going beyond the precincts of his cell, to see his Excellency, without permission. No one came to me, and I lay getting worse. Then an affair occurred in the prison which well nigh killed me—one of those shocks to which we are constantly subject. The lower part of the prisoners had made another attempt to escape, which was suddenly discovered, and the informer was assassinated by them. The result of this was that we were all put under key, and guarded the whole of the next day by the soldiers who entered the prison; and in my state I was left alone without help for twenty-four hours, obliged to creep out of bed to go to the grating for everything I wanted. This completely did for me, and when the brutes came their second round they found me in this state; and had it not been for a young surgeon, a fellow-prisoner, I should have been left so. He insisted on leeches being sent for, and when brought, he sat up applying them, and nursing me. I had paper brought, and wrote again to Mr. Bonham in Italian,

and about noon Mr. Bonham's son came up. I had been very ill, had written repeatedly, and not one letter had reached him. The dreadful vomiting returned while he was there, and he left me, for I could not speak. I remained in this state the whole of that day, and was under the next and part of the third. On the third, young Bonham came again and brought Dr. Pincoff, the same man who came to see me before. He wrote some prescriptions, and I got a little better, till the next day about 4 o'clock, when my throat became nearly closed, and by midnight I was unable to lie down, and so it has gone on till the day before yesterday, when I got a little relief. What I have gone through in suffering no pen can tell. While I was so bad they repented, I suppose, of having let me get so ill in that room, and moved me into another, where I am now. Though utterly bare and comfortless, it is protected from the draughts, and has, I may say, saved my life, for all agreed that the other room was killing me. Yet it was not "necessary that any direct means of communication with my consul should be insisted on!" They promised Dr. Pincoff that I should have the room to myself, but of course they broke their word and put another man in, under pretence that he was ill. A curd-milk separates us. I could not sleep, nor lie down. A little heart-breaking about might have relieved me, but the earthen floor ran such cold through me that I was constrained to remain in bed.

GREECE.—After several strong popular demonstrations in favour of Prince Alfred, it is reported that the Greek Government received an intimation that the English Court would not allow his acceptance of the throne; whereupon, it is said, the Government determined that, instead of awaiting the decision of the National Assembly, the choice of the King should be made by universal suffrage. The connection between the two circumstances is not very clear; for it is evident that the intention was that Prince Alfred should be chosen by the popular vote. Perhaps the Greek authorities fancied that so strong an expression of national feeling would induce England to reconsider her decision. It is now said that England, France, and Russia have agreed to recommend the Greeks to elect King Ferdinand of Portugal, who is a Prince of the House of Saxe-Coburg.

The *Morning Herald* publishes the following, as the substance of a circular addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the French representatives at European Courts:—

After having acknowledged the moderation which the Greek nation has exhibited in the presence of the grave circumstances arising out of recent events, the Minister declares that the Government of His Imperial Majesty has not remained an indifferent spectator of what has passed, but did not think it right to offer any opposition.

Two considerations presented themselves: on the one side the treaties that established Greece, to which France was a party; on the other, the unanimous movement of a people, desirous of modifying its Government. Between these two opposite facts France had but one line to follow—to leave the Greek people free to elect the assembly representing the nation, and to adhere, in accord with the co-protecting Powers, to the engagements jointly signed by them. This is the line the Emperor has faithfully followed.

The note adds that requested to point out a candidate for the throne of Greece, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of the French did not feel itself at liberty to comply, convinced that in acting thus it would be causing a moral pressure, restricting the full liberty of the Greeks, and violating treaties. The crown of Greece could not, in fact, be considered vacant by France any more than by England or Russia, until the Hellenic nation had designated a new sovereign and the three protecting Powers had agreed to recognize him. Up to that time the existing engagements would preserve all their force.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys then goes on to state, with regret, that whilst the Government of His Imperial Majesty followed in perfect good faith the line it had traced for itself, the name of a Prince belonging to one of the three Powers was brought forward, and that this candidature was supported rather than discouraged in Greece. Whilst rendering full justice to the eminent qualities of Prince Alfred, and appreciating the lively sympathies of which he is the object in Greece, the French Government is not disposed to admit that his elevation to the throne will assure the security and happiness of the country. Would not Europe accept with reluctance the increase of influence which would result therefrom to England? Would not the two other Powers see in it a violation of treaties? Finally, would not the overthrow of the balance of power in the East and in the Mediterranean bring about inevitable complications?

M. Drouyn de Lhuys thinks that, under these circumstances, the Government of Great Britain has, perhaps, occupied itself too much with a candidature which it believed it had reason to fear, and has been desirous of obtaining guarantees which were not necessary. He trusts that the uneasiness to which these circumstances have given rise will soon be terminated.

Relying on the wisdom of the British Government, and informed by its representative at Paris that England is ready to disavow the candidature of Prince Alfred if Russia on her side will consent to the exclusion of any Prince belonging to the Imperial family of Russia; convinced, moreover, that the latter Power is ready to make this declaration, the French Minister sees no further obstacle to an understanding between the three Powers, and concludes with the expression of a hope that the three Powers will agree to point out for the choice of Greece a Prince who will be able to ensure her prosperity without compromising that of Europe.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 10.

Our last report left the market very strong on the basis of 15½ for Fair Dhollerahs and Omrawuttees, and 23½ for Middling Orleans.

On Thursday the market was steady, with a business of 10,000 bales. On Friday and Saturday, the tone was less buoyant, with sales of 5000 and 3000 bales, and prices were a shade in favour of the buyer. Fair Dhollerahs worth 15½d.

In Manchester, prices were steady, and the healthy feeling previously apparent, was quite maintained. On Monday the market opened with a large enquiry from the trade, and the sales resulted in 8000 bales at higher prices; the next day in anticipation of a good Manchester report, speculators bought largely, and business was protracted to a late hour; the total sales reached 15,000 bales, at ¼d. to ½d. advance.

To-day the market has been excited, with a very large enquiry both from the trade and speculators, the sales sum up 20,000 bales at a further advance of ¼d., the demand running chiefly on Surat cotton from 15½d. to 16d. We quote Middling Orleans 24d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar 18d., Broach 16½d., Omrawuttee 16½d., and Dhollerahs 16d. per lb.

Our market has now advanced 2d. per lb. from the lowest point touched ten days ago, and greater confidence is expressed regarding its future than for months past. The trade have bought very largely in the last three weeks—say 80,000 bales—and stocks of good Surat cotton here are getting into small compass with no prospect of replenishment for 4 or 5 months to come. In Manchester a more confident tone is prevalent, a healthy demand there has at last set in for the home trade, and it now seems probable that, apart from India, from which we shall receive little support for some time, there will be sufficient demand to carry off even the present increased production.

The American war is still waged with the same virulence that has hitherto characterised it, and not the faintest hope of an early settlement can be gathered from the late advices. It is apparent from the tone of the Northern press on receipt of England's refusal to mediate, that they will brook no interference in their quarrel, and that in their present mood the tender of friendly offices on the part of European nations would only subject them to insult.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, December 9.

Our market has exhibited a much more healthy tone during the past week, than has been observable for some time before, although no great extent of business has been transacted; still a moderate trade has been effected, especially in goods suitable for the home trade, in qualities which are scarcely to be found in stock, consequently, orders have been given out to manufacturers to make, a state of things very desirable, considering the amount of distress prevailing in this district at the present time. Some few manufacturers, in consequence of the better demand which has set in, will be enabled to find work for their machinery for at least some six weeks to come, at prices which will about clear them from loss.

Buyers are anxiously awaiting the arrival of the President's message, and various are the ideas with regard to the purport thereof, for if it be of a warlike tenor, we shall no doubt see a higher range of prices for cotton set in, which may induce speculators to come forward and anticipate any legitimate demand which may arise during the next few weeks. The Levantine merchants are buying rather extensively of T cloths, long cloths and domestics, some descriptions of which are very scarce.

The German buyers, as a class, are almost entirely out of the market, but if the present excitement in Liverpool should extend over some two or three days longer, we shall no doubt see them operating, as it generally (after a lull in the Liverpool market, such as we have had lately) takes some ten days' excitement in that market to bring them forward.

To-day our market opened rather quiet, but after it was known the Liverpool was very active; more enquiries were made both for yarn and cloth, which induced holders of cloth to raise their pretensions over what they were asking in the earlier part of the day. The closing report from Liverpool, stating that 15,000 bales had been disposed of, caused a better demand for yarns, and an advance upon No. 32s. to 40s.; twist and pincofs of ¼d. to ½d. per lb.; and ½d. to 1d. per lb. on No. 50 to 60 ditto, was obtained easily, whilst some spinners withdrew from the market altogether.

Cloths of all kinds participated in the better feeling, and those made from American cotton altogether, are held for rates as high as were obtained during the excitement in the latter part of the week ending the 2nd of September.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following supplementary lists are collected from Southern papers. It is not impossible that some of the names may have appeared in other lists:—

6TH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Field and Staff. Colonel Isaac G. Seymour, acting brigadier-general, killed, June 27. Surgeon W. A. Robertson, wounded, July 1st.

Company A—Wounded: Corporal C. C. Haslip, Privates J. R. Taylor and R. R. Sibley.

Company B—Killed: Privates M. Campbell, S. Myers, Jas. Cullen. Wounded: Corporal J. R. Maginnis, Privates J. Ward, M. Hughes, M. McDonald.

Company C—Killed: 1st Lieut. S. D. McCauley, acting adjutant, Sergeant B. Stagg, acting colour-sergeant. Wounded: Sergeant E. O'Reilly, Privates A. D. Cassidy, U. W. Fisher, A. G. Shink, J. S. Vannoy, W. Higginbotham.

Company D—Killed: Corporal John Sugrue, Private J. Cassidy. Wounded: Captain D. F. Buckner, Privates Rich. White, F. M. Sloan, P. Meinhardt.

Company F—Wounded: Corporal M. J. Edmonds, Privates M. Reilly, P. McClance, Jas. Fitzgerald, John Adams, D. Cummings, Wm. Mooney, M. Nolan.

Company G—Killed: Private Otto Ludorf. Wounded: Sergeant John Brenning, Corporals A. Bock, L. Heitetz, Privates Schiller, A. Ryan, J. Lorentz, A. Beach.

Company H—Killed: 2nd Lieut. G. W. Francis, Corporal Forkell, Private P. Laggerton. Wounded: 1st Lieut. C. M. Pilcher, Sergeants Turner, Chas. Mayers, Privates Lucas Singleton, T. Lucas, W. Feyehehime, J. Richardson, S. Murray, H. McCance.

Company I—Wounded: 1st Lieut. B. F. Walshe, Sergeant Conroy, Privates Finley, Higgins, D. Ryan, D. Corbitt, J. Delaney.

Company K—Killed: Privates J. Hale, T. Connors, M. Lyons, D. Moronaghan. Wounded: Sergeant W. Harding, Corporal P. Healy, Privates J. Hurley, L. Walch, H. McGurly, J. Porpey, J. Graham, D. Shay, J. Coleman, D. Curry, D. Driscoll, C. Delmore, E. Burns, W. McCluskey.

7TH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS (COLONEL HARRY T. HAYS.)

Field and Staff—Wounded: Major D. B. Penn, commanding regiment.

Company A—Wounded: Privates A. Offergald, S. C. Lorenson, E. Shields.

Company B—Killed: Privates Craig and Hooper. Wounded: Privates Trose, Lusk, M'Gowan, George Webb, Babin.

Company C—Killed: Lieut. R. W. Newport, Sergeant Hugh Connell; Private Edward Carroll. Wounded: Sergeant Robert M'Williams, Corporal J. R. Geary; Privates Thomas Jennings, Charles Cooper, P. Carberry, Thomas Wallace.

Company D—Wounded: Privates Mike Vahey, Andrew Sullivan.

Company E—Sergeant G. W. Hoffer, Thomas E. Kennedy, E. Keete.

Company F—Wounded: Sergeant Gallagher; Privates J. Thorp, E. Fee.

Company G—Wounded: Captain W. D. Rickarby; Privates J. Graham, R. Brady, R. R. M'Kennall, R. M. Ross, J. Walsh.

Company H—Killed: Privates J. J. Childs, A. Laurens. Wounded: Lieut. H. Grimshaw; Sergeants F. E. Ogden and H. R. Mudge; Corporal T. M'Dermott; Private D. M'Donald.

Company I—Wounded: Lieut. Billinger; Privates Thomas Cavanaugh, Dan Frawley, Timothy O'Brian, James Ward, William Ridgway.

Company K—Wounded: Captain F. M. Terry; Lieut. A. T. Tucker; Privates James Langdon, John Holmes, Thomas Wilburn, H. T. Shields, Thomas B. Moore, William Dewado, R. G. Donahue, C. Hopkins.

8TH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS (COLONEL H. B. KELLY)—MAJOR LEWIS, COMMANDING.

Company A—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeants J. P. Jones, C. Merkle. Privates: R. Bulnes, mortally, since died; Anthony Gibbons, C. Bentley, N. A. Hamner, W. Smith, J. Foster, J. McLaughlin, Jno. Robinson, N. McEnmany, Cyrus Belt.

Company B—Killed: None. Wounded: Corporal Olf, Private M. Tula, H. Herenasy, mortally, since died.

Company C—Killed: 1st Lieut. Edmond Le Blanc. Wounded: Sergeant Broussard, Privates S. Landry, A. Landry, A. Dupuis, Don Louis Castille, L. St. Julien, Louis Duchamp, C. De Blane, Desire Le Blanc.

Company D—Killed: Private Wm. Jones. Wounded: 1st Lieut. Jno. Hereford, Privates Thomas Ahern, P. Mahoney, Peter Corley.

Company E—Killed: Privates Jno. D. Scott, Robert Moore, M. S. Weeks. Wounded: Lieut. M. A. Guice, Sergeant Guice (colour bearer), Privates T. Norwood, James Carroll, S. Jolly, J. J. Thompson, J. A. Wicks, W. A. Thomas, R. H. Scott, Alonzo Moore, Edwin Boyce, Jno. Bigelow, J. J. Eiler.

Company F—Killed: Sergeant Jno. P. Offutt. Wounded: Privates C. C. Swayze, T. Fontenot, Oscar Dawson (since died), J. A. Denaret.

Company G—Killed: Privates E. F. Simmons, Russell Montgomery, Jno. Rawls, James Segar. Wounded: G. Collins (mortally, since died), W. McNamee, J. Simmons, W. Bailey, J. C. Leary, C. Walker, G. Beck, W. O. Garrison.

Company H—Killed: None. Wounded: Corporal P. J. Loftus, Privates M. Hlandly, A. Crenshaw, L. Hicks.

Company I—Killed: None. Wounded: Privates W. Wry, William Washington, C. Weber, David Ritchey, George Bemhard.

Company K—Killed: Captain L. Nicholls, Private Armand Brau. Wounded: Sergeant Leopold Achee, Privates J. Gautreau, John Carroll, J. Smith, T. Seymour, F. Duffel, C. Comes, Michael Kelly, Gustave Brea.

9TH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS—(COLONEL L. A. STAFFORD).

Company A—Killed: None. Wounded: Privates J. M. Walker, W. J. Simmons, J. S. Cardwell, J. G. Standlard.

Company B—Killed: Privates J. H. Coobehan, T. W. Reeves, J. Warner, J. H. Erwin. Wounded: Sergeant B. Weiss; Privates William J. Banton, J. Hirsch, A. Purvess, J. H. Callahan, A. B. Wise, W. A. Crittenden.

Company D—Killed: None. Wounded: Privates John Engrem, S. G. Saunders, C. Plumb.

Company E—Killed: None. Wounded: Private William Traylor.

Company F—Killed: None. Wounded: Corporal N. A. Milliken; Privates C. W. Caldwell, Joseph Wood, Mathew Allen.

Company G—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant F. B. Hill; Corporal B. Willie; Privates G. G. Blunt, B. Toss, J. G. Barnett, A. Balsinger.

WHEAT'S BATTALION LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.

Field and Staff—Killed: Major C. R. Wheat.

Company A—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant W. W. Walker.

Company B—Killed: Privates Thomas William, Peter Connors. Wounded: Corporal Joe Nicholls; Privates John Bozer, R. J. Cummings, Robert Bristol, Geary Shrivley.

Company C—Killed: Lieut. C. A. Pitman; Private T. Raine. Wounded: Privates Mark Jordan, Dennis Ryan, Austin Eastman (colour bearer), Thomas Malory, Edward Harris.

Company D—Killed: Lieut. W. D. Foley; Privates Thomas Hanninghton. Wounded: Private Robert Allison.

Company E—Killed: None. Wounded: Privates Charles Caldwell, William Lake.

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Colonel E. G. Harman, badly wounded in arm.

Company B—Wounded: Captain Wm. Long, mortally, in head; Corporal Joseph Patterson, wounded in arm; Corporal Marion Coiner, in arm; Privates William Pannell, in thigh; L. F. Bush, in thigh; Henry Fisher, in thigh; J. C. Jones, in both thighs; B. F. Johnson, in arm; O. Kirby, in arm and side; B. F. Miller, in hand; John Pannell, in thigh; David Wheeler, in thigh; Wm. Fay, in arm and breast; James Way, in thigh; Dillard Coiner, in thigh; Serget. Wm. H. Burns, in thigh.

Company C—Wounded: Captain E. M. Dabney, in arm; Corporal Wm. H. Fry, in breast; Privates Samuel Palmore, in shoulder; John W. Farmer, in arm; Granville Loyd in shoulder.

Company D—Killed: Lieu. John A. Carson, Private John Harman, Wm. H. Sloutamoir. Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Samuel, in head; Corporal G. W. Harman, in thigh.

Company D—Killed: Private Alford E. Shepardson. Wounded: Private Henry Woody, in leg; John A. Jenkins, in hip; Jas. Glenn, in arm; Martin H. Paxton, in arm; Wm. Hicks, in arm; Wm. L. Hall, in thigh.

Company F—Killed: Private Samuel Whitmore. Wounded: Private Harvey Fry, in thigh; Patrick Loyd, in leg; J. P. Craun, in hip; Wm. J. Cups, in arm.

Company I—Killed: None. Wounded: Captain John M. Humphreys, in mouth; Corporal Jacob Zimmerman, in head and side; Private James Buckhannan, in abdomen; Jas. McKee, in thigh; Cyrus Mayse, in shoulder; Wm. McCutchen, in abdomen; John Painter, in shoulder; David Kunkle in mouth; Wm. Riel, in arm; Robt. Waskie, in thigh; Jas. Fullwider, in thigh.

Company K—Killed: Private James Morton. Wounded: Jno. A. Hoover, in heel and hip.

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Field and Staff.—Wounded: Maj. D. H. Ross, severely in hand; Sergt. Maj. Jos. Koimer, in arm; Colour Sergt. Jas. G. Turk, in hand. Killed: Colour Corporal A. Dinkle.

Company A—Wounded: none. Killed: none. Killed: Private William Via. Wounded: Lieu. Robert Davis, slightly in arm; Lieu. William Galt, severely in wrist; Privates: John S. Baylor, severely in stomach; Joseph S. Coiner, slightly in breast; James Connell, very slightly in foot; Jos. H. Davis, severely in side; R. B. Dunlap, severely in hip; James Gilmer, severely in breast and arm; George W. Harnuff, slightly in neck; John P. Hunter, slightly in leg; William Braum, severely in foot.

Company B—Killed: Lieu. C. M. King. Wounded: Corporal J. B. Gardner. Privates: James M. Lewis; William Critner, Hiram Coiner. Killed: none. Wounded: Privates Whitfield Morris, H. Dedrick, George M. Coiner.

Company C—Killed: none. Wounded: none. Killed: Privates: George W. Fultz; David Lamb; John McManay. Wounded: Lieuts: Lewis Harman, in arm; Samuel B. Brown, foot; Corporals: John Kennedy, shoulder; Robert G. Byens, breast; David T. Cale, thigh; Privates: John G. Knight, leg; Peter Smith, arm; Robert Demasters, thigh; Alexander B. Brooks, hand; John Smnpp, leg; Daniel Womelodoff, shoulder; John B. Kershner, thigh; Jacob Croft, neck.

Company D—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieu. Samuel Paul, in foot. June 9th—Killed: Private: Robert Thuma. Wounded: Lieu. John Hanna, in shoulder; Sergt. James Henry Curry, in leg; Corporal David F. McNett, in foot; Privates John Wright, in foot; E. Sheffer, in groin; D. Shall.

Company E—Killed: none. Wounded: Privates A. Smith, mortally, John Patterson, severely in arm, Thomas C. Byers, slightly in neck, Williamson Wilhelm, severely in arm. Killed: one. Wounded: Privates Joel Bryan, slightly in leg, Wm. Hayslett, slightly in arm, Joseph C. Knick, severely in leg.

Company F—Killed: none. Wounded: Sergeant E. M. Anderson, slightly in head; Private S. E. Wampler, slightly in head. Killed: Private Jacob Craun. Wounded: Sergeant A. H. Craun, in arm; Private Josiah Plecker, in hand, Charles W. Allen, slightly in head.

Company G—Killed: Private Wm. Duff. Wounded: Sergeant Shreckhise, slightly in breast; Privates D. W. Ryner, head and thigh, Isaac Yount, in ankle, Wm. Shirey, leg, foot, and both hands, A. Huffman, slightly in hip. John G. Henner, slightly in head, George W. Kennedy, slightly in head, C. Heatin, slightly in hip. Killed: none. Wounded: Private Major C. Vines, in ankle.

Company H—Killed: none. Wounded: Privates Jacob Almarodes, in hand, Alick Ingram, in shoulder. Killed: Private George Swatzele. Wounded: Lieu. James A. White, in shoulder; Sergeant Jacob Greaverin abdomen; Private W. H. Matheny, in the head mortally, John Rimbers, leg and hand John Dunlap, in shoulder, T. A. Howard, in thigh, John A. Steel, in bowels, Wm. Swink, in leg, David Money-maker, in ankle, P. S. Woodward, in shoulder.

Company I—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieu. Thos. A. Ransom, slightly in knee; Private Joel A. Paylor, slightly in head. Wounded: Corporal Wm. J. Robertson, in the thigh severely, Wm. G. Palmer, in arm, severely; Privates J. Clinedell, contusion on abdomen, Wm. A. Watts, in the thigh severely, John G. Ingleman, in left arm. Killed: Samuel Harris.

Company K—Killed: Private Benj. Staten. Wounded: Privates Mitchell Sampson, in neck, John Rolston, in shoulder, David Liptrap, in back; James Pritt, in shoulder, Jas. M. Smith, in back. Killed: none. Wounded: Captain Benjamin Walton, wounded in thigh severely, since dead; Privates Thomas Cauley, in breast, arm, and foot, William J. Heizer, in leg, William Wilson, in arm, Samuel Curry, in hand, John Jack, leg.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 21.

Congress meets on Monday, the 1st proximo, as it will be a second session no election for Speaker takes place, and business will commence at once. That office is now held by Mr. G. A. Grow, from Pennsylvania, who, like many of the members of the House of Representatives from that State, migrated thither from Yankee land in the capacity of a schoolmaster, and therefore

instructed our Quaker neighbours in the mysteries of protectionism and fanaticism, from which they will not soon recover, although they have recently elected good State Rights' Democrats to fill the place of these adventurers who have been permitted to taint their fair character. Mr. Grow's position will be very painful to him; occupying the very centre of the hall, he will be a mark of the displeasure of his own constituents, and the great body of the people of the Northern border States, who are opposed to this wicked, cruel persecution of the South. The first act of Congress will be the reception of the President's message, but before an opportunity is afforded for discussing its merits and demerits; there will be an effort made by the Committee of Ways and Means to introduce a bill authorizing Mr. Chase to issue more irredeemable and inconvertible Treasury notes, as without such authority the wheels of Government will cease turning, and the whole machinery will come to a stand-still. There is likely to be trouble between the Executive and Legislative departments, which may end in a grand explosion and annihilation of the Federal Government.

Military matters have been working very slowly. Lincoln has succeeded in keeping the public mind occupied by the dismissal of McClellan and the movements of Burnside, but it is not believed that he has seriously thought of provoking another battle, preferring to throw the responsibility of all further action upon Congress. "Stonewall" Jackson's whereabouts seems to be a mystery; it is, however, suspected that he has in readiness some pontoon bridges, which may enable him to cross the Potomac with 40,000 men, to try the daring experiment of capturing Washington, President, Vice-President, Cabinet and Congress. Something brilliant is expected from him, and he generally performs what is laid down in the programme.

The newspapers furnish a long list of iron-clad steamers, many of which are mere contrivances got up by speculators. The two largest are the Dictator and the Puritan, very appropriate names at the present time, but they would not have been tolerated a few years ago. By the acts of Congress, all war vessels are required to be named after States, rivers, or cities; yet such is the ignorance of those persons in power, that they do not seem to be aware of the fact.

Gold has declined to 29 per cent., and may fall still more if the debtors to Europe do not pay up their balances. The truth is, few people have the ability to hoard; all persons with limited incomes have difficulty in making both ends meet, in consequence of the high cost of everything.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 9.

The appetite of the Parisians for *fetes* is proverbial, and the desire to witness the ceremony of last Sunday received an additional zest from a vague notion that "something" might happen—the something being neither more nor less than the explosion of an infernal machine, or the perpetration of a fearful crime by some less wholesale engine of destruction. Up to the very last hour rumour was busy with stories of plots and wonderful discoveries, and the consequence was that dense crowds congregated all along the line of the *cortège*, being naturally most dense and numerous along the new Boulevard. It were absurd were I to pretend to be the first to inform your readers that all went off quietly; and that, as I anticipated from the first, all these stories of "plots of stratagems and death," were nothing but the offspring of the lively imagination of some too-fanciful café-haunter, echoed and magnified by some of my too-credulous colleagues.

Without going into particulars, I may state that the affair might have been a great success, but for a circumstance which it would be unjust to make its organizers responsible. Everything was provided that could be devised to please the eye. Verdure and flowers, tall Venetian masts, and gay streamers, triumphal arches and porticoes, and graceful fountains. The national *penchant* for military display was abundantly gratified, by the passage of regiment after regiment in heavy marching order, infantry, cavalry, and artillery filing past. The *amour propre* of the bourgeois was mollified by the unexpected summons to the national guard to attend. The Imperial *cortège* in itself was as gorgeous and imposing as brilliant uniforms, nodding plumes, and steel and gold lace could make it; and yet, as a *fête*, the inauguration must be pronounced to have been decidedly a failure. The great element, cheerfulness, was absent, and how can a crowd be expected to be cheerful under a constant drizzle—not a good honest shower, that would come down with a will and have done with it, and give a turn to the sunshine and blue sky, but an incessant, nasty, uncomfortable drizzle, that converted the "macadam" into a thick, glutinous, slippery mud, and threw

a wet blanket over the whole proceedings. The Emperor, who rode at a slow pace well in front of his escort, and the Empress who followed in an open carriage, were well but not enthusiastically received. Enthusiasm, however, is not to be expected from a crowd ankle deep in mud, the men hampered with their umbrellas, and striving to keep them clear from their neighbours, and the women in constant difficulties with their crinolines. It was stated that very great precautions had been taken. The new Boulevard was, it is true, lined with a formidable array of troops, but there was not a single soldier to be seen all along the road which the Imperial *cortège* had to follow before they reached it, the Rue de Rivoli, the Boulevards Sebastopol, St. Martin and St. Denis, there was no living wall of armed men to interpose between the Emperor and the crowd, whom simple sergeants de ville stationed at pretty wide intervals were quite sufficient to keep in their places.

The Emperor's speech was to the point. It shows that His Majesty has not lost his intuitive knowledge of the character of the French *ouvrier*. In England the idea which lead His Majesty to confer on a thoroughfare the name of a local worthy instead of that of his mother would probably not be appreciated. But the French character has some points in common with the Irish, and this sort of sentimentality which would not suit the hard practical sense of the English mechanic, will not be without a softening effect in the ateliers of the turbulent faubourg. The reference to the bakers' trade, and to the necessity for "cheap bread" was also one of those traits that go home to the hearts of the labouring classes, and on the whole I shall not be surprised to find that the "discours imperial" has revived the Emperor's popularity among the *ouvriers*, who it must be confessed have been anything but pleased at the change which is supposed to have taken place in his policy.

The war which has made so many homes desolate in America, and has in England, converted into paupers so many thrifty artisans, has not spared those parts of France which are dependent on American cotton for the supply of their manufactures. It is estimated that in Normandy and in Alsace upwards of 100,000 workmen are at starvation's door. Private charity has not done much to alleviate the distress. The *Temps* falls into a gross mistake when it asserts that France usually gives as many francs as England gives pounds on such occasions—as many farthings would be nearer the mark. The fault here as in all other highly centralized countries, is that the people are accustomed to look to government for assistance on every possible occasion—*à fortiori* in a great national calamity it is felt that the authorities must step forward and undertake the duty of administering the requisite relief. The *Temps* however has generously initiated a public subscription—the example has been followed by the government, and the Emperor has headed the list with £1000; the Empress putting down her name for £400 and the Prince Imperial £200. Each of the ministers subscribes of £20.—In addition a plan has been devised of public works on a large scale, which will afford the starving operatives employment and enable them to keep the wolf from the door during the coming winter months.

The *Moniteur* in a letter from New York gives a very clear idea of the position of the American belligerents. The army of Burnside is represented as sticking in the mud on the banks of the Rappahannock—the writer statse that Burnside is not allowed to judge for himself, but that Mr. Lincoln means to carry on the the war himself from his closet in Washington! according to the *Moniteur* he has dispatched to Burnside a "plan" approved of by himself and his ministers, which the general is not allowed to depart from—There is no reason to suppose says the correspondent of the official print that the Confederate commanders have in any degree lost the energy and skill which marked their previous operations, and the evident inference to be drawn from his letter, is that the advance of Burnside on Richmond makes his defeat a matter of certainty.

Vague reports of Ministerial changes are again current, but I confess that I cannot place faith in a current report that M. Pereire of the Credit Mobilier is to replace M. Fould at the Department of Finance. The resignation of M. Fould would be bad enough, but the appointment of M. Pereire in his place would be ruin. Not that M. Pereire is not an able and a respectable man, but because public opinion identifies his name with the establishment which depends upon Bourse gambling for its existence. It is also stated that the Emperor and Empress are about to honour Baron Rothschild with a visitat his chateau at Fevriere, where preparations are making to entertain their Majesties in a princely style.

The *Opinion Nationale* has received a warning for a fierce onslaught against the Government, which it charges with being a tool in the hands of the clerical

party which it allows, in its blindness, to conspire for its overthrow. The occupation of Rome, the expeditions to Mexico and China, are all set down by the *Opinion* as continued and undertaken at the instigation of the *parti pretre*. The tone of the article is bitter, and it is written with undeniable talent and it must be admitted that much less offensive attacks have been visited with quite as much severity.

Another item of press news demands a word of notice. That much over-rated charlatan, Mons. Emile de Girardin, great in the art of blowing his own trumpet, has resumed his former position at the *Presse*. In his inaugural article he compares himself to a rose-tree! "Why," he asks, do I write "leaders?" *Why does a rose-tree produce roses?* The comparison, his readers will hardly think appropriate. It is satisfactory to find that his insufferable verbiage produces no sensation but that of *ennui*, and that the public have assigned him his proper place among the bores and twaddlers of the day.

M. Grandguillot, editor of the *Constitutionnel*, has obtained the authorization to establish a new paper "on devoted, but independent" principles, but cannot find any one to advance the necessary funds. M. Peyrot, late of the *Presse*, has on the other hand collected capital to start a new paper (opposition), but cannot get the authorization. Each is in the position of Martial's lover, and may exclaim with more truth, to that coy maid, Authorization:—"Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te."

THE FRENCH PROPOSAL IN AMERICA.

(From an occasional Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 27.

The news by the *Arabia* has produced a profound impression here. It has for the moment overshadowed even the interest that is felt in news from the Rappahannock or the upper Potomac. Indeed it is far more important in its bearing upon the great issues of the war than anything we can expect to hear from these quarters.

The uppermost feeling with men of every shade of opinion is one of surprise. It has been popularly believed here, notwithstanding many indications to the contrary, that the initiative of intervention would come from England, and not from France. The people of the latter country were believed to be almost unanimously friendly to the cause of the North, or rather the Federal Government, while the Emperor was supposed to have too much on his hands already to take an unpopular step. The conviction was equally strong that in England, on the other hand, Government and people awaited with anxiety the opportune moment for interference in behalf of the South, and were deterred from such interference only by the fear of confronting the overwhelming power of the United States single-handed. Had England accepted the proposal of France, it would have been impossible to persuade the masses in this country that the proposal itself had not been instigated by her and suggested at the Tuileries. The actual event baffles all expectations, and contradicts every preconceived opinion. Its political effect is nevertheless momentous at this moment, and I fear fatal to the cause of peace.

There is no doubt that the leading men of both of the great parties expected European intervention. The Administration party expected it with an uneasiness, but ill-disguised by the silly blusters of their orators and presses. The Democrats expected it with divided feelings, some with the secret hope that it would bring the anxiously desired solution; some, and these the greater number, with no other fixed views than to take advantage of any mistake committed by their antagonists. The mild form in which intervention was proposed by France, prejudging nothing, and leaving the door still open for an attempt at reconciliation, was of all others the form most acceptable to the sagacious leaders of the Peace party. The people are sick of the war, but they are not yet prepared to resign themselves to the loss of the South. No party, therefore, which should propose peace by the recognition of the Confederate States has as yet a chance of popular endorsement. The Democrats have adopted a less direct, but also a less abrupt policy, with great success. They attack the war through the general unpopularity of the Administration, while continuing to flatter the popular hope that the South may yet, by some means or other, but only through their agency, be brought into the Union. An European proposal of an armistice without recognition would have suited their purposes admirably. Had the Administration entertained it, which was not probable, they might have made enormous capital out of it by denouncing the acceptance as a criminal and imbecile abandonment of the Union in the very crisis of its fate. Had, on the other hand, the Administration declined the proposition, as it was certain to do, the Democrats would have accused it, with justice, of a wanton thirst for human blood—of a cruel and suicidal persistence in their favourite schemes

of servile war and extermination, and of a fixed purpose not to win back the South but to alienate it more irremediably.

In either case the Democrats would have had a practical point of issue with the party in power, and this is precisely what they lack. Whether the armistice was accepted or rejected, or whether or no it led to further steps on the part of the European Powers, a virtual cessation of hostilities would have ensued from the violent internal commotions which it would not have failed to arouse.

But however much opinions may differ as to the consequences of the proposal, there can be little doubt of the effect of its rejection by England, and the friends of peace must regret that, being so rejected, the subject was ever broached. To the extreme war party this refusal is a signal triumph, as well as an endorsement of their policy of raising the slaves against their masters. It is a testimony also, supposed to come from a most reluctant witness, that the cause of the Union is not so desperate as many even here had begun to fear in their heart of hearts. The popular conviction is more fixed than ever, that Europe dare not interfere in this quarrel, however much it desires to do so. Failing hopes are thus revived, and on the revived hopes the war spirit recruits. European intervention has been a sort of nightmare to the people of the North, which was not contemplated without dread by many of those who hoped to gain by it. To have averted it so long, and to have seemingly averted it now altogether, is regarded as a triumph of the diplomacy of the Administration, which almost compensates for its want of success in the field. This will have an important effect on the deliberations of Congress, which meets next Monday, and in which, before the arrival of this news, many men, though elected on Republican tickets, might have been disposed to disconnect their political fortunes from those of a falling party.

You must not suppose that the great and timely service which England has just rendered to the Republicans will be met by any spirit of gratitude. Already the abuse bestowed on her is, if possible, even more violent than before. No other motive is assigned to her action than abject cowardly fear. Many of the sincere peace men believe her to be animated by the fiendish desire to see the two sections of the late Union destroy each other, with a view of removing at the same time a rival to her commerce and a competitor with her East Indian possessions. Absurd as such ideas are, I assure you that they are entertained by many sensible and well-meaning people, and are not confined to any particular party. The Democrats are likely to become as violent in their denunciations as the Republicans have been, partly because it is popular to speak ill of England, partly from disappointment, and partly, also because they count upon the disappointment of the South. There are really some among them who believe that the Southern people, seeing themselves abandoned by all the world, and despairing of carrying on the war much longer unaided, will turn to the Democratic party of the North as their only friends, and on receiving sufficient guarantees for their institutions, which the Democrats have always been profuse in proffering, will make common cause against the common enemies, the Abolitionists and the English. I simply chronicle the delusion; it is not worth while to waste words in exposing it.

I write it with regret, but it is the conclusion at which any one must arrive after conversing with men of every opinion, in the streets and in the parlour, that England is not less hated, and only less respected, in the United States, since the refusal of the armistice proposition. The invective which thus far has been the cloak of fear, will henceforth be indulgence in a fancied impunity. If hereafter in this matter, which concerns her so nearly, she should raise her voice, as sooner or later she must, it will not be believed that she is in earnest, unless she do so in the most emphatic and unmistakable manner. Nothing less than the recognition of the South as an independent Power will now serve the purpose of peace, and without such recognition, every day confirms my conviction, this war can never end. So long as this step is not taken, the hope will still linger in the breasts of the Northern people that the South may yet be brought back; and so long as this hope remains, the war will go on, despite repeated defeats and the destruction of armies. Nor can, so long as this hope remains, any party appeal to popular suffrages to end the war, however anxious for this end the few farsighted leaders may be.

Burnside's army, after a brief period of great activity, has relapsed into the same listlessness which was so much complained of in McClellan. It is now generally believed that the march towards Richmond from Fredericksburg, if it was ever contemplated, has been aban-

doned, and that the real attack is to be made by way of the James River, and supported by gunboats. An article in the *Philadelphia Press*, the organ of the notorious Forney, who is supposed to hold the same position towards this Administration that he did at one time towards its predecessor—a place in what was called the "Kitchen Cabinet"—is generally considered as the semi-official manifest of the plan of campaign. If so, it differs in no essential respects from that in which McClellan so disastrously failed.

DEPORTATION OF NEGROES TO THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—The "masterly inactivity" of the British Cabinet seems to have been succeeded by a feverish activity of late. Intervention in Greece of the most active kind, and in a most Machiavellian spirit—intervention in Denmark of the most open character, and without the slightest invitation from any of the parties interested—and finally, in the person of its accredited agent at Washington, intervention of a most gross and glaring kind, in direct contravention of its professed neutrality, in a matter of vital importance to one of the belligerents.

On the authority of the *London Times*, the fact is stated that Mr. Stuart, H. B. M. Charge d'Affaires at Washington during the absence of Lord Lyons had had an interview with Mr. Seward relative to the proposals made from the British West Indies for the transportation thither, as "labourers," of the negro "contrabands," who were to be deported by their Northern masters, to Central American mines or Liberia.

The following extract from the *Times* gives the gist of this remarkable affair, which has elicited no comment in the columns of your City contemporaries:—

Advices from Demerara are to the 7th inst. Letters had been received by his Excellency the Governor, from the Hon. William Walker, at Washington. Mr. Walker had had an interview with the Minister of the Interior, but he was informed that the United States' Government could not treat with the representative of any British colony on the subject, and that the negotiation would have to be conducted with the Imperial Government. The United States' Government appeared to entertain favourably proposals for sending the liberated slaves to the British West India colonies, and there was some reason to believe that they would give those colonies the preference over other countries. Mr. Walker had not an interview with Mr. Seward at the time he wrote; but Mr. Stuart, the British Charge d'Affaires had seen Mr. Seward on the subject and had informed Mr. Walker that the negotiations would have to be conducted through the British Legation, but he did not think the time had arrived when any formal proposal could be submitted on the part of the British Government. He thought it probable that Lord Lyons, when he returned to Washington, would be fully informed as to the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject.

Comment on the above extract would seem superfluous, if the old British adage, "the receiver is as bad as the thief," still possesses its ancient potency. Here, in the face of solemn professions of neutrality between the belligerents, made at London, the British Charge d'Affaires at Washington is entering into negotiations with Mr. Seward on behalf of West India governors who covet Southern negroes, and postponing pressure on the matter on a point of time only. If this be neutrality, what would be intervention? The British Press has been as silent as the grave since the publication of the fact, and no whisper from Downing-street has been sent forth intimating that the proceedings of the British representative at Washington were officious, improper, or unwarranted. Yet these facts have been made public for one week past through the *Times*. What is the proposal? Simply this; that the British colonies shall be the receivers of Mr. Lincoln's "contrabands," who have forcibly taken from the only homes they know, and are to be as forcibly expatriated as "a punishment to disloyal masters," according to Mr. Lincoln's own proclamation.

Appropriate is the word,
Convey the wise do call,

says Nym to Ancient Pistol; but it must make the cheek of every high-toned English gentleman tingle with shame to find that we are taking lessons of policy out of such a book, by trailing England as a camp follower after the marauding minions of Abraham Lincoln, whose only trophies thus far have been captive women and fugitive or defenceless slaves.

Can England submit to be deemed accessory after the fact to such clandestine pillage? Yet listen how the proceeding is construed on this side of the water. The *Constitutionnel*, semi-official journal of the Empire, in its issue of December 3 contains the following comments on this proceeding at Washington and in the colonies, which I translate verbatim:—

The last number of the *London Times* gives us the latest news from the West Indies, brought by mail steamer Tasmania to Southampton. It is easy to perceive that the minds of the colonists are very much preoccupied with the idea of obtaining negro labourers. To arrive at this result, negotiations have been opened with the Washington Cabinet. The *Times* does

not state this fact plainly, but it is couched in obscure terms in the news itself. We have thought it worth while to examine a little into this matter, and have obtained from a well-informed person the following explanation, which we give with the usual reserve:—

The last West Indian steamer gives another explanation of the English refusal to join His Majesty the Emperor in his humane and generous proposal to interpose the voice of reason between the infuriated combatants in America. Hitherto it was supposed that two reasons prompted that refusal. Firstly, the desire to avoid the conflict with the Northern States, whose naval power is not regarded with contempt by the Palmerston-Russell Cabinet, by the professions of a strict neutrality, which Mr. Gladstone declared favour the North; and secondly, the hope of developing the cotton culture of India, on the destruction of the Southern plantations, so as to control the cotton supply of the world, making Europe her tributary for this great staple. It now seems that she has embraced a third interest in her masterly inactivity, in the hope of repopling her West Indian Islands with the negroes stolen from the South by Butler and Co., and develop the cotton culture there. The Governor of Jamaica has sent a message to the Legislature, informing them "that it was the intention of the Government to further the immigration of free-coloured and black Americans into the island. The Governor admitted it might be considered a violation of that neutrality to which the British Government stood pledged between North and South, but at the same time the Government would be prepared to do all in their power for such immigrants as were sent to the island at their request by the Federal Government." At Demerara they have gone still further; for an agent, the Honourable William Walker, was sent to Washington, where he had had interviews with the Minister of the Interior on the subject; and Mr. Stuart, British Charge d'Affairs, had had an interview with Mr. Seward, who informed him that negotiations for the supply of coloured Americans would have to be carried on through the British Legation. If, therefore, this notable scheme is carried out, it is easy to see why England wishes the war to go on, by which she and her colonies would be so great a gainer. When we remember the holy horror and the virtuous indignation expressed in the British Parliament against the scheme of African apprentice colonization in the French West Indies, falsely stigmatized as a reopening of the slave trade, we cannot but admire this philanthropy which keeps one set of vessels to suppress the slave trade in wild Africans in the East, and another class of ships to deport Mr. Lincoln's tame contrabands to their West Indian possessions, although Mr. Lincoln's title to the poor wretches he proposes to exile is even more doubtful than that of their Southern taskmasters. That the poor negroes will be allowed any choice in the matter, is, of course, an absurdity.

The free negroes of Maryland have lately been holding indignation meetings against Mr. Lincoln's proposal to drive them out of the country. Mr. Lincoln's own State of Illinois, and, we believe, all of the North-Western free States, refuse now to allow any coloured person to settle within their limits.

The editor of the *Constitutionnel* adds: "We now can comprehend the vague and careless way in which the *Times* puts forth news of such importance." The remark has also been made that as the English first introduced the ancestors of the present slaves into America, so their descendants seem now disposed to transfer the labour of their children to the possessions they still hold; and that they do it still with the sanctimonious pride of the Pharisee, "who thanked God he was not like unto other men."

Paris, December 8.

THE GREEK CROWN.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—Whether it is that public attention is wholly absorbed in the Transatlantic questions at issue, or that the Philhellenic enthusiasm of thirty years ago has left us with a permanent distaste for everything Greek, certain it is that the subject which is now agitating every other European Government has awakened comparatively little or no interest in this country. The Crown which goes begging, and which our Continental neighbours suspect us of being so eager to obtain for one of the Princes of our Royal Family, scarcely serves as the theme of passing comment, except in the newspapers. No one seriously contemplates the contingency of an English Prince sitting upon this shaky throne, and no party, or section of a party, in this country desire for Great Britain so dangerous and worse than worthless dependency.

It appears to me, however, that this general indifference is abused by the present Ministry in a manner unworthy of its national character for fair dealing. The candidature of Prince Alfred is not a new thing. He was spoken of as the successor of the Bavarian King as long as twelve months ago, and his recent visit and protracted stay in those waters certainly did not tend to dispel the delusions of an excitable and sanguine people. Before the election commenced, it was absolutely certain on whom the choice would fall. How easy, then, would it have been to make known the intentions of the Government and the nation in so unmistakable a manner as to force the Greeks to seek another candidate? Instead of this, their hopes have been played with in what seems to me no very creditable manner. The words of the British Minister at Athens have been ambiguous as the oracle of old. The Ministerial press has told the world that it would be time enough to reject the throne when it was offered. No manifesto has come from the Foreign Office, which has recently been anything but dilatory in making known

its views in American and Danish affairs. Why is this? Is it that the Ministry, conscious of have made mistakes in other directions, really wishes the election of Prince Alfred in order to make capital out of the refusal afterwards with Parliament and with our "gallant ally?" Such a game is scarcely consistent with the dignity of the Royal Family, or that of the nation.

OBSERVER.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES' MILITARY EXEMPTION ACT.

The following Act was passed on the 4th October, 1862.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact. That all persons who shall be held unfit for military service in the field, by reason of bodily infirmity or mental incapacity or imbecility, under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, the Vice-President of the Confederate States, the officers, judicial and executive, of the Confederate and State Governments, including Postmasters appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, and such clerks in their offices as are allowed by the Postmaster-General, and now employed, and excluding all other postmasters, their assistants and clerks; and except such State officers as the several States may have declared, or may hereafter declare by law to be liable to militia duty, the members of both houses of Congress of the Confederate States, and of the Legislatures of the several States, and their respective officers; all clerks now in the offices of the Confederate and State Governments authorized by law, receiving salaries or fees.

VOLUNTEER TROOPS.

All volunteer troops heretofore raised by any State since the passage of the Act entitled "an Act further to provide for the public defence," approved April 16th, 1862, while such troops shall be in active service under State authority; Provided that this exemption shall not apply to any person who was liable to be called into service by virtue of said Act of April 16th, 1862.

TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES—TELEGRAPH, ETC.

All pilots and persons engaged in the merchant marine service; the president, superintendents, conductors, treasurer, chief clerk, engineers, managers, station agents, section masters, two expert track hands to each section of eight miles, and mechanics in the active service and employment of railroad companies, not to embrace labourers, porters, and messengers; the president, general superintendent and operators of telegraph companies, the local superintendent and operators of said companies, not to exceed four in number at any locality but at the seat of government of the Confederate States; the presidents, superintendents, captains, engineers, chief clerk and mechanics in the active service and employment of all companies engaged on river and canal navigation, and all captains of boats and engineers thereon employed.

EDITORS, NEWSPAPER EMPLOYEES, AND MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

One editor of each newspaper now being published, and such employees as the editor or proprietor may certify, on oath, to be indispensable for conducting the publication; the public printer, and those employed to perform the public printing for the Confederate and State Governments; every minister of religion authorized to preach according to the rules of his sect and in the regular discharge of ministerial duties.

NON-COMBATANTS.

All persons who have been and now are members of the Society of Friends and the association of Dunkards, Nazarenes, and Mennonists, in regular membership in their respective denominations; provided members of the Society of Friends, Nazarenes, Mennonists, and Dunkards shall furnish substitutes, or pay a tax of \$500 each into the public treasury.

PHYSICIANS.

All physicians who now are, and for the last five years have been, in actual practice of their profession.

SHOEMAKERS, TANNERS, &C.

All shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, wagon makers, millers and their engineers, millwrights, skilled and actually employed as their regular vocation in the said trades, habitually engaged in working for the public and whilst so actually employed; provided said persons shall make oath in writing that they are so skilled and actually employed at the time as his regular vocation in one of the above trades, which affidavit shall only be *prima facie* evidence of the facts therein stated.

EXTORTIONERS.

Provided further, that the exemptions herein granted to persons, by reason of their peculiar mechanical or other occupation or employment not connected with the public service, shall be subject to the condition that the products of the labour of such exempts, or of the companies and establishments with which they are connected, shall be sold and disposed of by the proprietors at prices not exceeding seventy-five per centum upon the cost of production, or within a maximum to be fixed by the Secretary of War, under such regulations as he may prescribe; and it is further provided, that if the proprietors of any such manufacturing establishments shall be shown, upon evidence to be submitted to and judged of by the Secretary of War, to have violated, or in any manner evaded, the true intent and spirit of the foregoing proviso, the exemptions therein granted shall no longer be extended to their superintendents and operatives in said establishments, but they and each and every one of them shall be forthwith enrolled under the provisions of this Act, and ordered into the Confederate army, and shall in no event be again exempted therefrom by reason of said manufacturing establishments or employments therein.

COLLEGES, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, ETC.

All presidents and teachers of colleges, academies, schools, and theological seminaries who have been regularly engaged as such for two years preceding the passage of this Act.

EMPLOYEES ON GOVERNMENT WORK.

All artisans, mechanics and employes in the establishments of the Government for the manufacture of arms, ordnance, ordnance stores, and other munitions of war, who may be certified by the officer in charge thereof to be necessary for such establishments; also, all artisans, mechanics and employes in the establishments of such persons as are or may be engaged under contracts with the Government in furnishing arms, ordnance, ordnance stores, and other munitions of war, saddles, harness, and army supplies; provided that the Chief of the Ordnance Bureau, or some ordnance officer authorized by him for the purpose, shall approve of the number of operatives required in such establishment; all persons employed in the manufacture of arms or ordnance of any kind by the several States, or by contractors, to furnish the same to the several State Governments, whom the Governor or Secretary of State thereof may certify to be

necessary to the same; all persons engaged in the construction of ships, gunboats, engines, sails, or other articles necessary to the public defence, and with direction of the Secretary of the Navy; all superintendents, managers, mechanics, and miners employed in the production and manufacture of salt to the extent of twenty bushels a day, and of lead and iron; and all persons engaged in making charcoal for making pig and bar iron, not to embrace labourers, messengers, wagoners, and servants, unless employed at works conducted under the authority and by the officers or agents of a State, or in works employed in the production of iron for the Confederate States.

STOCK RAISERS.

One male citizen for every 500 head of cattle, for every 250 head of horses or mules, and one shepherd for every 500 head of sheep of such persons as are engaged exclusively in raising stock; provided there is no white male adult not liable to do military duty engaged with such persons in raising stock.

OVERSEERS ON PLANTATIONS.

To secure the proper police of the country, one person either as agent, owner, or overseer on each plantation on which one white person is required to be kept by the laws or ordinances of any State, and on which there is no white male adult not liable to do military service, and in States having no such law, one person as agent, owner, or overseer, on each plantation of twenty negroes, and on which there is no white male adult not liable to military service, and furthermore, for additional police for every twenty negroes, on two or more plantations within five miles of each other, each having less than twenty negroes, and on which there is no white male adult not liable to military duty, one person, being the oldest of the owners or overseers on such plantations.

SPECIAL EXEMPTIONS.

Also, a regiment raised under and by the authority of the State of Texas for the frontier defence, now in the service of said State, while in such service; and such other persons as the President shall be satisfied on account of justice or equity, or necessity, ought to be exempted, are hereby exempted from military service in the armies of the Confederate States; provided, that the exemptions herein above enumerated shall only continue whilst the persons exempted are actually engaged in their respective pursuits or occupations.

Sec. 2. That the Act entitled "an Act to exempt certain persons from enrolment for service in the armies of the Confederate States," approved the 21st April, is hereby repealed.

RECEPTION IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE NEWS OF THE PROPOSED ARMISTICE.

The New York correspondent of the *Times* says:—

The telegraphic wires from Cape Race announce this morning the news brought by the *Arabia*, that the British Government has declined the overtures made by France for a joint mediation in the affairs of this country. The intelligence creates a feeling which is painful for an Englishman to witness. No thanks are expressed, no opinion is put forward that Great Britain has done a right or a friendly act. Not a word is said of the patient forbearance and statesmanlike reticence of the British Government; but, on the contrary, there is a howl from the rabid press and the rabid war party of exultation over "the miserable old country that has not courage to strike the blow that it meditates." It is held that England is afraid of America; that England is poor, effete, corrupt, and without influence in the affairs of the world; and that it will be the duty of the Federal Government, as soon as it has settled matters with the South, to declare war against her for fitting out the Alabama, and otherwise sympathizing with the rebellion—a war that will reduce her to the rank of a third-rate Power, and establish the independence of Ireland, under King Smith O'Brien or some other hero of the cabbage-garden. Among more sensible people, who are disgusted with Mr. Lincoln and the war, and willing to let the "wayward sisters" of the cotton States "go in peace," the news has been received with despondency. They see that if extraneous agencies are not brought into operation to produce an armistice, to be followed by a peace, the war must last for twenty years, unless the South should be laid under water and the people exterminated at an earlier period; or unless, which is far more likely, a violent revolution in the North should hurl Mr. Lincoln from power, before the expiration of his term of office, and place a man at the head of the army and the Government, with sufficient brains, honesty, and patriotism to recognize the independence of the South, as the best arrangement for both parties, and stop the horrible effusion of blood and the fiendish overflow of passions that the war has excited.

PRECIOUS METALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The following account appears in a memorial presented by persons interested in money to the Confederate Congress:—

According to official reports, the receipts of gold bullion, from mines and deposits in North Carolina, presented during a term of fifteen years, at other Mints than at Charlotte and Dahlonega, amounted in round numbers to the sum of . . . \$4,350,000 During the same period the gold deposited for coinage at the Branch Mint in Charlotte reached the value of . . . 3,790,000 The full returns, during that term, from North Carolina being equal to . . . 8,140,000 At Dahlonega, gold pieces were coined, during the same time amounting to . . . 5,280,000 While the product of mines in the State of Georgia, received at other mines than at Dahlonega and Charlotte, equalled the sum of . . . 2,400,000 Showing the whole amount of gold from Georgia to be . . . \$7,630,000 In the meanwhile at distant mints (excluding those in Georgia and North Carolina), deposits of gold were presented from other Southern States or territory as follows:—

From Virginia	\$1,400,000
„ South Carolina	540,000
„ Alabama	131,000
„ New Mexico	44,000
„ Tennessee	38,000

Proving a sum equal to . . . \$2,153,050

These results in native precious metals approach eighteen millions, being an annual average of 1,200,000 dollars. This account does not include silver parted from gold in the mint refineries, nor bullion directly exported to foreign countries, but sums exclusively registered on Mint books, as drawn from States now embraced in a Southern Confederacy.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY ROTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bonvic-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1862.

Burnside v. McClellan.

Threatened cities and towns are tolerably safe from the efforts of an enemy; at least, it is so in the Confederate States. Richmond was to have been captured, without the slightest doubt, on or before the 4th July, 1862; but the Confederate capital has not yet fallen into the hands of the Federals. Several months ago the Northern journals were exulting in the prospect of taking Charleston, and of wreaking their full spite on the inhabitants, but not a Federal has found his way into Charleston, except as a prisoner. Mobile was reported as taken, as was Vicksburg, but the reports were false. To the long list of threatened Southern towns we must now add Fredericksburg. On the 21st of November, General Burnside demanded its surrender, and gave notice that in sixteen hours he would bombard it if his demand was not complied with. On the 28th of November, Fredericksburg had not surrendered, and the bombardment was postponed. We should not have been surprised at an ineffectual bombardment; but to threaten an attack within sixteen hours, and not to make any attack, is remarkable conduct, even for a Federal commander, though it admits of explanation.

Whether or not General Burnside contemplated an advance to Richmond *via* Fredericksburg, the possession of the last-named place was important; for if he intended to embark his army at Aquia Creek, and proceed to the peninsula by water, the operation was dangerous, unless he could get some cover for the movement, and this he would have obtained by the capture of Fredericksburg. He formed his plans in ignorance of the position of the Confederate army, and when he sent a flag of truce to demand surrender, he evidently had no idea of the proximity of a large force under the immediate command of General Lee. Being made acquainted with the actual state of affairs, he generously extended the time for the removal of the women and children to forty-eight hours, and, it would appear, prudently resolved not to commence an attack that might lead to a general engagement.

On the 27th November, Mr. Lincoln visited Aquia Creek, and had a consultation with General Burnside. The purport of that interview has not transpired, but no doubt it had reference to the future movements of the Army of the Potomac; and certainly the position is calculated to make the Federal authorities anxious. We will not go so far as Northern critics, who say that the proposed advance *via* Fredericksburg is impossible, but it is so difficult and dangerous as to be rash and imprudent; and if General Burnside's object is to reach the peninsula he can do so, without exhausting his army, by water transport. Supposing the cry of "On to Richmond" is not a mere sham to stop the clamour of the Republicans, who, as represented by Mr. Wendel Phillips, are bent upon introducing "Yankee civilization" in the South, by exterminating the Southern population, and dividing the rich possessions amongst the Northern soldiery, we may suppose that the unsuccessful plan of General McClellan is to be repeated,

and the peninsula is once more to be the base of operation against Richmond. It is said that the long-talked-of expedition under General Banks is to proceed to the James River, and co-operate with General Burnside. The Army of the Potomac is not strong enough to proceed in the enterprise without assistance, and so, if anything is to be done, the whole available Federal force must be massed in the peninsula. What the Federal commander desires to do is to divide the Confederate forces, but he cannot do so by any strategy he can invent. At the Rappahannock he is confronted by the main body of the Confederate Army, and as soon as he has embarked his troops the Confederates can withdraw to Richmond, and be ready to receive him in the peninsula; for the way that is impassable to the Federals is easy to the Confederates, who have the command of the railroad. Whatever battle-ground General Burnside selects, he must be prepared to encounter his enemy in full force.

But if the Federal troops are concentrated in the peninsula, what is to protect the Federal capital, or to prevent the Confederate army under General Jackson from entering Maryland, invading Pennsylvania, and cutting off the railroad communication between the West and Washington? The Maryland campaign is too recent not to make the Federals uneasy. The Confederate force in Maryland did not exceed the force now at the disposal of Generals Jackson and Stuart, and it needed 130,000 Northern troops to check its operations. If the Southern army again enters Maryland without having to contend with a large Federal force, not only would the Marylanders recruit the Southern ranks—General Wool, in his published defence, speaks of 20,000 Marylanders being ready to join the Confederate army—but Washington would be in jeopardy, and Pennsylvania would be without any efficient means of defence. General McClellan was fully aware of the exigencies of the situation, and, therefore, refused to advance against Richmond. The late incursion of sixty Confederate cavalry into Poolesville, in itself an unimportant affair, has, perhaps, convinced Mr. Lincoln of the risk involved in making the peninsula the base of operations against Richmond.

If Mr. Lincoln was not the puppet of a party, we should conclude that there would not be an advance to Richmond; and it is not impossible that even Mr. Lincoln may have elected to brave the anger of his supporters rather than incur a ruinous risk. If Burnside does proceed to the Peninsula, he will only repeat the plan of McClellan, with this difference, that he will do so under circumstances that render such a movement extremely hazardous. But until Burnside has taken his army to the James River, we shall doubt, despite the positive assurances of the Washington officials, whether he is prepared to forsake the prudent policy of McClellan at the bidding of the Republican fanatics.

The War Supplies of the South.

All authorities concur that the Confederate armies, unlike their opponents, are at this moment better provided with the necessities of warfare than at any previous period in this obstinate and hard-fought contest. Much is no doubt still wanting; many and severe privations are endured by these dauntless defenders of their country's independence, and the soldiers of the Confederacy are far from presenting that spectacle of military pomp which delights women and children at a holiday parade; but in the essentials of equipment we have every reason to believe that they are not worse off than the best supplied European armies might be after equally rough and protracted campaigning. The fact may surprise those whom the events of this war have not yet shaken in their prejudice that the South is a semi-barbarous country, without industry, and without the means of creating any, and inhabited by a degenerate people sunk in sloth and ease; but this fact is not more surprising than that such a people should have coped so long against such fearful odds, that it should have sent into the field

armies as distinguished for their discipline as for their valour, that it should have found in its midst generals and statesmen worthy of the first rank in history, and that it should have shown itself capable of a unanimity of determination, self-devotion, and self-sacrifice, which is scarcely paralleled, and certainly not surpassed, in modern times. Those who have more rightly judged the resources of the South and the character of its people, and who know what a nation by a supreme effort may accomplish, will not be surprised to learn that the Confederates are in this the second year of the war infinitely better prepared for every emergency of the struggle than they were when they gained their first great victory on the plains of Manassas.

Arms and ammunition are, of course, the first and most essential requisites, and the destitution of these formed the greatest danger of the South at the outbreak of the war. A considerable portion of the earlier levies were armed with fowling-pieces, the private property of non-combatants, cheerfully contributed in response to the appeals of the Government. In the hands of men trained from boyhood to the use of firearms, and whose unvarying tactics in every encounter has been to engage the enemy as closely as possible, the smooth-bored shot gun or the hunting rifle did deadlier execution than the military weapon of longer range. A comparison of the losses of both sides in every encounter of the war proves that the better quality of his musket and powder has given no decided advantage to the Federal soldier. But whatever advantage there may have been can scarcely be said to exist now. Besides the large number of arms imported in spite of the blockade, the South has enriched itself by the spoil of a score of battle-fields. It is estimated, upon official data, that at least 100,000 serviceable muskets of the most approved patterns have been captured by the Confederates since the beginning of the war. Correspondingly large have been their gains in field artillery, of which they stood most in need. Their losses, on the other hand, have been singularly light in small arms, and consist chiefly of heavy guns, of which they never lacked an abundant supply, and which they never found much difficulty in replacing. The guns abandoned at Island No. 10, at Yorktown, and at various points of the coast, were such as could be cast in any common foundry, and which were, and still are, cast in large numbers in nearly every considerable town of the South. The naval arsenal at Norfolk alone furnished over 1000 guns of the heaviest calibre. It is doubtful whether all the captures of the Federals amount to that number.

The difficulty was much greater in regard to powder, and at first seemed insurmountable. The stock on hand was originally so small, and the supply, for a long time, so precarious, that the Confederate troops were rigidly forbidden to use it for the purposes of exercise, and, for the greater part, discharged their pieces for the first time in presence of the enemy. There was not, at the period of secession, a single powder mill within the limits of the seceded States. There are now several, judiciously distributed, in vigorous operation, the machinery for which had to be cast in the Confederate foundries. The sulphur is obtained from the pyrites of the copper mines, the saltpetre in part from natural mines discovered since the war, but chiefly by artificial process. For this purpose "nitre-beds" have been established in suitable localities in all the States, under the superintendence of a special bureau of the War Department, and so rapidly has the production of this necessary article increased, that from a single "nitre-bed" as much as 50,000 lbs. a week is said to have been obtained. The quality of the home-made powder is probably greatly inferior to that of European manufacture, for the latter is eagerly bought by the authorities at enormous prices; but the source of the greatest anxiety is removed, and one of the most serious dangers permanently averted.

Much that the South has done in the way of manufactures since the war appears miraculous, because due credit was not given to her industrial capacity in time of peace. It must be remembered

that, though by no means a manufacturing country, the slaveholding States were never in that condition of barbarous helplessness which certain writers describe. So much of their capital and labour as were not absorbed by the extreme productiveness of their soil were always devoted to industrial pursuits. Southern mills, worked by white labour, spun about 200,000 bales of Southern cotton, and wove it into coarse cheap clothing for the negroes. Woollen manufactures have also long been in operation in Georgia, North Carolina, and other States. These establishments, enlarged with the necessities of the war, have acted no mean part in the difficult task of clothing the armies of the Confederacy. A large proportion of the steamboats which swarm on the Southern rivers in peaceful times were built in Southern ports. The appliances, then, could not be wholly wanting for building vessels for warlike purposes. It must be admitted that in all this the Confederates had to contend with fearful disadvantages, which could be overcome only by energy and ingenuity of no common order. What they possessed they used with wonderful dexterity; what they lacked they were not less dexterous in supplying or finding a substitute for it. Old files were turned into swords, bayonets, and bowie-knives. The cast-away iron was collected from the plantations and cities to be smolten in the foundries, and converted into machinery. Mines, heretofore feebly worked, gave forth their ores to the furnace. The worn-out rails of the iron track were made to serve as armour to "iron-clads." Thus it has happened that the blockaded unindustrious South could send forth a Virginia to solve the great modern problem of naval warfare, and an Arkansas to run the gauntlet of a whole hostile fleet.

The lack of salt was at one time the cause of much and well-founded alarm. The process of making it by solar evaporation was slow and next to impossible on a coast so generally exposed to the ravages of an enemy. Even more expeditious processes would not produce at once all that would be needed to cure the year's supply of meat. In salt mines the country was poor, except in one district, which was the sport of the accidents of war. Necessity, that mother of invention, has discovered in each farmer's dwelling, if not a salt mine, at least so much as will meet the year's demand. The earth-floor of the spacious smoke-houses is made to yield up the briny drippings with which it has been saturated year after year. The earth is dug up to the depth of two or three feet, and "leeches" in the same manner that thrifty housewives in many countries still "leech" ashes—that is to say, a stream of hot water is made to slowly percolate the briny earth, and in its passage dissolves the saline substance, which is afterwards, by an equally simple process, clarified and crystallized. As much as twenty bushels have been thus obtained from one old smoke-house, at no greater cost than a little fuel.

It was no easy matter to furnish several hundred thousand men with blankets during the cold winter months. An entire population stripped their beds of coverings, and the floors of their houses of carpets. Heavy cotton counterpanes and quilts of household manufacture have in nearly every Southern homestead taken the place of the woollen coverings which alone suit the rough uses of the camp. Every old woman or little girl that can ply a knitting-needle makes socks and mittens for the army. As the whole country is a huge camp, so is it also a huge workshop, in which no one is idle, and in which all work for the same common object. When a people is animated by such a spirit, the sum total of its individual wealth is at the command of those to whom it entrusts its destinies.

The question may be asked, where the labour can be found for the various industrial pursuits to which the war has either given rise or imparted a sudden activity, in a country in which every able-bodied man is a soldier. Female labour, employed to a much greater extent than heretofore in the South, serves as a partial substitute. The most important works, however, which require skilled labour, are carried on by the Government with artisans selected from the ranks of the army, a fixed rate of extra pay

being allowed in such cases. In this manner a large number of establishments have, with the consent of their proprietors, become temporarily Government property. Thus the public arsenals, foundries, and dockyards are manned, and officers are required to report any men in their command who are fitted, by their previous trades and occupations, for such employments.

It will be easily understood that a country with such varied natural resources, both agricultural and mineral, requires but the stimulus of a great necessity to supply all its wants. Heretofore the fertility of its soil and the monopoly in the production of a great staple, have made it cheaper to buy certain commodities than to manufacture them. The war and the blockade have exactly reversed these conditions. The coal and iron mines, in which the South is rich, are now more productive than the teeming alluvial soils; and it is more profitable to manufacture soap, oil, candles, or leather, than to plant cotton. The difficulty was in the transition from the one industry to the other, and it diminishes in proportion as the national activity accustoms itself to its new channels. Hence the South suffered the greatest privations in the beginning of the war, because it had not then learned to supply its own necessities. Every day now renders the blockade less oppressive.

There is, indeed, a danger that if the war continues many years, the manufactures which are its artificial creation may become permanently rooted, and the South cease to be the same profitable market to the industry of Europe. The American colonies became manufacturers under the pressure of the War of Independence. The Continental blockade, by cutting off colonial produce, bestowed upon France and Belgium a new industry in the culture of the beet root, which has become permanent and important. A similar result to the South was foreshadowed in one of the earliest Messages of President Davis, as the inevitable consequence of the long continuance of the blockade.

The Northern Press and the French Proposal.

The news of the correspondence between the Governments of England and France in regard to the proposal of mediation in the American quarrel appears to have taken the people, and especially the editors of the North, completely by surprise. It was so completely unexpected—nay, so contrary to expectation—that they know not what to make of it. They had steadily refused to understand the feeling which the useless protraction of the war, and the severe sufferings which it entailed on all neutral nations, had provoked in Europe. They chose to persuade themselves that the people everywhere sympathised with them; that nowhere was there any sense of wrong suffered from them, of unprovoked insults received at their hands; that no one resented the wretchedness which had been caused by their acts, or the wanton outrages on international law and on the rights of neutrals of which the North has been constantly guilty. They fancied, or pretended to fancy, that they had no enemies in Europe who were not also the enemies of liberty; that none wished to see the war ended by a final dissolution of the Union but those who hated the Union on purely political grounds. They insisted on it that the South had no friends except those who were unfriendly to the North for some unworthy purpose of their own; they asseverated over and over again that all Europe wished well to the Federal cause, except the aristocracy of England. That England was anxious to interfere and to ally herself with the South, but was restrained by fear of France, was one of the favourite assertions of the Republican press. Europeans were better informed, but the information of Europe is not practically accessible to the people of the Northern States. While every one in England knew that France regarded with the utmost impatience the interruption of trade, the ruin of the cotton manufacture, the injury to the best interests of humanity

involved in the prolongation of the American war, and was most anxious to terminate that war as early as possible—the Government of England holding back, and wishing to remain absolutely neutral as long as neutrality was possible—the Northern public was taught to believe that only the friendship of France for the Federal Government, her warm sympathy with Northern Abolitionism, her desire for the restoration of the Union, her admiration for the heroic Pope and the chivalrous Butler, prevented England from interfering to complete by force of arms the disruption of the great Republic of which she entertained an envy quickened by well-founded fear. Such was the creed professed by Northern journalists, and believed by the multitudes of their readers. The announcement that Napoleon III. had proposed to the English Government to tender the good offices of the two Powers, and, if possible, to obtain the co-operation of Russia, in order to bring about an immediate suspension of hostilities and an ultimate peace, and that this proposal had been decidedly declined by the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, astounded the editorial mind of New York. The writers who had so diligently misrepresented the attitude and policy of the two Courts knew not what to say for themselves. They had not calculated on an occurrence which should give the lie direct to all that they had been saying since the outbreak of the war. They could not think of any explanation; they were compelled to say something; and they have expressed themselves as lamely, mysteriously, and ambiguously as they could, waiting for some indication of popular sentiment, or some unusual inspiration of wit, which may enable them to adopt their interpretation of the present policy of the two European Powers to their past theories and to the temper of the public. Only one thing seemed clear to them. England was to be abused at any rate; that was sure to be a safe and popular cry; but what she was to be abused for, and what was to be pointed out as the course which honour and justice would have dictated to her, had to be left for future consideration.

"One man," says the proverb, "may steal a horse, while another is hanged for looking over the hedge." France can do nothing wrong in Northern eyes; England can do nothing that is not wrong. While it was supposed that England was likely to intervene, foreign intervention in American quarrels was denounced as an outrage, an insult, a crime that could only be met by an instant declaration of war. Whether it would have been so met is not certain; but it is beyond a doubt that every Republican organ amused the more intelligent and gratified the more rabid of its readers by declaring that any offer of foreign—that is, English—mediation would be the signal for a war which would reunite the North and South, annex Canada, liberate Ireland, and reduce Great Britain to the level of Greece or Holland. But circumstances alter cases. When it appears that France is disposed to tender her mediation, the cry against mediation is suddenly silenced; and we shall not be at all surprised if, on reflection, the refusal of England to mediate should produce a strong reaction, and encourage a desire, or the profession of a desire, for the aid of Europe to bring about a peace to which the North hardly sees its way without such aid. Certain it is that neither the Government nor the opposition organs have a word to say against the Emperor, while both are loud in denunciation of the English Government. The *New York Times* gently complains that France should have "indicated her willingness to interpose her influence to stop the war at a moment when all the advantages in a military aspect are in favour of the Union." The organ of the dominant party could hardly say less than this; and inasmuch as every one knows that the military position of the Federal Government is not favourable, that its armies are not "larger or more efficient" than they were a year ago, and that it has no chance of being able, for a century to come, to deal "the finishing blow to the rebellion," this complaint is almost a compliment. The *New York Herald* contrives to find occasion actually to compliment the Emperor.

He has been the "means of setting at rest, officially and decidedly, the idea that had possession of many minds, that the leading Powers of Europe would interfere in our domestic affairs, and thus destroy us as a nation." This sort of obsequious meanness will hardly find favour in the eyes of a people like the French; but it serves to set off as strongly as possible the virulent hatred to England, which is the ruling passion of the Republicans, and the favourite affectation of the Democrats. The former affirm that the English Ministers "consider the Union as a nuisance that ought to be abated;" and insinuate that while France intended a "friendly mediation," England looked to the possibility of a hostile intervention against the Federal Government, and would have been disposed to accept the proposal, with a view to that end, if she could have relied on the co-operation of Russia. This is marvellously silly. If war or dictation were meditated, the aid of Russia could not be required. She has no means of offensive warfare that could be dangerous to the United States, nor have France and England any need of her assistance for any hostile purpose. Either of them could in three months annihilate the whole maritime power of America, and compel every Northern garrison on the Southern coast to choose between starvation and surrender. It was only for purposes of peace—only in the interests of conciliation—that the co-operation of the Court of St. Petersburg, as the most trusted friend of the United States' Government, could be desired; and the stress laid by the English Government on the necessity of Russian support was the strongest proof that could be afforded of their anxiety in any case to prevent a mediation intended to be friendly and peaceful from becoming, through the obstinate perversity of the Cabinet at Washington, a forcible and peremptory intervention. The dishonest ingenuity of the *New York Times*, in attempting to give to this circumstance a signification exactly opposite to that which it really and obviously bears, is a proof of the obtuseness of the Northern people, and of the malice of the Republican press, whenever the conduct of England is in question. The Democrats are still more perverse. According to them, England perseveres in her neutrality in the hope that North and South will destroy each other, "when she can step in and gather up the pieces for her own aggrandizement." Both parties try to persuade themselves that it is the fear of Northern strength and Northern vengeance that has deterred England from interfering, even with the assistance of France—an error of which it would be difficult to disabuse the rabble of New York, but which cannot be shared by any who have had the advantage of practical experience in the conduct of affairs.

The object of the Democrats is very obvious. They wish to convince the South that there is no hope of European intervention; that the Confederate Government has no friends abroad; that it must succumb; and that the best policy for the South is to return to the Union, and, with the aid of its Northern allies, take ample vengeance on the Abolitionists and the Black Republicans, re-establish on a sure basis its ascendancy at home, and revenge itself by war for the refusal of England to recognize its independence. Of course there is not the least chance that the Southern States will ever consent on any terms to return to political fellowship with the countrymen of Seward and Butler, Turchin and McNeil; but the Democrats continue to hope against hope, and are not yet persuaded that their idol is irreparably shattered.

Nothing can be more clear than that the English Government made a terrible mistake in refusing the proposition of the Emperor of the French. They have contrived to offend everybody—their own countrymen, who are by their cowardice condemned to suffer for another year the miseries entailed by the cotton famine; their ally, who feels himself deceived, ill-treated, and left in the lurch; the Northerners, who would have been offended in any case, who hated England mortally before the question of intervention was discussed, and whose hatred could not have been more embittered by the acceptance than it has been by the rejection of the French

proposal; and the Confederates, who have not a little reason to complain of the hostile attitude assumed by a Government professing a perfect neutrality, and representing a nation towards which the Southern people have always entertained a sentiment of loyal and cordial attachment.

We would fain hope that the English Ministry will learn at last that their dream of conciliating the goodwill of the North is utterly delusive. No what she may, England will be hated by the mongrel, half Hibernicized population of the Northern States, as a Northern organ lately promised, "until the last American now living shall have gone to his grave." If she desire friends in America, she can find them only in those Southern States which her present rulers have done their best to alienate and disgust. Happily, the Southerners are not ignorant that the English nation is one thing and the present Government another; and that the feeling of the former is only nominally and officially represented by the action of the latter. The policy of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet favours the aggressive, insolent, and worthless North; the sympathies of England are heartily with the gallant people who are defending, against overwhelming odds, the honour and the independence, the homes and the altars of the South.

The Sleswig-Holstein Question.

The Sleswig-Holstein question is the *bête noire* of the present generation of newspaper readers and writers. The readers frankly avow that they don't understand it, and the writers, if they could be frank, would, nine-tenths of them, make the same confession. The controversy is now so old and has changed its form so frequently—at one time concerning itself with musty muniments, then with revolutions and Provisional Governments, and now with the meaning of treaties and despatches; has been fought throughout on such false grounds and obscured so constantly by violent national feelings—that it requires a most laborious investigation to master it and a constant reference to keep up that mastery, and appreciate the new phases into which it is continually entering. *Le jeune ouit pas en chandelle*, most of our *confireres* would say. Even Earl Russell, who has undertaken to settle the dispute, has a most imperfect acquaintance with its history. In his last despatch to Copenhagen he bases his whole argument upon two gross blunders as to facts, yet the question is one which the public ought to understand. It is likely enough, one of these days, to set the north of Europe in a blaze. It is the one question which stirs the heart of Germany, kindling an almost equal enthusiasm in North and South. We shall therefore attempt its history for our readers.

The history of Sleswig-Holsteinism has two parts—the one apparently forgotten, no longer referred to in those negotiations as to the meaning of the treaties that closed it, which form the second part of the history; but the knowledge of which is nevertheless essential for the appreciation of the question in its present aspects.

The origin and the support of Sleswig-Holsteinism are to be found in those vehement aspirations to make a great German nation which for fifty years have tortured the Teutonic mind. Instead of trying to make something out of what they had, they began by insisting upon having what they could not get. Before they can begin to make their nation they must possess themselves of all its territory, and that is every bit of land in which the German language is spoken. Where German sounds there is German land; there are brothers who are to be brought back to the fold, or rather, to whom the fold is to be extended. In virtue of this programme France is to be asked to give up Alsace; in virtue of it Denmark is asked to give up Sleswig.

The King of Denmark is a member of the German Confederation as Duke of Holstein and Lauenberg; and, so far as these duchies are concerned, is subject to the laws of the Confederation. These laws provide that Constitutions, based upon a representation of Estates, should be established in all Federal States, and impose upon the Diet the duty

to secure the fulfilment of this article, and, to a certain extent, to define the limits of the rights of these Estates. This right it has, with the one exception of Holstein and Lauenberg, used to rob the people of Germany of rights which they had extorted from their Sovereigns. In the case of Holstein it has exercised the right to assist the Estates against the King. And for this reason: although Holstein, as a fief of the German Empire, was part of Germany, and Sleswig at no time formed a portion of it, and therefore did not enter the Confederation when formed in 1815, there had long subsisted a close connection between the two duchies. The inhabitants of the part of Sleswig bordering upon Holstein are Germans, and the two duchies had certain public institutions in common. For many years an agitation had been fostered in the duchies to make that union a more intimate one, and to add Sleswig to the lands of the German Confederation. The agitation found its chief nourishment in the difficulties relative to the succession to Holstein. The Danish Royal family in the male race was dying out. The *Lex Regia* undoubtedly gave the succession to Denmark proper and Sleswig to the female line, but there was a question whether Holstein would follow that law, or whether, by the purely Salique succession then prevailing, it would not, in the event of a female ascending the Danish throne, pass to some other heir. A pretender presented himself in the shape of the Duke of Augustenburg, and he, to obtain a crown, and the German party, to secure a hearing, then set up the pretensions which are known as Sleswig-Holsteinism. These pretensions amount to this—that Sleswig is indissolubly connected with Holstein, not as a province of the Danish Crown, but in virtue of certain old stipulations and arrangements; that Sleswig therefore must follow the fate of Holstein; that the two provinces should be connected in one State, and as such be admitted into the German Confederation. The grounds alleged for these pretensions, are, first, to prove that Sleswig is an independent State, and not incorporated in the Danish Crown, a promise said to be contained in the old charters or Constitutions of 1326 and 1448, that South Jutland should never be incorporated with the Danish Crown. To which the Danes, denying, first, all existence of the charters, then the power of the makers, if the charters did exist, to make such a promise, oppose the fact of the incorporation of the duchy into the Crown in 1721. And next, to prove the indissoluble union between Sleswig and Holstein, a statute of 1460, promising that the duchies should remain for ever undivided. To which the Danes reply by a different interpretation of the promise, and the allegation that, as Holstein was then a part of the German Empire, union between the two duchies was impossible, and that even if a close union did at one time exist, it has ceased since 1721, when Sleswig was incorporated into the monarchy.

On the 20th of January, 1848, Frederick VII. ascended the throne of Denmark, and in the very first week of his accession—before, be it noted, Paris had kindled the flame which went through Europe—promised his people a Constitution and explained its leading features. It was of an extremely liberal character, establishing a common representation for the whole monarchy. But the Germans in Sleswig and the Holsteiners had their hearts set upon a union between the two duchies, and an independent position for the united States within the monarchy. Excited by the revolution in Paris, encouraged by Prussia, a meeting of members of the two Estates demanded of the King the convocation of the Estates of the two duchies in one assembly, for consultation upon a Constitution for Sleswig Holstein, and to consent to the reception of Sleswig into the German Confederation. Before the answer to this demand—a refusal—arrived, they had broken out into insurrection, and established a Provisional Government. The King of Prussia, who had just been worsted in a street fight in Berlin, sent his troops for "the defence of the German cause." The Parliament which met at Frankfort upon its own authority, but to which the Diet at once

succumbed, immediately declared Sleswig German territory, as well as Posen and parts of East and West Prussia; the one on the ground that it was German; the others on the opposite ground, that they were not German. And then commenced the long conflict of arms and negotiation, from which Denmark, on the whole, came off victoriously. She vanquished the rebellion in Sleswig. She obtained from the great Powers the signature of a protocol in favour of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, the signature of a treaty regulating the succession to the Danish throne for the whole of the monarchy, and removing all danger of the separation of Holstein; and lastly, an agreement by which, although Denmark undertook some onerous obligations with respect to Holstein and the whole monarchy, she obtained the formal abandonment of the Sleswig-Holstein theory by Austria, Russia, and the German Confederation. It is upon the interpretation of this engagement that the question now turns; all the claims to an indissoluble union between Sleswig and Holstein, or to the admission of the former within the Confederation, are abandoned. All that Denmark has to do is to fulfil the stipulation contained in an annexe to an Austrian despatch of the 26th of December, 1851, giving an interpretation, to which she has assented, of a Danish despatch of the 6th of December.

The Sleswig-Holstein question therefore, in its present form, seems to be one which admits of an easy solution; its earlier history explains why it does not. Germany was defeated in the attempt to get possession of Sleswig, but the defeat and the tumult at the time only strengthened the passion. She desires to give the largest possible extension to the engagements made by Denmark, and endeavours to wear out Denmark by maintaining disaffection and hostility in Holstein, and, as far as is possible, in Sleswig too. In this contract Germany acquiesces not only in the abandonment of the claims of Sleswig-Holstein to closer connection, but also in the dissolution of that administrative one which had formerly prevailed. On the other hand, the King of Denmark promised not to incorporate Sleswig with the kingdom, and also to establish a common Constitution for the whole of the monarchy, and resuscitate, with a view to their development by mutual arrangement, the Provincial Estates of the different parts of the monarchy. On the 28th of January, 1852, the King of Denmark published a proclamation, in which he announced this alteration to his people, and, among other things, promised the Danish and German nationalities in Sleswig "perfectly equal rights and effective protection." It was not easy to carry out these stipulations; Austria and Prussia had warned the King not to be too liberal, and had remonstrated against the electoral law prevailing in the Rigsraad or Parliament for Denmark proper. At last, however, in October 1855, the common Constitution was published. It established a common representation for common affairs, and defined what these common affairs were—foreign affairs, army, navy, customs, public debts, &c. This common representation, called the Rigsraad, was composed of eighty members allotted to the different parts of the country according to their population; the kingdom having 47, Sleswig 13, Holstein 18, and Lauenberg 2. The Holstein Estates objected to the new organization; they complained that the competency of the Provincial Estates had been restricted. Austria and Prussia took up their complaint, and insisted that the Estates should have the power of amending the Constitution. Denmark made many attempts to bring about an understanding, but at last the Diet resolved that the common Constitution was at variance with the Federal laws, and therefore legally void; and Denmark, giving way to avoid Federal execution, revoked, on the 6th of November, 1858, the common Constitution for Holstein and Lauenberg. The Danish Government made many attempts to effect an arrangement, but the Holstein Estates put forward the extraordinary proposition, that although Denmark was to contribute to the budget in accordance with its population and wealth, it should only have an equal share with Lauenberg and Holstein

in fixing the annual budget, and in common legislation; in other words, that Lauenberg with its 50,000, Sleswig with its 100,000, and Holstein with its 550,000 inhabitants should each have as much power in making laws and fixing taxes as Denmark proper with its 1,600,000 inhabitants; nay, even worse, that Lauenberg or Holstein shall have the power of vetoing the budget, or any law. Whilst these debates were on, the German Powers raised the question of Sleswig, which had hitherto rested. They complained that the language regulations adopted in that duchy were not in accordance with the terms of the King's proclamation of 1852, and were unjust to the German inhabitants. The Danes denied the injustice, and also the right of the German Powers to interfere in Sleswig. The German Powers have rejoined by demanding the revocation of the common Constitution for Sleswig—that is to say, its annulment altogether, and the establishment of a new Constitution, admitting the demands of the Holsteiners and Lauenbergers for an equal share in the common representation. Denmark has replied with a decisive negative. "Holstein and Lauenberg," she says, "are part of the German Confederation, and, therefore, unjust as your claims may be, we will do in their internal organization all you want; but we will not allow Holstein, a fifth part of the monarchy, to stop as it pleases, or rather, as the wires are pulled from Frankfurt or Berlin, the whole legislation or administration of our States. We shall maintain the common Constitution for Sleswig."

At length Earl Russell steps in with his famous proposition, which practically amounts to all that Prussia demands—a revocation of the common Constitution for Sleswig, and a new arrangement, which would give precisely the same power to little Lauenberg to set the monarchy in confusion as Prussia has required of it. Denmark has thanked Earl Russell for his interposition, but declined it, and his lordship, nettled at the refusal of his offer, has rejoined in a despatch, the argument of which, as we have said, rests upon some gross blunders. So stands the question now.

Whilst the discussion turns upon the meaning of certain engagements made by Denmark to Germany in 1851, the old question, which then seemed settled, is still uppermost in the German mind. The German nation has not abandoned its pretensions to Sleswig, and whenever a chance offers it will renew the fight.

The London Cattle Show.

A sarcasm is always stingy when it is associated with the truth, however much it may be undesired. English people have been extremely indignant with their gallant neighbours for calling them a nation of shopkeepers. Undoubtedly shop-keeping is one of our favourite and exceedingly developed institutions. No one can walk through the streets of London, or of any of the provincial towns, without being struck with the fact. A tradesman without a shop-front is an exception. It is, then, true that we are pre-eminently a nation of shopkeepers, but it is untrue that we are infected with the little-mindedness that is implied in the sarcasm. Our shopocracy, though extremely courteous behind the counter, is proud and haughty enough at all other times and places. Our nineteenth century John Gilpins at the sea-side are as exacting as dukes are supposed to be by the classes whom Belgravia speaks of as the "omnibus people," and away from home are not particularly reverential to a duke, unless his Grace happens to be a customer. Our shopkeepers are as jealous of the national honour as any other class, and are ready to support any Ministry that will do a little fighting. They heartily sympathise with our Imperial ambition and our pugnacity. Old John Company was often sneered at for being a mere trading corporation. Well, it managed to bequeath to us an empire which Alexander the Great could not have won by any amount of weeping or fighting.

Again, we are often called a manufacturing nation. So we are, beyond all other nations of the earth; but we have souls above cloth-making and turning out Sheffield and Birmingham ware. We are not afraid, in the matter of literature, for instance, to be compared with any people in Europe. Moreover, we are deeply attached to agricultural pursuits. If a man makes money by dealing in rags, or by a cotton-mill, or by the profession of the law, or by any means whatever, he betakes himself to farming. He may have been born within the sound of Bow bells, but as soon as he has fortune, he buys "a place" in the country, and regards himself as belonging to the country gentlemen, and, if he is well behaved, is as welcome at the meet as the broadacre squire whose fore-

father fought for King Charles I. But whether the country gentleman be a parvenu, or whether he is a nobleman, or an aristocratic commoner, he farms as well as let farms; and our gentlemen farmers are wonderfully ambitious of excelling in the breeding of cattle and sheep. A tale has been told of the surprise of the Norwegian peasantry that Englishmen should pay for the privilege of fishing in the rivers of Norway; for what is sport to their visitors is to them daily labour; and possibly some foreigners who designate us as a manufacturing nation, meaning thereby that we have no pretence to the character of an agricultural nation, would be surprised to hear that our nobility and gentry devote much time and money to farming; and if they are sceptical, they would be fully satisfied on the point by a visit to the Smithfield Club Cattle Show, which is now being held at the New Agricultural Hall, Islington.

Like most English institutions that are worth anything, the Cattle Show has been of slow growth. It began its career more than half a century ago, and its first meeting was in some livery stables in the now classic neighbourhood of Smithfield—then Smithfield was in its glory, then our weekly cattle market was held in the midst of the crowded city; and it seems but yesterday that an enthusiastic member of the Corporation of the City of London declared, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that the proximity of slaughter-houses added to the salubrity of a neighbourhood and the pleasantness of the atmosphere. The livery stables became too small for the exhibition, and sundry "yards" and a horse repository were hired by the Club. At length the Show had become fashionable, and, consequently, popular. At first the dealers and habitués of Smithfield were its main support, but soon farmers who farmed for the pleasure and honour of the thing entered into competition, and the regular breeders had to look to their laurels. A wit who visited Lord Erskine after his retirement from public life, found him studying "Coke upon Farming" with as much assiduity as in times gone by he had studied "Coke upon Lyttleton," and remarked, "Erskine thinks more of his sheep's wool than he did of the Woolsack." An Englishman is never so truly in earnest as when he is engaged in that which is not the actual business of his life, like the nobleman who had a carpenter's shop fitted up in his mansion, and thought he had lost a day unless he performed a fair day's work of twelve hours. In this spirit our gentlemen farmers and breeders no sooner heard of the Show than they determined to do their best to win the prizes; and the public, who like a fair fight for mastery, went, as a young son of Erin said, to look at the beef, mutton, and pork "all alive." The Club was in a difficulty. They wanted a larger building, but a larger building could not be procured within the fragrant smell of Smithfield—the odour so dear to the Corporation of London. They ventured on a movement westward, and engaged a place under the same roof that covers the gorgeous Wax-work Exhibition of Tassard's, so that the Cattle Show visitors, after feasting their eyes on fat cattle, might, if so minded, have a turn at the Chamber of Horrors. The migration to Baker-street took place in 1839, and since then the Show has been increasing from year to year, until Christmas without it would be nearly as bad as Christmas without holly and mistletoe. For the last few years the Club has been at its wits' ends for space. The large bazaar was not large enough for its purpose. The cattle, sheep, and pigs suffered considerably, and the visitors had to encounter a crush that was rather worse than a Jenny Lind crowd. Under these circumstances, some enterprising gentlemen determined to erect a commodious building, and as Smithfield market had been removed to Islington, they chose that quarter of the metropolis, instead of following the prevailing mania for South Kensington.

The New Agricultural Hall is large, which is not remarkable in these days of big ships and pantomimic dish-cover domes, but it happens to be a structure that is large without being ugly; which, it must be confessed, is rather an uncommon merit. The committee fortunately engaged the services of an architect, and not of an engineer who thinks the perfection of a building consists in it being ugly and big. We have no doubt that Mr. Owen Jones could have suggested some improvement in the way of internal colouring, but, fortunately, the New Agricultural Hall does not depend upon colouring and decoration for its pleasing effect. We only wish the architect of the new hall had had something to do with Trafalgar-square, and then the finest site in Europe would not have been the laughing-stock of that uncompromising and astute art critic, Mr. Punch.

We shall not offer any criticism upon the various specimens, although the temptation is strong upon us to say a few words upon the beef-giving shorthorns of the Duke of Beaufort, Earl Howe, Messrs. Eastwood, Tennant, &c., and on Mr. Foljambe's sheep, and Mr. Baker's pigs, and many of the 419 entries. If any one wishes to see cattle, sheep, and pigs in perfection, let him pay a visit to the Show, where there are some cattle as beautiful in their way as horses, and sheep that, if faithfully copied by Sir Edwin Landseer, would be the observed of all observers at the next exhibition of the Royal Academy. But we are not going to follow the example of the gentlemen of the provincial press, who always get enthusiastic and quote Virgil when they write about a cattle show, and generally select the lines in which a shepherd is described as amusing himself by an amateur musical performance. We do not mean this as a reproach to the London correspondents of country papers, for they do their best and do well; and if their quotations are inopportune, they are not inaccurate, but

are faithfully copied from the generally received text. We may, however, observe that the Show of 1862 is a proof of the advantage of the emulation engendered by open competition. Instead of mediocrity and little perfection, there is such universal excellence that the judges have had a difficult task in awarding the prizes. The awards are, no doubt, just, but to the uninitiated it is difficult, if not impossible, to discern the difference in merit between the cattle that have won the first and second prizes, or to understand how the judges could pass by some cattle and pigs that have no prizes. Such an exhibition as the Cattle Show does much to make the English breeds of cattle, sheep, and pigs, renowned throughout the world. Another and very marked improvement is, that mere fatness is not looked upon as commendable, and more regard is paid to the beef, mutton, and pork, that the animals will yield, than to mere size. There is fat enough and to spare, but there is not, as in years gone by, an exhibition of animated oil cake.

The new hall was visited on Saturday by the Prince of Wales, and it was meet that His Royal Highness, as the first gentleman in England, should patronize an exhibition in which the gentlemen of England take so great an interest. It will be a sorry day for this land when country sports and country pursuits cease to be fashionable. It was also peculiarly graceful for the Prince to give an *ec'at* to an exhibition to which his father contributed from year to year, and in which, as in other matters, he so well represented the feelings of his adopted country.

Sheridan Knowles.

If intellectual greatness were hereditary the literary reputation of James Sheridan Knowles might have been safely predicted; for his father was an author and a man of learning, and nearly related to the Sheridans. The late dramatist was born at Cork, in the year 1784, and at the age of eight years accompanied his father to London. His literary talent manifested itself when only twelve years old by the composition of a play for some private amateur actors; this was followed by the libretto of an *opéra*, and at fourteen years of age by a ballad called the "Welsh Harper," which had sufficient merit to procure him the friendship of William Hazlitt, and this in time brought him into contact with Coleridge and Lamb.

At the close of the last and the beginning of the present century these who entered on the career of authorship had generally to bear the burden of excessive poverty. That period may be described as the revolutionary era of literature. Lordly patronage, fulsome dedications, the humble waiting in the ante-chambers of the great, the author anxious not to offend his patron's *menials*, the servile practices of Grub-street, had been irrevocably condemned, and men of letters had raised the standard of independence. But even a bloodless revolution in custom is not made with rose-water, and it was a hard battle that had to be fought before the reading public made the profession of literature remunerative as well as honourable. Sheridan Knowles, from childhood to manhood, was, we may be sure, enured to difficulty. His father came to London to try his fortune as a teacher and as a lecturer on elocution; and fortunes in London are more often sought than found, and in those days were not realized without a long course of patient industry. It is likely enough the boy, flushed by the reception of the "Welsh Harper," thought fame and riches were within his grasp; and he did not give up without a persevering trial; but at the age of thirty-five his prospects were so gloomy that he resolved to become an actor; and made his first appearance at the Crow-street Theatre, Dublin. From Dublin he went to Waterford, where he had for a comrade Edmund Kean—the afterwards eminent tragedian being at the time engaged as "general utility," and who in that capacity had to do the comic business in the pantomime as well as to sustain the leading *rôle* in the stock pieces. Knowles did not make a hit as a player, and only eked out a subsistence by helping his father, who had taken up his abode at Belfast, in teaching elocution. But the experience of the boards was not thrown away, for, by gaining an intimate acquaintance with stage business, it enabled him to write plays that were not only remarkable for their literary excellence, but for their adaptability to representation. We often hear of, and cannot deny, the present superiority of French dramatists, and it is due to the labour bestowed by them in writing their plays with a view to the exigencies of the stage; whilst English dramatists have despised what they please to call stage elaptrap, and confine their attention to the construction of plot, and the smartness of dialogue.

The first acting piece produced by Knowles was one of those melo-dramas in which provincial audiences delight, and which was called "Leo, the Gipsy." Edmund Kean took the lead, and the play was a success. After this triumph, which did not fill the pockets of the author, Knowles for awhile abandoned the footlights and turned schoolmaster at Belfast, and in the intervals of teaching composed a drama founded on the life of Brian Boroihme, and the historical play of Caius Gracchus, both of which were successfully produced at the Belfast Theatre; the latter in 1815, and which was not only celebrated in the provinces but made the young dramatist known in London.

Meantime, the "general utility" of the Waterford Theatre had become the leading man at Drury Lane, and the rage with playgoers. The unknown provincial actor had come to London in that exceedingly Thespian conveyance, a waggon; had been

seen, and having risen in the morning a nobody, went to bed famous. The pit, he told his wife, "rose at him;" and he cared no more for the promised patronage of a noble lord who was remarkable for giving countenance to *successful* genius. The reputation of "Caius Gracchus" reminded Kean of his Waterford associate, and he wrote to him for a play founded on the story of Virginius. Before Knowles could prepare the work, a dull play by Soames was accepted by the Drury management, but "Virginius" was brought out at Covent Garden, Macready personating the hero; and in this and other plays the wish of the author that his old associate should sustain the chief part was not gratified. It was well for Knowles, though unfortunate for Kean, that this happened. We do not dispute the splendid ability of Edmund Kean, but his career was short, and Macready did full justice to the parts intended for his rival.

Knowles wrote a number of plays, of which none were complete failures, and some have kept the stage until this day. His best known plays are "The Wife," "The Hunchback," "The Love Chase," "William Tell," and "The Rose of Aragon." Though Knowles did not, as he expected, write for Edmund Kean, his dramas have been associated with the fame of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean.

It is unnecessary to offer any criticism on Sheridan Knowles as a dramatist. In that department of literature he excelled all his contemporaries. It would be as ridiculous to compare Sir E. B. Lytton to him as it would be to compare the plays of Mr. Tom Taylor to "The Lady of Lyons," "Richelieu," and "Money." The plays of Sheridan Knowles are intensely dramatic, without depending so much on the actors' art as not to be pleasant reading. There is no approach to the modern system of writing a drama for the display of the peculiar powers of a particular actor, but all the parts are fairly elaborated.

Not contented with his fame as a dramatist, Knowles again appeared on the stage, and with very little success. His best personation was that of Master Walter, in "The Hunchback," and even in that his performance did not rise above mediocrity. He twice visited America, and there his histrionic efforts were highly eulogised, and famous English actors might envy his Transatlantic reputation.

Mr. Knowles was twice married; his second wife, who survives him, was Miss Elphinstone, formerly celebrated as an actress. He did not make money enough from his writings and acting to provide for his latter days, and the late Sir Robert Peel conferred on him a pension of £200 a year out of the small fund appropriated in the Civil List for such purposes, and seldom has the Royal bounty been so well bestowed.

When Sheridan Knowles was advanced in years, the public were surprised by his reappearance, as a Baptist preacher and writer. In his new vocation he laboured with commendable zeal, until prostrated by the painful illness that resulted in his death on the 30th ult., in the 78th year of his age.

Reviews.

THE DESTINY OF MEXICO.*

Mexico is almost a *terra incognita* to Europe. Beyond some vague ideas about Mexican silver mines, and the atrocities committed by Mexican rulers, and that Mexico has an unpleasant habit of cheating her creditors, the general public knows nothing and cares nothing about that portion of the New World. Nor is this ignorance confined to the masses. In the late discussions about Mexico, provoked by the allied expedition, some of our public writers treated the matter much as they do the Greek revolution—as insignificant in itself, and deriving its sole importance from the probability of involving a European complication. Provided England, France, and Spain did not quarrel, the fate of Mexico was not worth the slightest consideration. Who would have gathered, from the tone of many of our able and generally well-informed contemporaries, that Mexico was, with the exception of Russia, a country of greater territorial dimensions than any European country—a country on which are lavished the best gifts of nature—a variety of climate, for most part healthy, and suitable for the rapid and abundant growth of all kinds of products—a country abounding in mineral wealth—a country, from its geographical situation and its geographical characteristics, adapted for carrying on a vast and highly profitable commerce? Mexico only requires a homogeneous people, or, at all events, a strong Government, to become rich and powerful. Not having the first, the second becomes indispensable. A strong people may sometimes prosper with a weak Government, but a conglomeration of indolent hybrid races cannot thrive unless directed by the energies of those whom it is not only a duty to obey, but who have sufficient power to enforce obedience. It is to be regretted that the true condition of Mexico is not better appreciated, for the

first step towards the cure of an evil is to make it patent to the world. If we had been as familiar with the affairs of Mexico as we are with those of Greece, the prompt proceeding of the Emperor of the French would have excited far deeper interest than it has done, and Englishmen would not have been pleased with the English withdrawal from the expedition, unless the strongest reasons could have been given for so doing. If the combined Powers, or France alone, put an end to Mexican anarchy, and bestow upon the unhappy country a strong Government, not only Mexico, but commerce generally, will be immensely benefited. It is, however, by no means easy to understand the present misery of Mexico and the remedy for it, because to do so we must thoroughly acquaint ourselves with the cause of it, and that dates back to the time of the Spanish conquest and colonization.

The almost universal impression is, that Spanish cruelty is the cause of the ruin of Mexico. We are not disposed to defend or even to extenuate the harsh conduct of the Spaniards. We reject, of course, the extravagant calculation of Las Casas, that twelve millions of the natives perished through the treatment of their conquerors, whilst we admit the havoc must have been terrible, as is always the case when a superior race settles in a country inhabited by an inferior race. The Spaniards had peculiar difficulties to encounter; for they had not to colonize a country of which the aboriginal population was scarce and barbarous. The Spaniards found in Mexico cities and towns, and a civilized community—highly civilized, though widely different from the civilization of Europe. Before they could take possession they had to kill, and this was done to an extent that to this day reflects disgrace on Spain. Yet the Spanish Government did not sanction a policy of extermination. The mandates that issued from Madrid for the government of Mexico were singularly humane, and so far effectual that the destruction of the Indians was arrested, and they enjoyed social privileges such as at that period the people of the freest Governments in Europe might have envied—such as are not enjoyed by the serfs of Russia. The Spanish Government resolved to deal with them as if they were an equal race, and the Kings of Spain became the efficient protectors of the Indians.

We have said the Mexicans were an inferior race, and, in fact, they were and are, perhaps, the most servile people on the face of the earth. The negro, in his savage state, is superior to them as far as personal courage is concerned. The Indian tribes to the north of the Rio Grande are haughty and warlike. The presence of the white man has not tamed their native independence; they are slaveholders, but not slaves, and are to the negro a dominant race. The Spaniards met with a people altogether different in character. The Indians on the south of the Rio Grande were, and their descendants are, wanting in courage, and ready to submit to the will of a conqueror; and so great was their pusillanimity that it was commanded by the King of Spain that the negroes should not oppress the Indians, and that Indian villages should not be molested by negroes, though when this regulation was made the negroes were comparatively few in number, and were in a state of slavery. It is impossible, we think, to cite a more remarkable instance of the exceeding carefulness and humanity of the Spanish Government, or a more convincing proof of the inferiority of the aboriginal Mexicans.

The Spanish colonists were not, under any pretence, permitted to enslave the Indians, and their assignment to them as serfs was of such a nature that oppression, if the laws were faithfully administered, was impossible. The Indians, so long as they paid their tribute, were free from the control of their Spanish masters, and that this tribute was not onerous we may gather from this:—that 4 per cent. of the persons constituting an *encomienda*—that is, the inhabitants of a village or defined tract of country, could—in a few months, gain sufficient by service in mines, or by some occupation out of their proper district, to make up this tribute. Mr. Helps remarks that even this small amount of compulsory labour was only permitted on account of the overpowering indolence of the Indians. The Spanish colonists were not allowed to exact personal service. If the fixed tribute was paid, they had no authority to make an Indian engage in any labour out of his village. Under no circumstances were more than four in the hundred of the adult males of an *encomienda* permitted to leave their settled locality, except when employed in agriculture, and then 10 per cent. were allowed for twenty weeks in the year; and so soon as the specified term of their extra local labour expired they were bound to return to their village, and the same men could not immediately be sent out again. That this regulation was solely for the protection of the Indians may be seen by the permission granted to the surplus labourers of an *encomienda* to hire themselves

* The Spanish Conquest in America, and its relation to the History of Slavery, and to the Government of the Colonies. By Arthur Helps. Volume IV. (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn.)
Notes in Mexico in 1861 and 1862: Politically and Socially Considered. By Charles Lennox, D.C.L. (London: Longman and Co.)

as freemen to the Spaniards; care was taken that their wages should be fairly paid, and it was forbidden to pay them in wine—that is, the Indians were protected from the truck system, or payment in kind, to which English labourers were subject at the beginning of the present century. Thus the laws protected the serf, rather than the Spanish colonist; the latter could only demand his tribute, or, if that was not forthcoming, he could only exact a limited extra local service; on the other hand, the tribute being paid, the spare labour of the Indians was at their own disposal.

Nor were these laws deemed sufficient for the well-being of the Indians. Under no circumstances whatever could the Spaniards exact personal service. In 1609 a Royal order was issued, by which it was ordained that no Indian should, even for a crime, be condemned to give personal service to an individual colonist. And so far, an Indian convict was more jealously protected than a British convict, who, being transported, may lawfully be assigned to the service of a colonist; not, indeed, as part of his sentence, but as a modification of his punishment. Indians were not to be employed in climates differing from their native ones. They were not to be engaged in pearl fisheries, in sugar mills, in woollen manufactures, in vineyards, or in the cultivation of woad. The cultivation of *cocoa* was permitted, because of the stimulus and strength imparted to miners by eating its leaves; but even in this case the health of the Indians was as far as possible guarded from the effects of damp. The Indian was not to be so employed unless provided with a change of clothes, and the non-observance of this regulation subjected the employer to a heavy fine. Finally, the Indians, in order to be more efficiently cared for, were regarded by the law as minors, just as the negroes are in the Southern States.

We do not dispute the humanity of the Spanish Court, or its sincerity, but we cannot blind ourselves to the inconsistency of its treatment of the Indians. If they were so spiritless as to need protection from negroes, if they were so weak and inferior as to need to be dealt with as minors, how was it possible to make them useful, if their immediate employers were not to exercise any jurisdiction over them? How could it be expected that a community of children would thrive when the whole object of legislation was to make them independent of their masters? Mr. Helps remarks, with equal truth and candour, "The foregoing laws and the privileges of the Indians must have rendered labour scarce in the Spanish Indies." It did so, and the demand for negro labour increased, and negroes were imported in large quantities, the British being considerably engaged in the traffic, and obtaining, by the contract of 1713, almost a monopoly of the slave trade. It seems to us to have been a dangerous experiment to introduce negroes into a country peopled by a race in some respects inferior to the natives of Africa; but if Mexico was not to become a profitless waste, and the Indians were to be encouraged in their extraordinary indolence, negroes were indispensable. The negroes were treated with great indulgence. They were wellfed, and had an annual holiday of four months' duration—an indulgence that naturally led to tumults and murders. They were permitted to purchase their freedom, and to become serfs, with free election as to whom they would live with. Intermarriages were allowed between the races, and were frequent, for there is not the same repugnance between the Spaniard and the Indians or negroes, as between the Anglo-Saxon and the coloured races. The negroes were taught to read and write at a time when it was no disgrace to a middle-class Englishman to be unable to write his name. In a word, the Spanish system was to place superior and inferior races upon a political and social equality, and the work then commenced has been completed, so that in Mexico there is a very small proportion of pure white blood; and Indians and negroes are the political and social equals of the whites.

Mr. Helps concludes his laborious and valuable work before the period at which the result became manifest. We endorse his eulogy of the benevolence of the Spanish Government. Was it altogether a wise benevolence? Has the fruit been good or evil? Mr. Helps could not answer the question without a protest against that theory of the equality of races which, in writing history, he goes out of his way to support by unsound arguments, and unwarranted inferences. Let us glance at the testimony of an eye-witness as to the present condition of that country where all distinctions of race are forgotten.

Mr. Helps cannot complain of our selecting Mr. Lempriere as our authority, for so far as Mexico is concerned he is with him, and not against him. Mr. Lempriere does not profess to give us an elaborate treatise, and what we have is a mass of useful information rather loosely thrown together. He presents us

with his first impressions of the country, and with statistics that very conclusively dispose of his arguments. From Mr. Lempriere's views we totally dissent, but he is not therefore less reliable as an honest witness to facts. In 1861 and 1862 Mr. Lempriere visited Mexico. The whole country was infested with robbers, and even in the capital it was dangerous to be out after dark. It is impossible to summarise his description of the lawless state of the country, but it may easily be understood when we are told that from 1821 to 1860 there were thirty-six forms of government and seventy-two chief executives—that is, a new form of government and two rulers, on the average, were chosen every year. Undersuch circumstances it is a mockery to talk of government; it is simply anarchy. Mr. Lempriere tells us of a series of murders which were committed with an impunity which would be remarkable if they were committed in the Fiji Islands. Trade is at the lowest ebb. The total foreign exports are said to be \$28,000,000 per annum, or not a tenth of the exports of the Southern States, which have a population, including slaves and free, not more than a third larger than that of Mexico. But the \$28,000,000 is not a fair indication of the industry of the people of Mexico. Of this \$28,000,000 of exports \$23,000,000 consist of gold and silver, and as the mines are worked under the direction of foreigners, for foreign capitalists, and as far as possible with foreign labour, the amount of exports shows the riches of the country, and not the industry of its inhabitants; the total amount of exports which are the produce of native labour does not exceed \$6,000,000. We need not add to these statements, or comment on them. They show, most conclusively, what a wretched condition Mexico is reduced to, and that the experiment of the intermixture of races has signally and terribly failed. Yet it could not have been tried under more favourable auspices. The country teems with riches; the climate, or rather climates, are suitable for the various peoples, and, as we have above remarked, there was less repugnance with the Spaniards to intermarrying with the inferior races than there is with other white nations. Mr. Lempriere says one-fifth of the population is pure European blood, four-fifteenths native or indigenous blood, and eight-fifteenths mixed European and indigenous blood. This estimate does not agree with the general opinion which fixes the pure white blood at one-eighth of the entire population; but that more than one-half of the population is of mixed blood is sufficient to show how freely the races have intermarried. The consequence has been that the white race has not improved the coloured race, and that the mixed offspring is characterized by the indolence and lawlessness of the coloured people as well as by the vices peculiar to the whites.

What is likely to be the future of Mexico? Will the people go on from bad to worse, until depopulation invites colonization? Mr. Lempriere thinks that Mexico has reached the crisis of her fate. He says:—

In many of the United States' papers, speeches are to be read and lectures given on the desirability of getting a fresh supply of land for the great staple of the Southern States; but alas! it is always with the addition of the domestic institution. Not only could the wholesale importations of negro slaves enable the Southern States to get up a most enormous and lucrative trade in cotton from this country, but the inevitable result would be the enslaving of the four millions of wretched Indians who now drag on their existence at least in the enjoyment of a perfect personal liberty—a blessing which, in the absence of nearly every other, they inordinately value, if it is possible to put a limit on such a necessity to life; a consideration which, even more than the immense importance of opening up a new channel for the supply of Manchester and Rouen, ought to rouse the peoples of France and England to the value of Mexico as an independent and flourishing country: for if they do not in a very few months so ordain matters as to secure the independence of Mexico, the whole will as certainly be in the hands of the Southern States, and become a gigantic slave State, as any political proposition that was ever broached.

It happens that the Southern States are better adapted for the cultivation of cotton than Mexico, and that in the South there is an abundance of cotton lands capable of supplying the whole world with cotton, even if the present consumption of that staple should be quadrupled. The Southerners will not go abroad for cotton lands, seeing that they have the best at home, nor will they take their slaves to Mexico, seeing that they have more profitable employment for them in their present territory. But supposing the South had the intention attributed to it by Mr. Lempriere, we should be glad to learn how it can be effected. Assuming that there are four millions of Indians in Mexico, and that the South would undertake the task of reducing to order and holding in obedience such a lawless and degraded population, what is to become of the four millions of the mixed races and the whites? Are they, too, to be reduced to a state of slavery? If not, are Mulattoes to become slaveholders? Besides, the South has never attempted to enslave the Indians, and is not likely to do so. If any union between the Confederate States and Mexico were possible, it would be by the voluntary act of the people of the latter

country, and not by conquest. And if, as Mr. Lempriere says, four millions of Indians are to be enslaved, what need will there be of importing negroes? What, too, is to become of the present people of the soil? Are they to be driven into the Gulf of Mexico? The only wish of the South in regard to Mexico is, that order may prevail instead of the present anarchy. But even if England and France interfere, Mexico will not be regenerated in a few months or even years, and it is also certain that the condition of Mexico will not be improved until might controls the fancied right of the degraded and servile races to make the country an unproductive waste.

SHORT NOTICES.

Population and Trade in France in 1861-62. By FREDERICK MARSHALL. (London: Chapman and Hall.)

The author of this useful book is not of a sanguine temperament, but insists upon taking a gloomy view of things in general. We gather from his pages, as indeed we know to be the truth, that France has made, within the last few years, a wonderful material progress. The annual value of her agricultural produce is £280,000,000 sterling, and besides that, her foreign commerce has been developed with extraordinary rapidity. The success achieved by the commerce of France whilst crippled by a protective system gives us promise of the great things we may expect when our neighbours adopt the system of free trade in all its completeness. But Mr. Marshall is melancholy. The population of France does not increase so fast as he thinks it ought; and he gives some terribly dark hints about "voluntary sterility," and shrinking from "excessive or voluntary paternity." Now what are the facts? The population of France is increasing, though slowly. It is sufficiently large to enable it to keep up the largest army in Europe, and yet to continually increase the products of the soil and of the loom, and to carry on a great and ever-growing commerce. Although we are not frightened with the Malthusian chimera of over-population, since as yet the world is very thinly peopled, we nevertheless think it well for France that her population does not grow so fast as to need a large and organized system of emigration to avoid poverty and misery. Mr. Marshall is also a little depressed about the moral state of the French. There is too much individuality, and, therefore, too little unity of type. Many persons would consider this a very happy sign of moral advancement, and certainly it does not justify Mr. Marshall's regrets. Excepting the gloomy inferences, "Population and Trade in France in 1861-2," is a very able work.

The Story of Peter Parley's Own Life. Edited by FRANK FREEMAN. (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co.)

Samuel Goodrich was an American who determined to supply children with some books that should be quite as amusing as fairy tales, without being so foolish; and in 1823, when he made his first visit to England, he had an interview with the venerable Hannah More, that confirmed him in his intention. Hannah More had made truth attractive to young people, why should not Samuel Goodrich make truth attractive to children? Four years later the first volume of "Peter Parley's Tales" appeared; and this was followed by other volumes at frequent intervals, all of which were bought up with avidity, and were, and still are, eminently popular with children both here and in America. There is no doubt that Samuel Goodrich was of great service in raising the tone of children's literature, a task which many great writers have tried and failed.

Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles. By Mrs. HENRY WOOD. (London: Bentley.)

That the author of "East Lynne" should publish novels with the same rapidity that some writers produce magazine articles is not in itself a matter for very profound astonishment, for other novelists have done the same, and even exceeded her in this respect; but the marvel is, that though Mrs. Wood writes so much she writes so well; and, moreover, that beyond a slight family likeness between "Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles" and "The Channings," her works exhibit a charming variety of incident and character. Possibly the works so lately given to the public were long ago sketched and even elaborated in the author's mind, and that will account for the extraordinary fecundity of her pen. Of course she cannot continue at the present rate without repeating herself, or rather, producing poor facsimiles of her earlier novels. We cannot have too much of such good things as "East Lynne," "The Channings," and "Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles;" but if Mrs. Wood attempts to supply the public appetite, which in this case grows by what it feeds on, she will soon do little better than the legion of mediocrities who write silly novels for silly people.

THE FIRST GREAT BATTLE OF THE WAR.

[The subjoined description of the Battle of Manassas, called by the Federals "Bull Run," is the most complete and, in fact, the only intelligible account that has yet been published of an event of the true character of which Englishmen have but confused and contradictory ideas. It is extracted from a work recently published in Richmond, "The First Year of the War," by Mr. E. A. Pollard, to which we have before referred in our columns, and with which in our next impression we shall endeavour to make our readers better acquainted.]

General Scott, having matured his plan of battle, ordered General McDowell to advance on Manassas on Sunday, the 21st of July—three days after the repulse at Bull Run. The movement was generally known in Washington; Congress had adjourned for the purpose of affording its members an opportunity to attend the battle-field, and as the crowds of camp followers and spectators, consisting of politicians, fashionable women, idlers, sensation-hunters, editors, &c., hurried in carriages, omnibuses, gigs, and every conceivable style of vehicle across the Potomac, in the direction of the army, the constant and unfeigned jest was, that they were going on a visit to Richmond. The idea of the defeat of the Grand Army, which, in show, splendid boast, and dramatic accessories, exceeded anything that had ever been seen in America, seems never to have crossed the minds of the politicians who went prepared with carriage loads of champagne for festal celebration of the victory that was to be won, or of the fair dames who were equipped with opera-glasses, to entertain themselves with the model scenes of a battle, and the inevitable rout of "rebels." The indecencies of this exhibition of morbid curiosity and exultant hate are simply unparalleled in the history of civilized nations. Mr. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*, an eye-witness of the scene, describes the concourse of carriages and gaily-dressed spectators in the rear of the army on the morning of the battle of Manassas, as like a holiday exhibition on a race-course.

The scene was an extraordinary one. It had a beauty and grandeur, apart from the revolting spectacle of the bedizened and indecent rabble that watched from a hill in the rear of the army the dim outlines of the battle, and enjoyed the nervous emotions of the thunders of its artillery. The gay uniforms of the Northern soldiers, their streaming flags, and glistering bayonets, added strange charms to the primeval forests of Virginia. No theatre of battle could have been more magnificent in its addresses to the eye. The plains, broken by a wooded and intricate country, were bounded as far as the eye could see to the west by the azure combs of the Blue Ridge. The quiet Sabbath morning opened upon the scene, enlivened by moving masses of men; the red lights of the morning, however, had scarcely broken upon that scene with its landscapes, its forests and its garniture, before it was obscured in the clouds of battle. For long intervals nothing of the conflict was presented to those viewing it at a distance but wide and torn curtains of smoke and dust, and the endless beat of the artillery.

Orders had been issued by McDowell for the Grand Army to be in motion by two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, and on route for their different positions in time to reach them, and be in position by break of day. It was also ordered that they should have four days' rations cooked and stored away in their haversacks—evidently for the purpose of gaining Manassas, and holding it, until their supplies should reach them by the railroad from Alexandria. Thus stood the arrangements of the Northern forces on the evening preceding the battle of the 21st.

It is a remarkable circumstance of the Battle of Manassas, that it was fought on our side without any other plan than to suit the contingencies arising out of the development of the enemy's designs, as it occurred in the progress of the action. Several plans of battle had been proposed by General Beauregard, but had been defeated by the force of circumstances. He had been unwilling to receive the enemy on the defensive line of Bull Run, and had determined on attacking him at Centreville. In the meantime, General Johnston had been ordered to form a junction of his army corps with that of General Beauregard, should the movement, in his judgment, be deemed advisable. The best service which the army of the Shenandoah could render was to prevent the defeat of that of the Potomac. To be able to do this, it was necessary for General Johnston to defeat General Patterson or to elude him. The latter course was the most speedy and certain, and was, therefore, adopted. Evading the enemy by the disposition of the advance guard under Colonel Stuart, our army moved through Ashby's Gap to Piedmont, a station of the Manassas Gap railroad. Hence, the infantry were to be transported by the railway, while the cavalry and artillery were ordered to continue their march. General Johnston reached Manassas about noon on the 20th, preceded by the 7th and 8th Georgia regiments, and by Jackson's brigade, consisting of the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 27th, and 33rd Virginia regiments. He was accompanied by General Bee, with the 4th Alabama, the 2nd and two companies of the 11th Mississippi. The president of the railroad had assured him that the remaining troops should arrive during the day.

General Johnston, being the senior in rank, necessarily assumed command of all the forces of the Confederate States then concentrating at Manassas. He, however, approved the plans of General Beauregard, and generously directed their execution under his command. It was determined that the two forces should be united within the lines of Bull Run, and thence advance to the attack of the enemy, before Patterson's junction with McDowell, which was daily expected. The plan of battle was again disconcerted. In consequence of the untoward detention on the railroad of some five thousand of General Johnston's forces that had been expected to reach Manassas prior to the battle, it became necessary, on the morning of the 21st, before daylight, to modify the plan accepted, to suit the contingency of an immediate attack on our lines by the main force of the enemy, then plainly at hand. It thus happened that a battle ensued, different in place and circumstance from any previous plan on our side.

Our effective force of all arms, ready for action on the field on the eventful morning, was less than thirty thousand men. Our troops were divided into eight brigades, occupying the defensive line of Bull Run. Brigadier-General Ewell's was posted at the Union Mill's Ford; Brigadier-General D. R.

Jones' at McLean's Ford; Brigadier-General Longstreet's at Blackburn's Ford; Brigadier-General Bonham's at Mitchell's Ford; Colonel Cooke's at Ball's Ford, some three miles above, and Colonel Evans, with a regiment and battalion, formed the extreme left at the Stone Bridge. The brigades of Brigadier-General Holmes and Colonel Early were in reserve in rear of the right.

In his entire ignorance of the enemy's plan of attack, General Beauregard was compelled to keep his army posted along the stream for some eight or ten miles, while his wily adversary developed his purpose to him. The subsequent official reports of McDowell and his officers show that that commander had abandoned his former purpose of marching on Manassas by the lower routes from Washington and Alexandria, and had resolved upon turning the left flank of the Confederates.

The fifth division of his Grand Army, composed of at least of four brigades, under command of General Miles, was to remain at Centreville, in reserve, and to make a false attack on Blackburn's and Mitchell's Fords, and thereby deceive General Beauregard as to its intention. The first division composed of at least three brigades, commanded by General Tyler, was to take position at the Stone Bridge, and feign attack on that point. The third division, composed of at least three brigades, commanded by Heintzelman, was to proceed as quietly as possible to the Red House Ford, and there remain until the troops guarding that ford should be cleared away. The second division, composed of three or four brigades, commanded by Hunter, was to march, unobserved by the Confederate troops, to Sudley, and there cross over the run, and move down the stream to the Red House Ford, and clear away any troops that might be guarding that point, where he was to be joined by the third or Heintzelman's division. Together, these two divisions were to charge upon, and drive away, any troops that might be stationed at the Stone Bridge, when Tyler's division was to cross over and join them, and thus produce a junction of three formidable divisions of the Grand Army across the run, for offensive operations against the forces of General Beauregard, which the enemy expected to find scattered along the run for seven or eight miles—the bulk of them being at and below Mitchell's Ford, and so situated as to render a concerted movement by them utterly impracticable.

Soon after sunrise, the enemy appeared in force in front of Colonel Evans' position at the Stone Bridge, and opened a light cannonade. The monstrous inequality of the two forces at this point was not developed. Colonel Evans only observed in his immediate front the advance portion of General Schenck's brigade of General Tyler's division and two other heavy brigades. This division of the enemy's forces numbered nine thousand men and thirteen pieces of artillery—Carlisle's and Ayres' batteries—that is, nine hundred men and two six-pounders confronted by nine thousand men and thirteen pieces of artillery, mostly rifled.

A movement was instantly determined upon by General Beauregard to relieve his left flank, by a rapid, determined attack with his right wing and centre on the enemy's flank and rear at Centreville, with precautions against the advance of his reserves from the direction of Washington.

In the quarter of the Stone Bridge, the two armies stood for more than an hour engaged in slight skirmishing, while the main body of the enemy was marching his devious way through the "Big Forest," to cross Bull Run some two miles above our left, to take our forces in flank and rear. This movement was fortunately discovered in time for us to check its progress, and ultimately to form a new line of battle nearly at right angles with the defensive line of Bull Run.

On discovering that the enemy had crossed the stream above him, Colonel Evans moved to his left with eleven companies and two field pieces to oppose his advance, and disposed his little force under cover of the wood, near the intersection of the Warrenton turnpike and the Sudley-road. Here he was attacked by the enemy in immensely superior numbers.

The enemy, beginning his detour from the turnpike, at a point nearly half way between Stone Bridge and Centreville, had pursued a tortuous narrow track of a rarely-used road, through a dense wood, the greater part of his way, until near the Sudley-road. A division under Colonel Hunter, of the Federal regular army, of two strong brigades, was in the advance, followed immediately by another division, under Colonel Heintzelman, of three brigades, and seven companies of regular cavalry, and twenty-four pieces of artillery, eighteen of which were rifle guns. This column, as it crossed Bull Run, numbered over sixteen thousand men, of all arms, by their own accounts.

Burnside's brigade—which here, as at Fairfax Court-house, led the advance at about 9.45 a.m., debouched from a wood in sight of Evans' position, some five hundred yards distant from Wheat's Louisiana battalion. He immediately threw forward his skirmishers in force, and they became engaged with Wheat's command. The Federals at once advanced, as they report officially, the 2nd Rhode Island regiment volunteers, with its vaunted battery of six thirteen-pounder rifle guns. Sloan's companies of the 4th South Carolina were then brought into action, having been pushed forward through the woods. The enemy, soon galled and staggered by the fire, and pressed by the determined valour with which Wheat handled his battalion, until he was desperately wounded, hastened up three other regiments of the brigade and two Dahlgren howitzers, making in all quite three thousand five hundred bayonets and eight pieces of artillery, opposed to less than eight hundred men and two six-pounder guns.

Despite this odds, this intrepid command, of but eleven weak companies, maintained its front to the enemy for quite an hour, and until General Bee came to their aid with his command.

General Bee, moving towards the enemy, guided by the firing, had selected the position near the now famous "Henry House," and formed his troops upon it. They were the 7th and 8th Georgia under Colonel Bartow, the 4th Alabama, 2nd Mississippi, and two companies of the 11th Mississippi regiments, with Imboden's battery. Being compelled, however, to sustain Colonel Evans, he crossed the valley, and formed on the right and somewhat in advance of his position. Here the joint force, little exceeding five regiments, with six field pieces, held the ground against about fifteen thousand Federal troops. A fierce and destructive conflict now ensued—the fire was withering on both sides, while the enemy swept our short thin lines with their numerous artillery, which, according to their official reports, at this time consisted of at least ten rifle guns and four howitzers. For an hour did these stout-hearted men, of the blended commands of Bee, Evans, and Bartow, breast an unintermitting battle-storm, animated surely by something more than the ordinary courage of even the bravest men under fire.

Two Federal brigades of Heintzelman's division were now brought into action, led by Rickett's superb light battery of

six ten-pounder rifle guns, which, posted on an eminence to the right of the Sudley-road, opened fire on Imboden's battery. At this time, confronting the enemy, we had still but Evans' eleven companies and two guns—Bee's and Bartow's four regiments, the two companies 11th Mississippi under Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, and the six pieces under Imboden and Richardson. The enemy had two divisions of four strong brigades, including seventeen companies of regular infantry, cavalry, and artillery, four companies of marines, and twenty pieces of artillery. Against this odds, scarcely credible, our advance position was still for a while maintained, and the enemy's ranks constantly broken and shattered under the scorching fire of our men; but fresh regiments of the Federals came upon the field, Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division, as is stated in their reports, numbering over six thousand bayonets, which had found a passage across the run, about eight hundred yards above the Stone Bridge, threatened our right.

Heavy losses had now been sustained on our side, both in numbers and in the personal worth of the slain. The 8th Georgia regiment had suffered heavily, being exposed, as it took and maintained its position, to a fire from the enemy, already posted within a hundred yards of their front and right, sheltered by fences and under cover. The 4th Alabama also suffered severely from the deadly fire of the thousands of muskets which they so dauntlessly confronted under the immediate leadership of the chivalrous Bee himself.

Now, however, with the surging mass of over fourteen thousand Federal infantry pressing on their front and under the incessant fire of at least twenty pieces of artillery, with the fresh brigades of Sherman and Keyes approaching—the latter already in musket range—our lines gave back, but under orders from General Bee.

As our shattered battalions retired, the slaughter was deplorable. They fell back in the direction of the Robinson House, under the fires of Heintzelman's division on one side, Keyes' and Sherman's brigades of Tyler's division on the other, and Hunter's division in their rear; and were compelled to engage the enemy at several points on their retreat, losing both officers and men, in order to keep them from closing in around them. Under the inexorable stress of the enemy's fire the retreat continued. The enemy seemed to be inspired with the idea that he had won the field; the news of a victory was carried to the rear, and in less than an hour thereafter, the telegraph had flashed the intelligence throughout all the cities in the North, that the Federal troops were completing their victory, and premature exultations ran from mouth to mouth in Washington.

If the enemy had observed the circumstances and character of this falling back of a portion of our lines, it would have been enough to have driven him in consternation from the field. With the terrible desperation that had sustained them so long in the face of five-fold odds and the most frightful losses, our troops fell back sullenly; at every step of their retreat staying, by their hard skirmishing, the flanking columns of the enemy.

The retreat was finally arrested just in rear of the Robinson House by the energy and resolution of General Bee, assisted by the support of the Hampton Legion, and the timely arrival of Jackson's brigade of five regiments. A moment before, General Bee had been well-nigh overwhelmed by superior numbers. He approached General Jackson with the pathetic exclamation, "General, they are beating us back;" to which the latter promptly replied "Sir, we'll give them the bayonet." General Bee immediately rallied his over-tasked troops with the words, "There is Jackson standing like a stone-wall. Let us determine to die here, and we will conquer."

In the meantime, the crisis of the battle and the full development of the enemy's designs had been perceived by our generals. They were yet four miles away from the immediate field of action, having placed themselves on a commanding hill in rear of General Bonham's left, to observe the movements of the enemy. There could be no mistake now of the enemy's intentions, from the violent firing on the left and the immense clouds of dust raised by the march of a large body of troops from his centre. With the keenest impatience, General Beauregard awaited the execution of his orders of the morning; which were intended to relieve his left flank by an attack on the enemy's flank and rear at Centreville. As the continuous roll of musketry and the sustained din of the artillery, announced the serious outburst of the battle on our left flank, he anxiously, but confidently, awaited similar sounds of conflict from our front at Centreville. When it was too late for the effective execution of the contemplated movement, he was informed, to his profound disappointment, that his orders for an advance had miscarried.

No time was to be lost. It became immediately necessary to depend on new combinations, and to meet the enemy on the field upon which he had chosen to give us battle. It was plain that nothing but the most rapid combinations and the most heroic and devoted courage on the part of our troops could retrieve the field, which, according to all military conditions appeared to be positively lost.

About noon, the scene of the battle was unutterably sublime. Not until then could one of the present generation, who had never witnessed a grand battle, have imagined such a spectacle. The hill occupied in the morning by Generals Beauregard, Johnson and Bonham, and their staffs, placed the whole scene before one—a grand moving diorama. When the firing was at its height, the roar of artillery reached the hill like that of protracted thunder. For one long mile the whole valley was a boiling crater of dust and smoke. Occasionally the yells of our men, in the few instances in which the enemy fell back, rose above the roar of artillery. In the distance rose the Blue Ridge, to form the dark background of a most magnificent picture.

The condition of the battle-field was now, at the least, desperate. Our left flank was overpowered, and it became necessary to bring immediately up to their support the reserves not already in motion. Holmes' two regiments and battery of artillery, under Captain Lindsey Walker, of six guns, and Early's brigade were immediately ordered up to support our left flank. Two regiments from Bonham's brigade, with Kemper's four six-pounders, were also called for, and Generals Ewell, Jones, (D.R.) Longstreet and Bonham were directed to make a demonstration to their several fronts to retain and engross the enemy's reserves and any forces on their flank, and at and around Centreville.

Dashing on at headlong gallop, General Johnston and General Beauregard reached the field of action not a moment too soon. They were instantly occupied with the re-organization of the heroic troops, whose previous stand in stubborn and patriotic valour has nothing to exceed it in the records of history. It was now that General Johnston impressively and gallantly charged to the front, with the colours of the 4th Alabama Regiment by his side. The presence of the two generals with the troops under fire, and their example

had the happiest effect. Order was soon restored. In a brief and rapid conference, General Beauregard was assigned to the command of the left, which, as the younger officer, he claimed, while General Johnston returned to that of the whole field.

The battle was now re-established. The aspect of affairs was critical and desperate in the extreme.

Confronting the enemy at this time, General Beauregard's forces numbered, at most, not more than six thousand five hundred infantry and artillery, with but thirteen pieces of artillery, and two companies of Stuart's cavalry.

The enemy's force now bearing hotly and confidently down on our position—regiment after regiment of the best equipped men that ever took the field—according to their own official history of the day, was formed of Colonels Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions, Colonels Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division, and of the formidable batteries of Ricketts Griffin and Arnold regulars, and 2nd Rhode Island, and two Dahlgren howitzers—a force of over twenty thousand infantry, seven companies of regular cavalry, and twenty-four pieces of improved artillery. At the same time, perilous, heavy reserves of infantry and artillery hung in the distance, around the Stone Bridge, Mitchell's Blackbura's and the Union Mills' Fords, visibly ready to fall upon us at any moment.

Fully conscious of the portentous disparity of force, General Beauregard, as he posted the lines for the encounter, spoke words of encouragement to the men to inspire their confidence and determined spirit of resistance. He urged them to the resolution of victory or death on the field. The men responded with loud and eager cheers, and the commander felt re-assured of the unconquerable spirit of his army.

In the meantime, the enemy had seized upon the plateau on which Robinson's and the Henry houses are situated—the position first occupied in the morning by General Bee, before advancing to the support of Evans—Rickett's battery of six rifle guns, the pride of the Federalists, the object of their untiring expenditure in outfit, and the equally powerful regular light battery of Griffin, were brought forward and placed in immediate action, after having, conjointly with the batteries already mentioned, played from former positions with destructive effect upon our forward battalions.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, General Beauregard gave the order for the right of his line, except his reserves, to advance to recover the plateau. It was done with uncommon resolution and vigour, and at the same time Jackson's brigade pierced the enemy's centre with the determination of veterans and the spirit of men who fight for a sacred cause; but it suffered seriously. With equal spirit the other parts of the line made the onset, and the Federal lines were broken and swept back at all points from the open ground of the plateau. Rallying soon, however, as they were strongly reinforced by fresh regiments, the Federals returned, and, by the weight of numbers, pressed our lines back, recovered their ground and guns, and renewed the offensive.

By this time, between half-past 2 and 3 o'clock, p.m., our reinforcements pushed forward, and directed by General Johnston, to the required quarter, were at hand just as General Beauregard had ordered forward, to a second effort, for the recovery of the disputed plateau, the whole line, including his reserve, which, at this crisis of the battle, the commander felt called upon to lead in person. This attack was general, and was shared in by every regiment then in the field, including the 6th (Fisher's) North Carolina regiment, which had just come up. The whole open ground was again swept clear of the enemy, and the plateau around the Henry and Robinson houses remained finally in our possession, with the greater part of the Ricketts and Griffin batteries. This part of the day was rich with deeds of individual coolness and dauntless conduct, as well as well-directed, embodied resolution and bravery, but fraught with the loss to the service of the country, of lives of inestimable preciousness at this juncture. The brave Bee was mortally wounded at the head of the 4th Alabama and some Mississippians, in the open field near the Henry house; and, a few yards distant, Colonel Bartow had fallen, shot through the heart. He was grasping the standard of his regiment as he was shot, and calling the remnants of his command to rally and follow him. He spoke after receiving his mortal wound, and his words were memorable. To the few of his brave men who gathered around him he said, "They have killed me, but never give up the field." That last command was gallantly obeyed, and his men silenced the battery of which he died in the charge. Colonel Fisher had also been killed. He had fallen at the head of the torn and thinned ranks of his regiment.

The conflict had been awfully terrific. The enemy had been driven back on our right entirely across the turnpike, and beyond Young's branch on our left. At this moment, the desired reinforcements arrived. Withers' 18th regiment of Cooke's brigade had come up in time to follow the charge. Kershaw's 2nd and Cash's 8th South Carolina regiments arrived soon after Withers', and were assigned an advantageous position. A more important accession, however, to our forces was at hand. A courier had galloped from Manassas to report that a Federal army had reached the line of the Manassas Gap railroad, was marching towards us, and was then about three or four miles from our left flank. Instead, however, of the enemy, it was the long-expected reinforcements. General Kirby Smith, with some seventeen hundred infantry of Elzey's brigade of the Army of the Shenandoah and Beckham's battery, had reached Manassas, by railroad, at noon. His forces were instantly marched across the fields to the scene of action.

The flying enemy had been rallied under cover of a strong Federal brigade, posted on a plateau near the intersection of the turnpike and the Sudley Brentsville-road, and was now making demonstrations to outflank and drive back our left, and thus separate us from Manassas. General Smith was instructed by General Johnston to attack the right flank of the enemy, now exposed to us. Before the movement was completed, he fell severely wounded. Colonel Elzey, at once taking command, proceeded to execute it with promptness and vigour, while General Beauregard rapidly seized the opportunity, and threw forward his whole line.

About 3.30 p.m., the enemy, driven back on their left and centre, and brushed from the woods bordering the Sudley road, south and west of the Henry house, had formed a line of battle of truly formidable proportions, of crescent outline, reaching on their left, from vicinity of Pittsylvania (the old Carter mansion), by Matthew's and in rear of Dogan's, across the turnpike near to Chimm's house. The woods and fields were filled with their masses of infantry and their carefully preserved cavalry. It was a truly magnificent, though redoubtable spectacle, as they threw forward in fine style, on the broad gentle slopes of the ridge occupied by their main lines, a cloud of skirmishers, preparatory for another attack.

Colonel Early, who, by some mischance, did not receive orders until 2 o'clock, which had been sent him at noon, came

on the ground immediately after Elzey, with Kemper's 7th Virginia, Hay's 7th Louisiana, and Barksdale's 13th Mississippi regiments. This brigade, by the personal direction of General Johnston, was marched by the Holkham house, across the fields to the left, entirely around the woods through which Elzey had passed, and under a severe fire, into a position in line of battle near Chimm's house, outflanking the enemy's right.

The enemy was making his last attempt to retrieve the day. He had re-formed to renew the battle, again extending his right with a still wider sweep to turn our left. Col. Early was ordered to throw himself directly upon the right flank of the enemy, supported by Col. Stuart's cavalry and Beckham's battery. As Early formed his line, and Beckham's pieces played upon the right of the enemy, Elzey's brigade, Gibben's 10th Virginia, Lieut. Col. Stuart's 1st Maryland, and Vaughan's 3rd Tennessee regiments, and Cash's 8th and Kershaw's 2nd South Carolina, Withers' 18th and Preston's 28th Virginia, advanced in an irregular line, almost simultaneously. The charge made by General Beauregard in front, was sustained by the resolute attack of Early on the right flank and rear. The combined attack was too much for the enemy. He was forced over the narrow plateau made by the intersection of the two roads already mentioned. He was driven into the fields, where his masses commenced to scatter in all available directions towards Bull Run. He had lost all the artillery which he had advanced to the last scene of the conflict; he had no more fresh troops to rally on, and there were no combinations to avail him to make another stand. The day was ours. From the long contested hill from which the enemy had been driven back, his retreating masses might be seen to break over the fields stretching beyond, as the panic gathered in their rear. The rout had become general and confused; the fields were covered with black swarms of flying soldiers, while cheers and yells taken up along our lines, for the distance of miles, rung in the ears of the panic-stricken fugitives.

THE ROUT.

Early's brigade, meanwhile, joined by the 19th Virginian regiment, of Cooke's brigade, pursued the now panic-stricken fugitive enemy. Stuart, with his cavalry, and Beckham had also taken up the pursuit along the road by which the enemy had come upon the field that morning; but, soon cumbered by prisoners who thronged the way, the former was unable to attack the mass of the fast-fleeing, frantic Federals. The want of a cavalry force of sufficient numbers made an efficient pursuit a military impossibility.

But the pressure of close and general pursuit was not necessary to disorganise the flight of the enemy. Capt. Kemper pursued the retreating masses to within range of Cub Run Bridge. Upon the bridge, a shot took effect upon the horses of a team that was crossing. The wagon was overturned directly in the centre of the bridge, and the passage was completely obstructed. The Confederates continued to play their artillery upon the train carriages and artillery wagons, and these were reduced to ruins. Cannons and caissons, ambulances and train wagons, and hundreds of soldiers rushed down the hill into a common heap, struggling and scrambling to cross the stream and get away from their pursuers.

The retreat, the panic, the heedless, headlong confusion was soon beyond a hope. Officers with leaves and eagles on their shoulder-straps, majors and colonels who had deserted their comrades passed, galloping as if for dear life. Not a field officer seemed to have remembered his duty. The flying teams and wagons confused and dismembered every corps. For three miles, hosts of the Federal troops—all detached from their regiments, all mingled in one disorderly rout—were fleeing along the road. Army wagons, sutler's teams and private carriages choked the passage, tumbling against each other amid clouds of dust, and sickening sights and sounds. Hacks containing unlucky spectators of the late affray were smashed like glass, and the occupants were lost sight of in the debris. Horses, flying wildly from the battle-field, many of them in death agony, galloped at random forward, joining in the stampede. Those on foot who could catch them rode them bare-back, as much to save themselves from being run over as to make quick time.

Wounded men lying along the banks—the few either left on the field or not taken to the captured hospitals appealed, with raised hands, to those who rode horses, begging to be lifted behind; but few regarded such petitions. Then, the artillery, such as were saved, came thundering along, smashing and overpowering everything. The regular cavalry joined in the melee, adding to its terrors, for they rode down footmen without mercy. One of the great guns was overturned and lay amid the ruins of a caisson. Sights of wild and terrible agony met the eye everywhere. An eye-witness of the scene describes the despairing efforts of an artilleryman, who was running between the ponderous fore and after-wheels of his gun-carriage, hanging on with both hands and vainly striving to jump upon the ordnance. The drivers were spurring the horses; he could not eling much longer, and a more agonised expression never fixed the features of a drowning man. The carriage bounded from the roughness of a steep hill leading to a creek; he lost his hold, fell, and in an instant the great wheels had crushed the life out of him.

The retreat did not slacken in the least until Centreville was reached. There, the sight of the reserve—Mile's brigade—formed in order on the hill, seemed somewhat to re-assure the van. The rally was soon overcome by a few sharp discharges of artillery, the Confederates having a gun taken from the enemy in position. The teams and foot soldiers pushed on, passing their own camp and heading swiftly for the distant Potomac.

The men literally screamed with rage and fright when their way was blocked up. At every shot, a convulsion, as it were, seized upon the morbid mass of bones, sinews, wood and iron, and thrilled through it, giving new energy and action to its desperate efforts to get free from itself. The cry of "cavalry" arose. Mounted men still rode faster, shouting out "cavalry is coming." For miles the roar of the flight might be heard. Negro servants on lead horses dashed frantically past, men in uniform swarmed by on mules, chargers, and even draught horses, which had been cut out of carts and wagons, and went on with harness clinging to their heels as frightened as their riders. "We're whipped," "we're whipped," was the universal cry. The buggies and light waggon tried to pierce the rear of the mass of carts, which were now solidified and moving on like a glacier; while further a head the number of mounted men increased, and the volume of fugitives became denser.

For ten miles, the road over which the Grand Army had so lately passed southward, gay with unstained banners, and flushed with surety of strength, was covered with the fragments of its retreating forces, shattered and panic-stricken in a single day.

ON BOARD THE ALABAMA.

The following letter has been published in the *Liverpool Mercury* :—

Southern Confederate Steamer, Alabama,
Oct. 30, lat. 41.30, long 45.

Dear —,—Though I put to this letter the date of October 30, there is no saying, d'ye see, when you may get it; for, although I have pen and ink and all the other conveniences for writing, there is no post-office alongside into which I can conveniently drop it when written. There are few "friends" to visit the Alabama, and those persons who board and lodge with us for a time are too much taken up with their own affairs, and too anxious about getting away, to do a favour for any one else. Some of them we neither would nor dare ask. However, it must take its chance when the time comes.

I know your feelings were not in favour of my embarking in this enterprise, yet I assure you that I am taking well with both the ship, captain, and cause. . . . No crew could be more comfortable than ours is, though, from the always watchful nature of the duties which devolve upon us, more discipline and active duty are enforced than we shall, perhaps, get credit for. Plenty to eat, plenty to drink, and plenty of work to do, is the order of the day, and of every day.

It would be an endless task for me to attempt to give you even an outline of the fearful havoc we have committed among the Yankee vessels since we left the shores of the Mersey, or of the destruction of the many splendid ships, of which not one plank was left fastened to another. Among the finest was a vessel bound for Bremen, but not very heavy cargo, laden; the Wave Crest, bound from New York to Cardiff, Captain Hammond; the Manchester, from New York to Liverpool the Three Stars, whale ship; and a new bark, the Dunkirk, Captain Johnston, from New York to London. We have already taken about twenty vessels, laden with every article which it is possible almost for the countries of the world to produce, and they have all been destroyed with the exception of one or two whose commanders have given bonds for various amounts of ransom to Captain Semmes, payable to the President of the Confederate States when peace is proclaimed. The last one which we let off was the Tonawanda, which lay beside us several days, and had a good deal of British property, with some doubtful, aboard—the captain and crew being aboard our vessel. They were all glad to get away, but the only reason why such a course was pursued was that they had a large number of females on board as passengers, which the skipper said could not be stowed in our "fixins" now. The historical chivalry of the South would not permit of our disturbing or molesting the females, so we took his bond, put the prisoners we had on board, and sent her away, Semmes declaring that it was enough to break a man's heart to see that he was compelled to part in such a way with so splendid a ship.

It is next to a play to hear the fellows themselves tell how they were taken, and what they thought of us when first sighted. The mate of the Manchester stated that all on board his ship was in good order, going with a stiff breeze from S.S.W., when the look-out reported a sail on the beam. The red cross of St. George was flying, and the day being clear, our guns were made out quite visible. The man at the wheel remarked to the captain, "There's a British man-of-war bearing down us; we had better show our colours." The captain shortly after ordered them to be hoisted. Away went the stars and stripes, and, almost at the same moment, down went the British ensign, and in its place appeared the full flag of the Confederates. A 10lb. shot right across the bows astonished the captain, who, after a rapid survey through his glass, exclaimed, "It's that — pirate Semmes; the ship is lost!" I may only add that a few hours more and they were all prisoners on board the Alabama, and the last we saw of the Manchester the succeeding night was a bright sheet of fire in the horizon line as the darkness fell. The prisoners we take are treated as well as possible, "though our having so many hands on board prevents them all from receiving what might be considered proper accommodation. Some are made comfortable enough, but there are impudent and insulting Yankees who are not thankful even for their lives being spared, and they must take the consequences.

Since we have come into these waters we have got some splendid guns additional, all mounted; and, what with our own crew and brave volunteers who have since joined us, we are now able to fight as well as run, and both at the same time if need be so. We have also plenty of news about ourselves on board in the *New York Times*, *Herald*, the *Shipping Gazette*, *Liverpool Mercury*, and *Gore's Advertiser*, &c. Some of the *New York papers*, illustrated, give frightful pictures of the engagements their vessels have had with us, making them all surrounded with smoke and firing into us, all of which we heartily enjoy. One thing is certain,—they never will take the Alabama nor a man of us alive. Captain, officers, and men know their duty, and are quite aware of the doom which would befall them if taken, for there are no croakers or skulkers here; but if so unlikely a thing should take place, and the hair of one of our heads be injured, our commander assures us that the Government of Richmond will hang a regiment of Yankee officers in retaliation.

Captain Semmes (or the admiral, as we call him among ourselves both fore and aft) is of opinion that the war will be settled in the beginning of the year, and in that case we shall all be provided for for life. No more sea for me after that. Previous to the 20th of this month our prize-money alone was worth from £400 to £500 a man. So I am looking forward to the day when I shall return to Liverpool, and, relieved from the drudgery of a sea life, spend my remaining years in peace and contentment beneath the shadow of the extended wings of the Liver.

AMERICAN DIAMOND.—The largest diamond in North America is now being exhibited at Boston. It was found about a year since in the northern part of North Carolina, on the Virginia border, near the Blue Ridge. In the rough it weighed nearly 24 carats, and the cut diamond weighs nearly 12 carats. Its value is between \$10,000 and \$13,000, and but for two almost inappreciable spots it would be worth more. In size it approaches a large plum-stone in length, but it is deeper and broader, almost a square on the face, with rounded corners,

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VOL. II—No. 34.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 18, 1862.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

We have received a file of the *Charleston Courier* to the 13th of November. From the latest dates we collect the following items of war news:—

On the 9th of Nov., about 5000 Federals marched from Washington, Martin county, North Carolina, to a point on the Roanoke River, below Williamston, to cut off the 17th and 57th Regiments stationed near by, and some miles below Plymouth. Four companies of the 26th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Burgwyn, stationed near Williamston, encountered the whole of the enemy's force, and kept them at bay during the day, giving time for the 17th and 57th to come up, and at night the entire Confederate forces, including cavalry and artillery, had reached the scene, and offered battle to the enemy, who fell back in order to prevent a fight. The skirmishing and shelling was kept up by the four companies and gunboats until 10 o'clock, p.m. The Confederate loss is reported two killed and thirty-one wounded, most of them very slightly. The Federal loss was very heavy—one entire cavalry company being cut up and destroyed.

On the 5th Nov., a demonstration was made on Nashville by General Forrest on the south and General Morgan on the north side. General Morgan was quite successful, destroying many cars, locomotives, and bridges. The Confederates killed and wounded from 75 to 100 Federals. Their own loss was very slight.

On the 9th of November, General Stuart, with Fitzhugh Lee's brigade, surprised the camp of Colonel Bayard, near Leesburg, Virginia, took seventy-one prisoners and the entire encampment.

The *Courier* of the 7th, says:—

A gentleman from Masonboro', North Carolina, reports the capture of a lieutenant and eighteen seamen from one of the blockaders off the North Carolina coast. This party had been sent in a launch to destroy the brig which had got ashore at that point in attempting to run the blockade. After setting fire to the brig, they started in pursuit of the passengers and crew, who had secured the most of their baggage and were endeavouring to escape. The pursuers landed, but were soon after met by a cavalry and infantry company, who surrounded the party and marched them off prisoners.

The Federals evacuated Greenville, West Carolina, on the 11th of November, taking nine citizens with them. They have also left Plymouth.

The Presidential Message to the United States' Congress was looked for on this side of the Atlantic

with curiosity, not anxiety. Europe does not expect from Mr. Lincoln, or rather from the party of which he is the mouthpiece, any broad statesmanlike views, because the ruling faction in the North is committed to a policy perfectly defined, and, as the world at large thinks, utterly impracticable, but which will be adhered to as far as possible, since any deviation from it would deprive the Federal Government of the support of those on whom it has elected to rely. Nor did Europe expect that the Message would give any verbal promise of peace. Mr. Lincoln must be the last man to acknowledge that the cause of re-union is hopeless, just as the North will naturally be the last nation to formally recognize the nationality of the Confederate States. But it was correctly supposed that the Message would to some extent indicate the position and strength of the Federal Government, and show what effect the late elections have had on Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. We elsewhere give the Message *in extenso*, and in this place we propose to glance at its principal points, not offering any opinion upon their policy, but contrasting them with facts, which make them intelligible or significant.

The telegraphic summary of the Message described it as moderate in tone towards the South, and so it is, though the Republicans, who are discontented with it, might console themselves with the practical bearing of Mr. Lincoln's observations. The release of the political prisoners illegally arrested prepared us for seeming moderation, for that act proved that Mr. Lincoln was not ready to provoke such a Democratic opposition as would embarrass his Government. Not only is the Message moderate in tone towards the South, but it is exceedingly so with respect to Europe; though the sting with regard to England left out of the Message was put into the Report of the Secretary of the Navy. The moderation does not assume any tangible form, and is not very acceptable to any of the parties interested.

The part of the Message that most persons will turn to with the greatest interest is that which refers to emancipation. Does Mr. Lincoln intend to carry out his proclamation so far as he has the power? Does he mean, on and after the 1st of January, 1863, to do his best to stir up a servile war in the South? This subject is treated at length, but with an ambiguity that reminds us strongly of the pettifoggery of a country attorney, and which may for a moment bewilder, but cannot, we should think, deceive, any party in the North. Mr. Lincoln has come out with a new emancipation scheme, which is opposed to and yet is not to stay the action of his proclamation. Instead of the 1st of January, 1863, he offers upon impossible conditions to put off emancipation till the 1st of January, 1900, and his scheme includes, amongst other things, amendments of the Federal Constitution, to be concurred in by two-thirds of both Houses of the Federal Congress, and then submitted to the Legislatures and Committees of the several States, and if approved by three-fourths of them to be valid parts of the Constitution. The amendments suggested consist of several articles. Slavery is to be at an end in 1900; and any States abolishing slavery before that year are to be compensated for the loss of the slaves, the price to be paid in United States' bonds. Negroes who get free by the chances of war, are to be free for ever, and loyal owners are to be compensated. Congress is to be authorized to provide funds for the deportation of free negroes. It is surely somewhat singular that Mr. Lincoln should now ask for amendments of the Constitution to do the acts that he has already performed, and is still performing. By so doing he avows that his proclamation is illegal, and that his generals, who are kidnapping as many slaves as they

can get hold of, are acting illegally. If not what need would there be for so amending the Constitution as to legalize such proceedings?

According to the census of 1860 there were 3,952,801 slaves in the United States; and taking them at an average value of £120—a very low average—it would require £475,000,000 to redeem them. The North cannot pay her present debts; where, then, is she to find such a sum of money as £475,000,000? And, further, what guarantee can Mr. Lincoln give the South that the proposed bonds will not be repudiated? What, then, is the object of making this impracticable proposal? Mr. Lincoln says it is not necessary for the restoration of the Union, and that its recommendation by Congress would not stay the war nor the Emancipation proclamation. The Republicans are thus assured that on the 1st of January, 1863, the edict issued at their instigation will be, as far as possible, put in force; and on the other hand, it is hoped that the proposal may in some way or other conciliate the Democrats. To suggest an amendment to the Constitution to reconcile the constitutional party to an emancipation policy, and at the same time to assure the Republicans that without waiting for the amendment of the Constitution, their pet scheme will be carried out in spite of the restraints of the Constitution, is a bold inconsistency.

The only paragraph in relation to foreign affairs to which we need direct special attention is that in which Mr. Lincoln indulges in flights of imagination that put Pope's celebrated paper capture of 10,000 prisoners into the shade. He says: "In June last there were some grounds to expect that the maritime Powers which at the commencement of American difficulties so unwisely and unnecessarily recognized the insurgents as belligerents would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to America. But temporary reverses which afterwards befel the Federal arms, and which were exaggerated by disloyal citizens abroad, have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice." The necessity and wisdom of recognizing the Confederates as belligerents according to the custom of nations and the provisions of international law, we will not discuss. Mr. Lincoln unfortunately forgets that within the last few months he himself has been guilty of the "unwise and unnecessary" act of recognizing the Confederates as belligerents by negotiating a treaty for the exchange of prisoners. But Mr. Lincoln knows, as well as we know, that neither in June last, nor at any time before or since June last, was there the slightest ground for supposing that the maritime Powers would be guilty of the injustice and absurdity of refusing to recognize a belligerent Power as a belligerent Power. And what does Mr. Lincoln mean by "temporary reverses"? Does he refer to the slight check, the unimportant repulse, of the Seven Days' Battle? Still, we must remember that after the Army of the Potomac had been demoralized and beaten, Mr. Lincoln assured the broken remnant then cowering under the shelter of the Federal gunboats, that it never had and never would be beaten; and that, therefore, it is for him surprising frankness when he admits that the defeat and destruction of a powerful and splendidly-equipped army was a "temporary reverse."

Mr. Lincoln is particularly delighted that the British Government has evinced "a jealous respect for the authority of the United States, and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens." Are we to understand that all disloyal citizens are immoral, and that all loyal citizens are moral? Or does Mr. Lincoln mean us to infer that the British Government is not bound to respect the rights of loyal citizens who are immoral—such men, for instance, as the near and dear friends of his Cabinet whose

honesty was assailed by the report of a certain commission of inquiry upon public speculation? Except that he is undignified, Mr. Lincoln is not, in his opinions and verbal absurdities, very much unlike George III.; for that monarch was under the impression that the revolution of the American colonists was not only a political offence, but a gross immorality and an unpardonable sin.

Since Mr. Lincoln is determined to carry on the war, it becomes important to see what are his means, and on this question the Message is explicit, though it does not reveal the whole truth. As to the military and naval forces, we are referred to the reports of the respective Secretaries; but in regard to finances the President gives us a little information on his own account. For the year ending June 1862, before the era of enormous enlistment bounties, the high price of gold, and the necessity of replacing the lost equipments of the army—the cost of the war has immensely increased since June—the total disbursements, we are told, were \$570,000,000, and the receipts were \$580,000,000. Who will say now that Mr. Chase is not a brilliant finance minister? Here we have an unparalleled expenditure suddenly thrust upon a country during a war that has cut off its most profitable trade, and yet there is an overflowing exchequer. Mr. Lincoln has a surplus. When we look to the particulars of Mr. Lincoln's statement, we find so little cause for Federal congratulation that we are rather surprised the naked truth was not covered with a verbal varnish, if not by clumsy fabrication. It was, we admit, necessary to be to some extent frank on the subject of finances, but the unpleasant facts might have been somewhat disguised. Out of the \$584,000,000 of income received during the year ending June 1862, \$530,000,000 was from loans and \$59,000,000 from taxes. These figures of Mr. Lincoln are notoriously false, and they do not give anything like an adequate return of the indebtedness and expenditure of his Government; but accepting them, we have an admission which would make the North quake, if it were not for the comforting assurance that if the South cannot be conquered and made to defray the expenses of the war, there is repudiation as a last resource. The North is in the situation of a tradesman who is fearfully involved in debt, who goes on increasing his liabilities in the hope that some of his speculations will set him right, and who resolves, if they do not, to begin the world afresh. Only an eleventh part of the Federal expenditure, according to Mr. Lincoln's statement, was met by taxes; and if the actual expenditure was stated, it would be found that the taxes for the year hardly covered the interest on the year's loans. If an English journal had put forward such an account of Federal finances as Mr. Lincoln has done, the Northern press would have threatened us with dire vengeance and annihilation for so misrepresenting the financial condition of the prosperous United States.

Mr. Lincoln says disunion is impracticable, and that "there is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide." Mr. Lincoln can see the practicability of schemes for buying and deporting four millions of slaves without money, or of any other scheme that has not been and never will be tried; but he cannot perceive the practicability of that accomplished fact—the dissolution of the late United States. None are so hopelessly blind as those who will not see.

Amongst the comments made in the Northern papers on the Message is an expression of surprise, mingled with indignation, that it totally ignores all military and naval sacrifices, makes no kind allusion to the past, and holds out no bright promise for the future. After making, according to the *Times'* correspondent, the blunder of cashiering and discharging officers in November who were killed in battle some months before, we do not wonder at Mr. Lincoln's neglect of the army; though it is not politic, but is, likely enough, careless and not wilful. Perhaps it was difficult to refer to military affairs. Was he, in a Message to Congress, to thank the troops for victories they never achieved? Or was he to acknowledge defeats which he and his Cabinet have hitherto stoutly and solemnly denied? There is another omission, which was not worth the notice of the Northern press, but which foreigners will not fail to note. Mr. Lincoln concludes his Message with pious expressions that, considering the weight of responsibility attaching to his position, we might readily believe were unfeigned; but is it not remarkable that a ruler, conscious of his responsibility, should not have said one word about those deeds of his officers which have shocked humanity and been execrated by the civilized world? Mr. Lincoln cannot plead a short memory; whilst he was preparing his Message the news came that the Confederate President had issued an order for the punishment of the Palmyra massacre. Was the report of that tragedy false? Are McNeil, Butler, and Turchin guiltless of the infamous crimes ascribed to them? If it were so, surely Mr. Lincoln might

have denied the accusations, or, at all events, he might have done so in the case of McNeil. His silence is a virtual acknowledgment of the truth of the charge, and the tacit confession is a proof of his moral cowardice. Allman, for whose supposed death McNeil butchered ten innocent men, has returned to his home in perfect health. Does Mr. Lincoln think the Palmyra Massacre is an action "the world will for ever applaud, and God for ever bless"?

The Report of General Halleck so far as it relates to the conduct of the campaign is not worth consideration until we have General McClellan's version of the affair. It is not very generous thus to asperse the reputation of his rival; but perhaps General Halleck indulges in the petty spite because, whilst it pleases him, he knows no one will think the worse of General McClellan on account of his censures. General Halleck seems to be happily oblivious of his own disastrous campaign in the West, and assumes the air of a general who is not only gifted with military genius of the highest order, but who has also been singularly fortunate in all his military undertakings. With regard to the Report of the Federal Secretary of War we can only remark that it is exceedingly bold. It states that there are 800,000 soldiers fully armed and equipped, whilst it is tolerably certain that the effective Federal force does not exceed half that number. We do not doubt that rations are drawn for 800,000 men, but that is no proof that there are so many.

The Report of the Federal Secretary of the Navy says that the naval force consists of 323 steamers and 104 sailing vessels, carrying in all 3268 guns, but we are not informed how many of the steamers and sailing vessels are worth commissioning. The most characteristic part of the Report is the following reference to the Alabama:—

The Alabama went forth from England to destroy American shipping, and how far and to what results this abuse may be carried with impunity to the Government which tolerates it is a matter of grave consideration. This lawless rover, though built in and sailing from England, has no acknowledged flag or recognized nationality. Before the Alabama left England the British authorities were informed by the recognized official agents of the Federal Government of her character and purposes. The British Government, thus invoked, came too late to prevent her sailing. To what extent under these circumstances the British Government is bound in honour and justice to make indemnification for the destruction of private property is a question which may present itself for disposal. It is alluded to now from a sense of duty towards American commercial interests, and from the fact that recent intelligence indicates that other vessels of similar character are fitting out in England.

For the information of the Federal Secretary we beg to state that the Alabama acknowledges the nationality of the Confederate States, and sails under the Confederate flag. Further, that the British Government can no more prevent the sale of steamers to Confederate citizens than it can prevent, or rather than it chooses to prevent, the Federal Government purchasing warlike stores from our manufacturers. It also seems rather absurd for a Government with 427 vessels of war at its disposal to be so alarmed at the power of the little Alabama.

The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury states that the estimate of the public debt in July 1863 must be advanced to \$1,120,000,000. If the war continues with undiminished disbursements, the estimated debt in July 1864 will be \$1,744,000,000. The average rate of interest on the whole loan is 4 and 3-5ths per cent. The estimated receipts from the customs for the current year are \$68,000,000, and from internal revenue \$85,000,000. There is a balance of \$276,700,000 to be provided for. To make up the deficiency the Secretary recommends the imposition of a moderate tax on the corporate circulation, and that the banks should issue a circulation furnished by Government, and thus establish one sound, uniform circulation of equal value throughout the country. From this source he expects to obtain \$50,000,000. He further proposes to raise \$200,000,000 by loans, and \$20,000,000 by enlarging the limit for temporary deposits. Such are Mr. Chase's figures; and we need hardly remark that the Federal indebtedness is much greater, and is far more rapidly increasing than the report admits. Mr. Chase professes to be tired of paper issues, and advises a return to gold and silver, but he does not show how this consummation is to be brought about.

The Federal Congress has adopted a resolution directing the Committee on Naval Affairs to report on the cheapest and most expeditious mode of placing vessels of war on Lake Ontario when the exigency may arise for establishing water communication with other waters of the lakes.

A resolution has been offered in the Federal Congress declaring that the Union must be preserved, and denouncing as guilty of high crime any executive or legislative department that shall propose or advise any acceptance of peace on any other basis than the integrity of the Union as it existed before the rebellion.

Another resolution has been offered to hold a Convention of delegates from all the States at Louisville in April next, to consider the state of the country

and the proper means to be pursued for restoring the Union.

We are afraid the gentleman who edits the War news for the Federal Government must be excessively *blasé*, and, like Sir Charles Coldstream, can see nothing in anything. In the late telegram from New York we find the following item:—

Nothing important has occurred at Fredericksburgh. The Confederate cavalry have crossed the Rappahannock and captured two entire troops of Federal cavalry.

Now, it seems to us that whilst the invading army which was to have levelled Richmond to the ground before Christmas is waiting on the north side of the Rappahannock for boats, it is very important that the Confederate cavalry should be able to cross that stream, capture two entire companies of Federal cavalry, and to recross that formidable obstacle to the Federal advance with their prisoners, and without molestation. Either the Northern army must be comparatively weak and disorganized or it must be badly generalled, and neither horn of the dilemma can be very reassuring to the Northerners, who have begun to doubt whether Burnside is likely to be more successful than his predecessor. In order to balance this Confederate exploit, we are told that General Sigel's cavalry captured forty Confederate cavalry; but there is a want of detail which discredits the rumour.

General Burnside, who was at first so very active and determined, is now busy erecting fortifications commanding the Confederate positions, and after threatening, on the 21st of November, to shell Fredericksburg in sixteen hours, he has intimated to the authorities of that town that so long as no hostile demonstration is made from the place he will not attack it. This is particularly mild after such tremendous threats. All General Burnside had done up to the latest dates was to return the President's visit to Belle Plain; and having passed a short time at the White House, to wend his way back to his army. We are not finding fault with this inactivity. We have thought from the first that the rumoured advance *via* Fredericksburg would never take place, and we have also felt considerable doubt as to the expediency of forthwith transporting the Federal army to the peninsula. The inactivity may have been inevitable as well as prudent; but it is irresistibly ridiculous when we remember that General McClellan, who was advancing, was disgraced because he did not advance fast enough; and that General Burnside was appointed to succeed him in order that there might be no more delay. Yet on the 6th of December General Burnside was engaged in erecting fortifications before Fredericksburg.

Amongst the reports about military movements in Virginia is an exceedingly doubtful one to the effect that General "Stonewall" Jackson has joined General Lee. This is circulated to allay the fears of the North that Pennsylvania may become the field of Confederate operations. A report of which there is not the least reason to doubt the accuracy is one that refers to the Confederates capturing a train of Federal waggons, with ordinance stores, in Virginia.

In the West we have to record a Confederate victory, which will, we expect, turn out to be very important when the particulars transpire. We are told: "An engagement has occurred at Hartsville, Tennessee, between the Federal advance force from Nashville and the Confederates under General Morgan. Colonel Moore's Federal brigade was repulsed several times, and finally captured. General Morgan afterwards attacked the Federals at Gallatin, but was repulsed with heavy loss." The capture of a whole brigade, which consists, at least, of two regiments, is not only a decided but a very remarkable triumph. The Confederate victory and the unsuccessful attack on Gallatin are brought into suspicious proximity. Our readers have doubtless noticed that the North never allows a Confederate victory without some counterbalancing disaster, which is afterwards denied.

The following items of war news are taken from the latest telegrams:—

The Federal expedition which had sailed from Suffolk, Virginia, has recaptured the Federal battery taken some time since, and has driven the Confederates across the Blackwater River.

The Federal gunboat *Ellis* was blown up during the expedition up the New River, North Carolina, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Confederates.

A portion of General Banks's expedition has sailed. The Federal army of the South-West has commenced a general advance from Memphis and different parts of the Mississippi.

Federal General Grant continues to advance in Mississippi, and has occupied Abbeville, which had been abandoned by the Confederates.

The Southern journals state that a fleet of twenty Federal vessels sailed from Hilton on the 5th inst. for Georgetown or Wilmington. Several Federal vessels had passed Charleston harbour. It was supposed that they were going to assist in attacking Mobile.

The same journals assert that 30,000 Federals are at Suffolk, preparing to move against Petersburg; while a Federal force

at Newbern, North Carolina, will operate simultaneously against Weldon.

The Federals occupy Granada, Mississippi.

Mobile is at present strongly fortified, and the Legislature of Alabama has placed \$1,000,000 at the disposal of the Governor, and authorized him to impress one-tenth of the negroes in the State to erect defences. The negroes were to commence at once to obstruct the channels leading to Mobile Bay, and the rivers above that city—a work which could be easily and rapidly accomplished.

It is now admitted by the North that the cotton remaining in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas has been overrated, and that only a few thousand bales are in the counties bordering the river. We are also told, what was well known before, that "the new crop will be very small."

The following paragraphs, both coming from the North, should be read side by side:—

An Union meeting has been held at New Orleans. The correspondents of the New York journals describe the proceedings as enthusiastic.

The Federal Commissioner Johnson, who was sent to New Orleans to investigate the condition of affairs, reports that persons in General Butler's command are growing rich upon the necessities of the helpless people of New Orleans, by extortions offensive to decency, and that the inhabitants of the city have been as much sinned against as sinning since General Butler's rule.

What grateful people the inhabitants of New Orleans must be! We wonder if General Butler's near relative—the corn, coal, and general dealer—took the chair at the enthusiastic meeting?

General Butler, in a letter permitting the *National Advocate* to resume publication, says all persons expressing a desire for foreign intervention will be treated as traitors. Should such persons not be treated as idiots? Can anything be more delightful than to live under the rule of General Butler? We suppose, however, by this intimation, that even in New Orleans there are some persons who do not know when they are well off.

The Democratic party has carried the city elections of New York by large majorities.

General Fitz-John Porter was being tried at Washington for disobeying General Pope's orders. The trial created some interest. General Pope was examined at length.

In New York a considerable collection was being made to aid the Lancashire operatives, who would require no aid if the North was not trying to conquer the South. The New York Chamber of Commerce "deprecated conducting the movement in a way to obtain favour with one class in England, but urged that it should be based exclusively on the grounds of Christian charity. England was a great customer of America for grain, and it was a plain case that it was America's duty to feed a brother nation in distress." For the same Christian and humane reasons, "a proposal to aid the French operatives was voted down."

On December 2 gold was 30½ premium. On December 8 it was 32 premium.

It is reported that General McClellan is to succeed General Butler at New Orleans; and it is added that this is intended to soothe the Democrats. This does not quite accord with the rumour of McClellan being brought before a court martial after the trials of Generals Buell, Porter, and McDowell, are concluded. Certainly, General McClellan will not be promoted with the good will of General Halleck, the devoted and genial friend of General Pope.

The trial for the illegal imprisonment of Mrs. Brinsmade is over. Kennedy is reprimanded for abuse of authority, and yet he is praised for his zeal. This reminds us of the jury who, after long deliberation, found a verdict "for both plaintiff and defendant, and each party to pay his own costs."

Major Nash Morgan, a cousin of General John H. Morgan, died on the 27th of October, at Lexington, of his wounds.

ENGLAND.

The distress in Lancashire continues to increase, but more slowly. The increase of pauperism last week was only 3500; and some unions had a very considerable decrease, as will be seen by the following official table:—

(a). Fifteen unions have more:—

	Paupers.		Paupers
Ashton-under-Lyne	470	Rochdale	50
Blackburn	50	Saddleworth	140
Bolton	300	Salford	120
Chorley	170	Todmorden	120
Chorlton	1,060	Warrington	70
Glossop	110	Wigan	360
Macclesfield	190		
Manchester	1,550		5,000
Preston	210		

(b). One union is in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Bury.

(c). Five unions have less paupers—Burnley, 259; Haslingden, 250; Liverpool, 130; Oldham, 710; Stockport, 250; total, 1570.

The Lord Mayor's Committee met as usual at the Mansion-house on Friday, and reported a total receipt of £283,000, and a distribution which had already disposed of £173,000. Grants were made to the amount of £22,400. A debate again took place on the propriety of handing over their funds to the Manchester Committee. Letters were read from two local Committees—one of them utterly insignificant, and the other discredited by its connection with local funds—containing imputations on the Executive at Manchester; particularly the very silly one that a body of which Lord Derby is the Chairman, and which is composed of men of all sects and parties—Tories, Whigs and Radicals, Unitarians, Dissenters, and Churchmen—is influenced by party and sectarian feelings. The Mansion-house Committee decided to retain its functions. We have already explained why it cannot perform those functions efficiently, and need not add that we consider its decision deplorable and censurable.

The Central Relief Committee held a general meeting on Monday in the Manchester Town-hall, and received the report of the Executive Committee for the month of November. That report states that the distress had increased rapidly. The district Committees sent in information as to the condition of 490,700 operatives, representing, say, 1,000,000 souls. There were in full work 78,500, on half-time 167,600, without work 244,600. The weekly loss of wages was £164,000, or above eight millions sterling per annum. That is to say, the American war costs the people of Lancashire in wages alone over one-tenth of what it costs the Confederate States; its whole cost to England probably exceeds £20,000,000 per annum, or more than one-fourth of the Confederate expenditure. It appeared that at the end of November about 450,000 persons were receiving relief from the parish, the Committees, or both. The average earnings of an operative's family in good time bring in about 6s. per head; the standard of relief thought requisite by the Executive Committee is one-third of this sum, besides clothing, fuel, &c. This would require an expenditure of £61,000 weekly. The Guardians of the Poor in the suffering districts are now spending £18,000 weekly in out-door relief; when this amount is raised to £20,000, the Committees ought to be able to spend £30,000 in addition to their outlay on clothing. The report anticipates an increased pressure on the Relief Funds, as other resources fail. The rate of relief given does not provide for rent; and there are 100,000 cottages occupied by operatives, of whom very few can pay any rent at all. A large proportion of these houses is the property of small tradesmen, who, besides the ruinous reduction of their income from retail business, will probably encounter a large annual loss in cottage-rents. The small manufacturers who have risen from the ranks of the working-men, and who either rent loom-sheds or mills, or have built and furnished them in part with borrowed money, have to pay rent, or the interest of mortgages and loans, as well as rates and taxes, and many of them will encounter a certain ruin should the want of a supply of cotton continue. This ruin will extend to other classes connected with them—such as working mechanics and other small master tradesmen.

The report avoids the expression of any opinions as to the probable duration of the distress. The funds available to meet it (exclusive, of course, of those in the hands of the Mansion-house Committee—about £110,000) are calculated as follows:—

In hand, December 13	..	..	..	£233,000
Promised, not paid	..	..	..	180,000
In hands of Local Committees	..	..	..	90,000
Total	..	..	..	£503,000

Complaints have been made that operatives receiving relief have refused work. These complaints do not appear to be well-founded; but the Committee recommend that employment should be found for the recipients of relief. They recommend, also, that assistance should not be refused to workmen who own small properties—cottages or co-operative shares, which are at present almost unsaleable. They acknowledge the receipt of large quantities of clothing, blankets, and so forth, from all parts of England.

Alderman Goadsby said he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that many very respectable shopkeepers would, if pressed by the overseers to pay the increased poor-rate, become pauperized. One person among a number whose names he possessed, told him (Alderman Goadsby) that he had been a factory operative; that he then saved a sufficient sum of money to open a shop; that he now rented a shop at £66 per annum; that he had a wife and two children to maintain respectably; that his profits per week, through bad trade, were now 12s. a week only, and that his poor-rate took 5s. of that sum. He (Alderman Goadsby) would suggest that that Committee should ask the overseers to be as lenient with this class of men as possible.

Mr. Farnall read his weekly report:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ended the 6th instant, on 27 unions in the

cotton manufacturing districts, will show you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 3014 persons.

This increase of 3014 is explained as follows:—There is an increase at Ashton-under-Lyne, 466; Barton-on-Irwell, 123; Blackburn, 48; Bolton, 172; Chorley, 168; Chorlton, 1063; Glossop, 112; Lancaster, 9; Leigh, 49; Macclesfield, 191; Manchester, 1580; Preston, 189; Prestwich, 190; Rochdale, 52; Salford, 120; Warrington, 68; Wigan, 365; total 4966. There is a decrease at Burnley, 288; Bury, 43; Clitheroe, 31; Garstang, 26; Oldham, 1124; Saddleworth, 140; Stockport, 234; Todmorden, 66; total, 1952; making a net increase of 3014.

I have received no returns from the clerks of the unions of the Fylde and Haslingden for the week ended the 5th instant, and I have therefore inserted in my tabular report their figures for the week ending the 29th ultimo, and I am unable to state whether there has been an increase, or a decrease in either of these places. The figures entered for Bolton represent an increase of pauperism as compared with the week ended the 22nd ultimo, and those for Oldham are also compared with the same week.

There were on the 6th instant 271,983 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 57,535 were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 214,448 persons in receipt of parochial relief, or 372.7 per cent.

The total weekly cost of out-door relief on the 6th instant was £18,728 8s. 10d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2852 13s. 3d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £15,875 15s. 7d., or 565.5 per cent.

The average per-centage of pauperism on the population of these unions on the 6th instant, was 13.7; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.9.

The average amount of out-door relief per head per week, both in money and in kind, in these unions on the 6th instant was 1s. 5½d.; the lowest was 1s. 1d.; and the highest 1s. 10½d., at Glossop.

Of the 271,983 persons receiving parochial relief on the 6th instant 12,527 were in-door paupers.

The amount of money in the hands of the treasurers of the above unions on the 6th instant was £55,453 19s. 5d.; in the previous week the amount was £45,628 8s. 7d.

Severe comments were made on the inadequacy of Mr. Villiers' measure passed at the close of last session. Lord Derby explained that the whole responsibility of that measure rested with the Commons; the Upper House having felt itself, under the circumstances, bound to abstain from amendment.

The following is Mr. Farnall's account of the condition of Blackburn:—

The union of Blackburn contains 24 townships, within an area of 43,569 acres; its population numbers 119,937; and its net rateable value was £238,699 in 1856. The present weekly expenditure of this union in outdoor relief was, on the 29th ult., £1347, and the cost of in-maintenance for that week, at the rate of 3s. per head per week was £74, making a total weekly expenditure in relief alone of £1421, which is at the rate of £73,892 per annum. The expenditure of this union out of the poor-rates for all other purposes than relief, for the year ended Lady-day, 1862, was £15,168; this sum, therefore, added to £73,892 spent in relief alone, makes a total annual expenditure of £89,060. The net rateable value of the property of this union was in 1856, as I have already stated, £238,699; the total present expenditure, therefore, is now at the rate of 7s. 5½d. in the pound on that value. But it is necessary to make a deduction of 25 per cent. from the net rateable value of £238,699 for irrecoverable rates, empty property, &c.; and therefore, the net rateable value is reduced to £179,024, so that the present expenditure is at the rate of 9s. 11½d. in the pound on that value. I may mention that there were on the 29th ult. 24,019 persons receiving parochial relief in this union, and that in the corresponding week of last year 1519 persons were so relieved; and further, that the weekly cost of out-relief was, on the 29th ult., £1347, while in the corresponding week of last year it was £191. The present percentage of pauperism on the population of this union is 20; in the corresponding week of last year it was 3.8 per cent. Before I pass on to the position of the township of Blackburn, it will be convenient to remark that the provisions of Mr. Villiers' Act—namely, the Union Relief Act—came into operation in this union at Michaelmas last. So that the union, under the provisions of section 3 of that Act, was enabled to borrow the sum of £3517 0s. 1½d., being the amount which the guardians of the 24 townships of the union had spent during that quarter "in and about relief" in excess of 9d. in the pound on the net rateable value of the whole union. At Christmas next the valuable provisions of this Act adverted to will again afford the ratepayers immediate relief in this matter. The total expenditure of this union for the year ended Lady-day, 1862, was £28,992 17s.; so that a rate of 2s. 5½d. in the pound on its net rateable value covered its total expenditure. I will now direct your attention to the present position of the township of Blackburn. This township contains a population of 63,125 persons, and its present net rateable value is £144,589. This township is now spending weekly in relief alone £79 2s. 4d., being an expenditure in relief alone at the rate of £40,514 per annum. The expenditure of this town out of the poor-rates for all other purposes than relief for the year ended Lady-day 1862, was £8,541. This sum therefore, added to £40,514 spent in relief alone, makes a total annual expenditure of £48,965. The present net rateable value of this township is, as I have before stated, £144,589; the total present expenditure, therefore, is now at the rate of 6s. 9½d. in the pound on that value. But although the Small Tenements Act is in operation here, I find it necessary to make a deduction of 22 per cent. from the net rateable value (£144,589) for irrecoverable rates, empty property, &c., and therefore the net rateable value is reduced to £112,777, so that the present expenditure is at the rate of 8s. 8½d. in the pound on that value. I may add that there are now 12,956 persons receiving parochial relief who are chargeable to this township, and that its percentage of pauperism on its population is 20.5. In the corresponding week of last year there were 2420 persons thus chargeable to the township, or 3.8 per cent. on its population. On the 14th of February last a rate of 3s. in the pound was allowed, and on the 25th of September, 1862, another rate of 3s. was allowed, and in the beginning of January next the overseers propose making another rate of 5s. in the pound. The first of the rates named has been collected; it should have produced, with the arrears of the previous rate, £19,010

11s. 5d., and this sum was collected with the exception of £714 17s. 5d., or rather less than 4 per cent. of loss on the whole amount. The second of these rates (now being collected) ought to produce £16,675 6s.; but Mr. Clough, the assistant-overseer, is of opinion that £4000, or 22 per cent., will be lost on this rate, so that the amount to be received will be £14,675 6s. The 5s. rate which will be made in January next should, after a deduction of 22 per cent., produce a sum of £24,277, which amount, it is believed, will meet the expenditure of the township to Lady-day next.

A Cattle Show at Horsham has afforded to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, an opportunity of speaking his mind on the political questions of the day. He alluded to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a Danish Princess, expressed strong sympathy with Denmark, and censured in strong terms the despatches of Lord Russell; despatches which, he said, no Englishman could read without regret. They put this country in a false position; made her appear as the ungenerous supporter of the strong against the weak, and as having forsaken and reversed her traditional policy. He expressed respect for the suffering operatives of Lancashire, and for the employers who, while losing heavily themselves, were doing their best to relieve the sufferings of their hands. He thought that England ought to remain strictly neutral in the American quarrel. At the same time he was not prepared to say that it would not be possible for this country to interfere, by giving expression to the deep feeling which existed in the country, and on the other side of the water, and to the desire which prevailed for a cessation of hostilities. He had received letters from persons occupying high positions in the Federal States of America, and he thought a strong expression of feeling, not on the part of the three Powers only, but by the whole of Europe, could not but have great weight on public opinion in America, and give heart and courage to those persons in America who were anxiously looking forward for the return of peace. A distinguished man in America had written to him, and, in reference to the affair of the Trent, said he could not conceal for one moment that the spirit shown by England upon that matter had a very considerable effect upon public opinion there; but that they were the more willing to give satisfaction in consequence of knowing that Europe was unanimous in its expression of feeling upon that question, and the expression of Europe was one which no country could afford to disregard, and least of all his country of America. Therefore he was not without hope, and he did not despair that the time would very shortly arrive when a general expression of opinion on the part of the Powers of Europe might be productive of that which they all desired to see, viz., a cessation of that miserable and cruel struggle. Turning to Italian affairs, he said that the Conservative party were not and never had been hostile to the Italian cause. On the contrary, their desire was to see Italy evacuated by both France and Austria; and it was not their fault that this had not been done.

Mr. Cobden has delivered a great speech on the state of Lancashire, to his neighbours of Midhurst, in Sussex. He explained that the vast majority of the cotton manufacturers were not men of great wealth; and that two-thirds of the capital invested in the manufacture was locked up in buildings and machinery which are making no profits, and yet paying heavy rates. He referred to what we feel to be a peril far greater and more real than is as yet understood—the destruction, by the protraction of the cotton famine, of the capital which sustains the trade of Lancashire. “So far,” he said, “from the working-classes wishing to see their employers’ capital exhausted, one of the fears constantly haunting their minds is, that the capitalist who owns the mill may never again be able to open it.”

When I was in Lancashire—at Ashton—one of the places where they have had the greatest amount of suffering—three or four working men, most intelligent leaders of their body, went round with a requisition to memorialize the Government for a national grant in relief of the distress of that district. They called upon a friend of mine, a leading man in Ashton—Mr. Hugh Mason—himself a member of the Executive Committee over which Lord Derby presides. They called upon him to induce him to sign this memorial, and he said, “What is your motive for wishing to have it signed? Are you afraid that enough will not be done by voluntary subscriptions to keep you and your families during the winter?” “Oh, no,” said the spokesman of the party, “we are not all afraid that the money will not be found, but we don’t like to see the money found out of the capital of this district, because we are afraid that some of the weaker capitalists will fall altogether, and if they break what is to become of us?” (Hear, hear.) These men had intelligence enough to foresee what would be the consequence, provided the manufacturing capitalists fell into ruin, and I tell you candidly that that is the greatest and most unmanageable danger that is now before us. I can see that the working classes of that district could be maintained, partly by the munificent charity which has been manifested all through the country, or by a vote of the House of Commons when we meet, but I don’t see that it is so easy to deal with the danger which threatens the capitalist class. I speak now not of the rich millionaires, they are the Field Marshals, the Generals and the Colonels of that great army of industry; but I speak of the rank and file of the capitalists, who are rich in fixed capital, but have little floating capital. If this state of things goes on, the consequence would be that a widespread

ruin would engulf the capitalist class as well as the labourers, and then, indeed, you would have a wilderness and a wreck in that district. (Hear, hear.) I have sometimes thought myself that the wisest plan would be, instead of clamouring for these capitalists to contribute their reserve floating capital for the support of the working classes—I have sometimes thought that it would be a wise plan, if it were practicable, to exempt that unproductive property now in Lancashire, in the shape of silent mills and manufactories, from poor-rates, and the liability to support these people. You must bear in mind the peculiarity of that property. There are investments in Lancashire amounting to 30, 40, or 50 millions sterling, in fixed capital, and it is all liable to pay poor-rates, whether idle or employed. (Hear, hear.) All the mills in Lancashire now standing idle and silent are rated to the poor, and pay precisely the same in poor-rates as if they were engaged productively. I came from Scotland not long ago, through Carlisle, Preston, Chorley, and Bolton, to Manchester, and I passed through a continued forest of smokeless chimneys. Not one of those vast mills was producing one farthing, not one of the cottages was paying rent, and yet all the buildings and cottages were still paying poor-rates. I say, then, that I think it would be a wise thing if this property could be exempted so as to save the most precious possession we have in Lancashire to the men who are at the head of these establishments, whose ingenuity and skill are necessary for conducting them. It is their capital alone which can give the employment so long afforded. Let the capital be destroyed, and the mills must be dismembered, and the machinery sold as old iron in order to pay the rates; or another process may go on—the mills may be dismembered because they shall no longer be liable to pay the poor-rates, inasmuch as it is only while they have machinery in them that they are liable to pay it. (Hear, hear.) I speak this only in reference to the future. It may be said that we shall not see things go so bad as that. Sanguine men have told us that next year there will be cotton enough from other sources than America to supply the mills and machinery of Lancashire with half-work—that is, that three days’ work a week may be had out of Indian and other cotton. But my experience of that business does not lead me to expect that it would be of much service to the capitalist classes to have only half the cotton they have machinery to spin. They would simply become the sport of the people who hold that cotton. (Hear, hear.) Their exigencies would always render it impossible that they could work it to a profit, and I see scarcely any difference in having no cotton at all and having three days’ supply a week of Surat cotton, which is so difficult to work and so unproductive.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The address of the Emperor to the Russian Ambassador when the latter presented his credentials is thought to be significant. His Majesty said: “I congratulate myself upon the friendly relations existing for six years between the Czar and my Government, and which have the more chance of continuing as they are due to the mutual sympathies and real interests of the two empires. I have been enabled to appreciate the straightforwardness of heart of your Sovereign, and have conceived for him a sincere friendship.”

The Emperor has been on a visit to Baron Rothschild, which is supposed by the *quidnuncs* to have some reference to political or financial projects for the future. A pamphlet directed against the unity of Italy, and advocating, somewhat late in the day, the execution of the Treaty of Zurich, is to be published by M. Dentu, from whose shop the *brochures* attributed to the Imperial pen have issued. But as yet there is no reason for giving credit to the reports which attribute “inspiration” to the forthcoming production.

Prince Lucien Murat has published a manifesto reminding the Neapolitans of his existence, and re-asserting his pretensions and professing an ultra-liberal creed.

ITALY.—The following short biography of the new Italian Ministry is given by the *Temps*:—

M. Farini, the President of the Council, is a Roman; he was an eminent physician and a leader of the Liberal party when he was appointed Director-General of the Hospitals and Prisons of Rome under the Ministry of Count Rossi. In 1848, when the Republic was proclaimed in Rome, he emigrated to Tuscany; thence he removed to Piedmont. M. Farini was for some time Minister of Public Instruction in 1850, and subsequently he was Minister of the Interior in the Cavour Cabinet. He was Dictator of Emilia and Lieutenant-General of the King at Naples after Garibaldi’s departure. M. Farini was the principal negotiator of the cession of Nice and Savoy to France. He was born on the 22nd of October, 1822. M. Peruzzi, the new Minister of the Interior, is a Tuscan. He was a leader of the Liberal party in 1848, and in 1859 was at the head of the movement which transferred Tuscany to Piedmont. He was Minister of Public Works in Ricasoli’s Cabinet. He is a man of energy and undoubted liberalism. It has been said by mistake that he is an enemy of the French alliance. M. Minghetti was, in 1848, Minister of Commerce to Pius IX.; he has twice been Victor Emmanuel’s Minister of the Interior—once under Cavour and once under Ricasoli. He is a distinguished political economist; as Finance Minister he will now have an opportunity of showing his talent. M. Pasolini, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, is also a Roman. He was for a long time Mayor of Ravenna. In 1847 he was a colleague of Rossi, under whom he filled the office of Minister of Public Works. A refugee in 1849, he went into Piedmont. In 1859 he was appointed Governor of Milan, which post he held till M. Rattazzi came into power, when he resigned. Shortly afterwards, at the personal request of the King, he accepted the appointment of Governor of Turin. M. Manna, the Minister of Commerce, is a Neapolitan. He was a Director-General of Customs under the Bourbons, and in 1860 was sent by Francis II. to Turin, to negotiate an alliance with Piedmont. M. Meubrea, Minister of Public Works, is a General of Piedmontese Engineers. He was Secretary-General to Azeglio in 1850, and Minister of Marine in the Ricasoli Cabinet. M. Amari, Minister of Public Instruction, is a Sicilian; one of the most eminent *savants* in Italy, and an Orientalist of European reputation. He long resided in Paris as a refugee, and is a corresponding member of the Institute.

M. Della Rovere, Minister at War, held that portfolio under Ricasoli; he has been Lieutenant-General of the King in Sicily. M. Ricci, Minister of Marine, is a Genoese, and has the reputation of being a capable naval officer.

The Farini Cabinet seems likely to command the confidence of the Chambers and of the country.

GREECE.—The candidature of Prince Alfred is definitely disposed of. The British Government has intimated to the Provisional Government of Greece, that the Prince cannot accept the throne which the appeal to universal suffrage has already practically given him, and has recommended the Greeks to elect another Prince of the House of Coburg—Ferdinand, the King Consort of Portugal, the father of the present King, and a prince whom age and experience undoubtedly qualify better for so difficult a position. The Prince, however, seems indisposed to exchange his dignified and easy retirement for a troubled kingship at Athens; and it is doubtful, moreover, whether, even if he would consent to accept the throne, the Greeks would give it him. A very tempting bait will, however, be held out to him if the English Government, as has been announced, offers the Ionian Islands as the dowry of Prince Ferdinand. Mr. Elliott, who has been sent on a special mission to Athens, has, it is affirmed, been instructed to make this proposition at Athens, and Earl Russell has also, we are informed upon good authority, announced the intention of England to the great Powers, and summoned a Congress to confirm the cession, and regulate its details.

DENMARK.—A despatch from Copenhagen announces that the King of Denmark is rather seriously ill. This Sovereign is only 54 years of age, and his death would be a serious loss for the country, which he governs in a liberal spirit. He has no children, and his heir presumptive is the future father-in-law of the Prince of Wales—Prince Christian, of the House of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg. The rights of that Prince were established by the law of succession of the 31st of July, 1853, and guaranteed by a protocol signed at London by the principal Powers.

We take the following from the *Morning Herald* of Monday last:—

If we may believe the organs of the Danish Government, Earl Russell has found his match. He has been dressed with a little of his own sance, and a very piquant dish the public will deem him. The Swedish Foreign Minister having read—we suppose in the newspapers—his lordship’s famous Sleswig-Holstein despatch, wrote to his Ambassador at London, “that as Earl Russell’s despatch upon the question of Sleswig can only be destined for the enemies of Denmark, or for those who are not acquainted with the real position of that question, the Swedish Government thanks Earl Russell for not having forwarded to Sweden a copy of the despatch, as she does not belong to either category.”

We are afraid that this story is too good to be true.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 17.

The past week has been one of unusual interest, and greater excitement has prevailed than at any period since the month of August. Our last report left the market very strong, on the basis of 16d. for Fair Dhollerahs, and 24d. for Middling Orleans.

On Thursday and Friday the tone was more subdued with sales of 8000 and 10,000 bales, but great firmness was manifested, the trade buying freely.

On Saturday, in anticipation of a warlike message from the President, a fresh current of speculation was started, and with sales of 10,000 bales; prices closed at ½d. higher.

On Monday the excitement continued, and grew in intensity as the day advanced; in the afternoon the Persia’s news was to hand, reporting the determination of Lincoln to carry on the war till the Union was restored, which further added to the excitement, and the business reached 20,000 to 25,000 bales, at ½d. to ¾d. advance.

On Tuesday the market was again very excited, with sales of 20,000 bales at ½ advance.

To-day the tone is less buoyant, but a fair business has been done at yesterday’s prices, the sales reaching 10,000 bales. We quote Middling Orleans, 24½d.; Fair Sawginned Dharwar, 19½d.; Broach, 17½d.; Omrawuttee, 17½d.; Dhollerah, 17d.

The cause of the recent activity is mainly the improved state of trade in Manchester, together with a growing conviction—now almost approaching a certainty—that the American war is going to continue for six or nine months longer. Spinners so far have fully supported our market, and from the freedom of their purchases have imparted a healthiness to our position as we advanced that was wanting during the brief period of excitement preceding this last great rise. Though Manchester has barely advanced in the same ratio, still a considerable rise has taken place and the demand from the Home trade and the Continent continues on an increasing scale and better news is expected before long from India, which may once more revive the export demand for that quarter. Great confidence is entertained here regarding the future of cotton, and a much higher range of prices confidently looked for early in the spring. It seems probable, however, that the top has been reached for the present; the late large advance will tempt some spinners to resell

whilst some 70,000 bales at sea are now past due; the approaching close of the year will moreover tend to limit business. American cotton is still comparatively neglected and does not move in the same ratio as Surats, the former is still almost 6d. per lb. under the extreme point reached on the 2nd of September, whilst the latter are generally within 2d. to 3d. of the extreme point touched at that time.

The American news this week, per Persia, City of Washington and Jura, to the 8th inst., is of more than usual interest. The Message of the President to Congress is moderate in tone, and displays a willingness to yield in some degree to the Democratic party, whilst at the same time it advocates a vigorous prosecution of the war, and holds out no prospect of peace, except on the basis of a restoration of the Union.

The winter campaign has now commenced, and great expectations are entertained from the naval armaments that have recently been despatched.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, December 16.

Although we have to report an increased demand at better rates, both for yarn and cloth, during the past week, yet we fall far short of the advance in price obtained in Liverpool during the same period.

The principal part of the business transacted here has been on the part of the manufacturers, who have placed orders for yarns in anticipation that when the President's Message did arrive we should have some excitement in the cloth market, which will no doubt take place (now that it has come to hand) when the tenor of it has been seriously discussed.

The German buyers are in a better position, as far as orders are concerned, than they have been for some time past, yet they display great caution in placing their contracts for fear of exciting the spinners too much in raising their pretensions, consequently yarns suitable for Continental export have realised a smaller advance in prices than has been obtained for twist and pincofs.

The demand for cloth has been confined principally to T. cloths, long cloths and domestics for the Levantine market, also printers and shirtings for the home trade.

To-day our market opened rather excitedly, spinners asking 2d. per lb. advance on Friday's quotations, which very naturally checked business, but in the latter part of the day, when the Liverpool market was found to be very active at an advance of ½d. on the prices of the day previous, rather more business was effected, and the advance obtained here was equal to 1½d. per lb. on the rates of Tuesday last for all numbers.

Cloth may be quoted at about 6d. per piece more than was obtained this day week.

CLIPPINGS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

ANOTHER CRUISER.—The Richmond correspondent of the *Columbus Sun* says he is at liberty to state that a letter of marque and reprisal has been issued to certain officers of another splendid vessel, which will, in due time, sail from a Confederate port.—*Charleston Courier*.

The Grand Jury of Hancock county, Georgia, in their last presentment, remark:—

We recommend a Convention of the Governors of the Confederate States, to agree on some plan to be submitted to their respective Legislatures, to curtail the production of cotton during the continuance of the war, and to increase the production of such articles as will add to the comfort and convenience of our armies in the field.—*Savannah Republican*.

THE ROLL OF HONOR.—By joint resolution of the Legislature of Alabama, the Governor is authorized to prepare a book in which shall be placed the name, regiment, and residence of every soldier from that State who has died in the service of his country during the present year.—*The Mobile Register*.

A STEAM RAM.—Mr. W. R. Scott has exhibited to us a plan of a steam ram offering essential advantages over any plan previously proposed, and strongly approved by naval officers who have examined it.—*The Charleston Courier*.

PRICES OF STOCKS AND BONDS IN CHARLESTON.—At the latest dates the prices were:—Bank of Charleston Stock, 28 shares, \$118, \$118½, and \$118¾; Planters' and Mechanics' Bank Stock, 43 shares, \$31½; South Carolina Railroad and Bank Shares, 11 shares, \$128½, dividend off; South Carolina Railroad Company, half Shares, 11½ shares, \$54½, dividend off; Union Bank Shares, 57 shares, \$65 to \$65½; State Bank Stock, 50 shares, 26½; Farmer's and Exchange Bank Stock, 160 shares, \$25½; People's Bank Stock, 6 shares, \$28½, dividend off; \$4600 City 6 per cent., \$101; 4 Memphis and Charleston Railroad Bonds, \$1000 each, \$116; 8 North-eastern Railroad Bonds, \$500 each, \$109½.

The *Charleston Courier* of the 11th ultimo, gives the following account of the success which has attended the efforts of the Confederates in developing their own resources for the supply of military stores.

At our latest reports the supply of nitre from the operations of the bureau established by Government was 56,000 pounds a month, with good prospects for steady increase. In several places nitre beds have been established with reference to permanent operations.

At the Augusta works thirty-five beds have been commenced, under the faithful and efficient superintendence of Mr. JOHN LUCAS, of this city, who, for assiduity, fidelity and patient perseverance, is a model superintendent.

The Ashley Works have just been started, under charge of J. P. CLEMENTS.

The Charleston Works will soon be in operation, under Dr.

JOHN A. JOHNSON, a brother of the lamented Lieut. Col. B. J. JOHNSON.

The Cooper River Works will be immediately established under Dr. RAVENEL, and will receive, by consent of the Mayor, all the otal from the city, which will furnish a valuable supply of nitre, while it will induce a more thorough system of scavenging.

The nitre beds in Columbia, S.C., established under orders of the Executive Council, are efficiently managed by Dr. W. Hutton Ford, who is rendering good service. These works remain under the State control.

The others we have mentioned, and all others in the State, are under Confederate authority, and are directed by Professor Francis S. Holmes.

A pamphlet, giving full practical directions for making nitre, will be furnished on application to Prof. Holmes or Dr. John A. Johnson, Charleston. Our farmers and planters, generally, should foster and aid the permanent establishment of nitre beds.

The powder mills at Augusta, Ga., under charge of Lieut. Colonel Rains, are making three tons a day, and they may be extended to five tons—equal or superior to any mills on the continent.

The return of lead from South Carolina has exceeded any other department.

In this connection we glean a significant item from the *Houston (Texas) Telegraph*.

POWDER IN TEXAS.—The powder manufactory of San Antonio is making powder enough to supply at least half the Confederate army, and that it is equal to Dupont's best. Cartridges are also made there to supply the army in Arkansas.

THE DEFENCE OF MOBILE.—The *Mobile Register* utters a stirring appeal to the citizens in contemplation of an attack. We present the closing remarks.

As for the people of Mobile, their duty is plain; from the grey-haired man to the boy with the down just shading his lip, all should be in arms.—Go home and ask your women what you should do. You will come forth clad in armour to join the throng of your fellow-citizens, and to become soldiers until the invader is driven from your doors. By these means the army of Mobile can be increased by several thousand good firelocks and strong arms. Think how sweet will be your reward should you thus contribute to save your beloved city from the hoof of the tyrant invader! Think how the iron of humiliation will be driven into your souls if, for the lack of your heroic aid, Mobile and the two States which she guards should pass under the yoke of Benjamin F. Butler! By your honour, by your liberty, by the value you set upon your property, and by the love you bear your country, "to arms!" Lay aside your business, give over money making, cease speculating in the commodities of life, forego the hope of selling your tobacco, for hostile gold, and give all your thoughts, your energies, and your strength to the defence of your country.

Do your duty, and Mobile is impregnable. It will be a New Orleans or a Vicksburg, just as you will to have it.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTION IN THE NORTH.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, Nov. 11.)

The triumph of the Democratic party in the elections recently held in several of the States of Lincolnism, whether it furnishes ground for the hope of a speedy termination to this terrific struggle or not, is a fact that must arrest attention. It is certainly manifest and unquestionable that such a result could not have been obtained a twelvemonth since. No one supposes for a moment that had the contest for supremacy between these political organizations taken place last fall, the party now exulting in its success would have defeated the bloody minded fanatics. At that time opposition to the unconstitutional measures adopted by the Government dared not speak above a whisper, and its utterances were feeble and guarded. The adroit leaders of that party knew better than to attempt openly an organized opposition. Thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the public mind, they were aware that the true policy for them to pursue was to remain quiet, and to seem to sanction all that had been done and undone, in the meantime operating in secret, and by various crafty means making success certain, when the opportunity presented itself. And the boldness they exhibited in conducting the canvass, is as worthy of admiration as the patience they exercised in biding their time.

The fact we are now considering would never have occurred had their Government been successful in accomplishing its most desirable and important purposes. Had Lincoln's armies been everywhere victorious, his open disregard of constitutional obligations solemnly assumed, his enormous expenditure of money and reckless issue of bills, and his acts of tyranny and cruelty would have called no protestation and no censure. The vulgar and ignorant despot might have trodden under foot their most cherished rights with perfect impunity, had he not been unsuccessful in the execution of his important devices. It was the failure of his grand army to take Richmond, and the miserable defeats sustained by that numerous and splendid host at Manassas, together with other ruinous reverses on the field of carnage, that emboldened the Democratic party to rise and make a stand against the Radicals. So that whether we are to reap benefit from that result or not, without the potent aid given by our brave soldiers, that triumph would not have been achieved.

But in considering the success of the opposition party in the Abolition States, we may with safety conclude that a change has taken place in the feelings and sentiments of a large mass of the people concerning this purposeless and injurious contest. The extent of that change and its precise nature, we have no means of ascertaining. The Democrats do clearly and earnestly condemn the manner in which the war has been carried on, and vehemently denounce the Government for its tyrannical usurpation of power. It may be that they mean more than they say, and that the leaders of that party entertain purposes that prudence made it necessary for them to hide from the public gaze. We are aware that despite the number and the wealth of which their ranks can boast, the organization they confront has the bayonets and wields the sword of power, and had they dared come out in favour of peace on any terms, the Government would have looked after the ballot-boxes. Left to conjecture as to that ulterior purpose, we can form no opinion touching the change in the views and feelings of the successful party on that absorbing and all-important subject—the duration of the war.

Of this, however, we are certain, that there are now two parties in existence in the States with which we are at war. The party that has heretofore held unlimited sway and executed its infamous measures in either contempt of law, decency, and humanity, will hereafter be watched with a jealous eye, and no small measure of the rancorous hatred they in common entertain for us, will be poured out upon one another, and the fierce strength with which the war has been prosecuted will, to a large degree, be diminished by internal discord and divisions. If the feeling grow hotter, and the dissensions more furious, till from quarrelling they proceed to blows, and like mad beasts devour one another, so much the better for us. Like Kilkenny cats, let them kill and eat one another, until the whole Yankee race is exterminated, and all the bells in christendom would ring out merry peals over the happy catastrophe.

But let us build no expectations on the result of these elections. Let us rather continue to regard every man, woman, and child in Yankeeedom as a bitter and relentless foe, and place confidence only in God and our own right arms. If peace delay its coming, we shall be the more joyously welcomed when it does come, and we shall be the better able to appreciate and enjoy its blessings and delights.

ACTS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

We find in the *Richmond Whig* of the 4th of November, the following classified abstract of the Acts of Congress. Some unimportant Acts and the "Appropriation Acts," are omitted.

THE ARMY.

No. 4.—Provides for the organization of an army corps, to be commanded by Lieutenant-Generals.

No. 32.—Authorizes the President to organize divisions of the provisional army in army corps, and appoint officers to the command thereof.

No. 5.—Authorizes the appointment of additional officers of artillery for ordnance duties.

No. 7.—Makes it the duty of the Secretary of War to transfer any private or non-commissioned officer who may be in a regiment from a State of this Confederacy other than his own, to a regiment from his own State, whenever such private or non-commissioned officer may apply for such transfer, and whenever such transfer can be made without injury to the public service. This Act does not apply to any one who has enlisted as a substitute.

No. 26.—Authorizes the Secretary of War to furnish transportation whenever he grants transfer agreeable to the Act No. 7.

No. 10.—Confers rank on officers of the Engineer Corps of the Provisional Army equal to that of the Engineer Corps of the Confederate States Army.

No. 16.—Increases the Signal Corps.

No. 17.—Is the new Conscription Act.

No. 25.—Extends the provisions of an act approved August 31, 1861, relative to Adjutants, so as to apply to independent battalions, &c.

No. 80.—Provides that claims due to deceased non-commissioned officers and privates for pay, allowances, and bounty, may be audited and paid without requiring the production of a pay-roll from the commanding officer, where there is other official evidence. The other sections of this act provide for the employment of additional clerks, and otherwise for the prompt settlement of the claims of deceased officers and soldiers.

No. 37.—Authorizes the establishment of camps of instruction in the several States, and the appointment of officers to command the same.

No. 38.—Requires the Secretary of War to furnish uniform clothing to soldiers, instead of commutation therefore.

No. 42.—Provides that all persons subject to enrolment for military service may be enrolled wherever found, unless in actual service, without the limits of the State, as a member of a military organization under any State law. The President is authorized to suspend the execution of this act as regards the residents of any locality where it may be impracticable to execute the conscription laws.

No. 43.—Provides for the organization of military courts to attend the army in the field. Each court shall consist of three members, to be appointed by the President, and its jurisdiction shall extend to all offences now cognizable by courts martial, &c.

No. 47.—Authorizes the President to accept and place in service regiments or battalions which were organized prior to the 1st of October, 1862, although composed in part of persons between the ages of 18 and 35. Also, companies, battalions, or regiments of infantry, raised or organized before the 1st of December next, in Middle and West Tennessee, or in North Carolina, East of the Wilmington, and Weldon Railroad—said troops to elect their own officers, for first election, but all vacancies to be filled by the President.

No. 48.—Adds to the Adjutant and Inspector-General's Department one Assistant Adjutant-General, with the rank of Colonel.

No. 49.—Establishes places of rendezvous for the examination of enrolled men.

No. 51.—Provides for raising forces in the States of Missouri and Kentucky.

No. 52.—Secures to all soldiers who shall have entered the army for three years or the war, the bounty granted by Act of December 11th, 1861, although he may have been killed in battle, died, or been honourably discharged before the expiration of the first year's service of his term.

No. 53.—Is the "Exemption Act."

No. 63.—Allows to cadets in the service of the C.S., the same pay as second lieutenants of the arm of service to which they are attached.

No. 65.—Provides for relieving the army of disqualified, disabled and incompetent officers. The first section authorizes the general commanding a department to appoint an examining board to inquire into and determine the qualifications of officers brought to their attention. The second section provides that whenever the board shall determine that any officer is clearly unfit to perform his legitimate and proper duties, or careless and inattentive in their discharge, they shall report their decision to the general, who is authorized to suspend the said officer, and directed to transmit the decision, &c., to the Secretary of War. Under the third section, the secretary, if he approve the finding of the board and the action of the general, shall lay the same before the President, who is authorized to retire honourably without pay, or drop from the army, the officer who has been found unfit for his position. The fourth and fifth sections relate to filling vacancies.

No. 70.—Authorizes the grant of medals and badges of distinction as a reward for courage and good conduct in the field of battle.

No. 72.—Authorizes any number of persons not less than twenty, who are not liable to military duty, to associate themselves as a military company for local defence, elect their own

officers, etc., and shall be considered as belonging to the Provisional Army, serving without pay, and entitled, when captured by the enemy, to all the privileges of prisoners of war. The muster rolls of said companies to be forwarded to the Secretary of War, and the President, or the commander of the military district may, at any time, disband such companies, etc.

No. 73—Authorizes the President to appoint twenty general officers in the Provisional Army, and assign them to such appropriate duties as he may deem expedient.

THE NAVY.

No. 6—Authorizes the issue of \$3,500,000 bonds to meet a contract made by the Secretary of the Navy for six iron-clad vessels of war, and six steam engines and boilers complete, to be constructed abroad.

No. 11—Increases the number of non-commissioned officers and musicians in the Marine Corps.

No. 15—Determines the pay of the Engineer-in-Chief and Passed Assistant Surgeons of the Army.

No. 29—Authorizes persons subject to conscription to enlist in the navy and marine corps, and increases the pay of sailors and marines \$4 per month.

No. 57—Authorizes the appointment of three naval storekeepers.

FINANCIAL.

No. 8—Authorizes the issue of such additional amount of bonds, certificates of stock, and Treasury notes as may be required to pay the appropriations made by Congress at its last and present sessions. Also extends the authority to issue convertible bonds or certificates in exchange for Treasury notes from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. Also authorizes the payment of interest annually on all interest-bearing Treasury notes, and authorizes the extension of the issue of Treasury notes under the denomination of \$5 to the amount of \$10,000,000.

No. 67—Provides that Treasury notes issued after the 1st of December next shall be fundable only in bonds bearing interest at the rate of seven per cent. Notes issued prior to that date and those in circulation may be funded within six months after public notice in eight per cent. bonds, the reafter in seven per cent. bonds.

POSTAL AFFAIRS.

No. 13—Provides for the payment of sums ascertained to be due for postal service rendered under contracts made by the United States Government before the Confederate States Government took charge of such service.

No. 35—Authorizes the Postmaster-General to employ special agents to superintend and secure the certain and speedy transportation of the mails across the Mississippi river, at such points as may be found practicable.

No. 69—Establishes various post routes therein named.

JUDICIAL.

No. 21—Divides the State of Texas into two Judicial Districts, and provides for the appointment of Judges and officers in the same.

No. 34—Authorizes the Judges of District Courts to change the place of holding Court in certain cases.

TREASURY NOTES.

No. 12—Authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to offer a reward not to exceed \$5000 for the apprehension and conviction of any person engaged in forging or uttering counterfeit Treasury notes.

No. 56—Provides that any person in the service of, or adhering to the enemy, who shall pass or offer to pass, or dispose of any spurious or counterfeit notes, purporting to be Treasury notes of this Government, shall, if captured, be put to death by hanging, and every commissioned officer of the enemy who shall permit any offence mentioned in this Act by any person under his authority, shall also be hung.

RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS.

No. 1.—To Captain Raphael Semmes, officers and crew, of the Steamer Sumter, for gallant and meritorious services.

No. 3.—To Commander E. Farrand, Captain A. Drewry, and officers and men under their command, for the victory at Drewry's Bluff.

No. 28.—To Lieutenant I. N. Brown, and all under his command, for their skill and gallantry in the engagement of the Arkansas with the enemy's fleet near Vicksburg.

THE UNAIDED STRUGGLE.

(From the *Charleston Courier*.)

The continuance of this contest involves increased suffering. The evils that follow in the train of this calamitous visitation grow more direful with every day. Other hearts than those now aching with anxiety and bleeding from bereavement are rent with grief, and the friend who sympathized with some afflicted one yesterday, to-day weeps bitter tears over his own sorrow. The iron is driven the deeper, and our burdens become more and more heavy. And though more than eighteen months have passed away since the strife was begun, the end seems more distant than it appeared to be a twelvemonth since. Hope after hope has gone out in darkness, and expectations we had fondly cherished, have turned out to be miserable delusions. So often have we been disappointed and deceived, that now our faith rejects every promise and turns away from every sign. Our foe is as active and determined and powerful as ever he was, and the agent that was to compel foreign nations to intervene and put an end to this wicked and infamous contest, has not been potent enough to accomplish that end.

We stand alone. Vast hosts are mustering to repeat in stronger force and with more obstinate courage the attempts that have been made, and strongholds hitherto unattacked will soon have to bear the most furious onslaughts the enemy with his wonderful resources of ingenuity and material is capable of making. To frustrate his well-conceived plans to repel these terrible attacks, we have to depend entirely upon ourselves. The foe will do his utmost: military genius and knowledge, the boundless credit of the Government, the best mechanical skill—mind, money, muscle—have all combined to ensure success.

And while these tremendous efforts are being put forth—while our homes are darkened by the shadow of the death-angel's wing and our bosoms wrung with anguish—while we are enduring grievous privations and hardships, and our soldiers are almost naked, we stand alone.

It is true foreign tongues mention our name with respect and admiration. It is true our fortitude and gallantry have received abundant reward in glowing words of praise and in warm heartfelt wishes for success. But sympathy and admiration have afforded no substantial assistance, and all unaided we brace our nerves for the dreadful conflict.

Most happy are we in having got rid of delusive hopes. We became worthy of our just and glorious cause, worthy of the high character we had always borne, and fit instruments of the great work we are doing, only when we resolved by the

help of Heaven to achieve our independence with our own right arms. Since we took this honourable position we have acquitted ourselves like men, and so successfully vindicated our right to a separate nationality by splendid fighting and heroic endurance, that though not formally recognized as a member of the family of nations, we are virtually regarded a distinct and independent people.

We have fought our way to the point we now occupy, and we glory in that fact. The nations from whom we expected help have become acquainted with our qualities as a people through the narrations of the battles we have won, and to none of those great Powers are we indebted for a single victory. To God alone we acknowledge obligation, and we are made the more glad and confident by the assurance that we have been guided by His wisdom, and protected by His power.

If it had been left to us to choose, we would gladly have accepted intervention, and hailed it as a most manifest token of the Divine favour. But the God whom we serve saw proper to disappoint that hope, and, though our path is beset with formidable difficulties, and dangers darken over our future, the many and important benefits the war has conferred, force us to acknowledge that the way we have come is the better way.

We occupy a place to-day in the esteem and respect of European powers that should gratify the most inordinate national pride. And while the name of our infant Confederacy is the synonym of all that is pure, lovely, and of good report among men, the flag of the United States is the symbol of boastfulness and cruelty, and an object of universal contempt and abhorrence.

Had we been helped, we might have fought as valiantly, but the victories we gained would not have shed so brilliant a lustre on our arms, for another would have divided with us the honour and renown. And if our hope of foreign intervention had not been disappointed, it is certain our suffering would not have been nearly so great, and it is the trials we have been called upon to bear that have developed those traits and qualities which have made us invincible in the field, and prepared us to accomplish the high destiny for which we have been ordained by Providence.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, December 2.

When the heads of the Federal Government and of the two Houses of Congress possess such baptismal names as Abraham, Salmon, Gideon, Caleb, Hannibal, Galusha, and Thaddeus, it is no wonder that matters have gone astray, and the fact that all these people, excepting the President, were born in New England, accounts for the mass of falsehoods contained in the documents just presented to the country. William, Edwin, and Edward are names that boast of a parentage in New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, but as their owners have risen from the scum of those States, and have not even had the advantage of the honest training of one generation of gentility, they are equally as bad as the Yankees.

Mr. Stanton informs us that he has 800,000 men under arms, and 200,000 more ready for equipment; he has simply multiplied the real number by the figure 3. Mr. Chase, on the other hand, states that the total disbursements for the fiscal year ending June 30 were \$570,841,700; he, however, says that some reimbursements, to the amount of \$96,096,922, may properly be deducted therefrom, which would leave the expenditures \$474,744,788; he has only thus furnished an account of one-third of the indebtedness of the Washington Government. Yet by the ingenious wording of his language, the casual reader would be deceived, as he leaves out the \$500,000,000 of unsettled claims that were due at that date, as well as the \$90,000,000 of bonds and scrip issued before the beginning of the last "fiscal year." The truth is that the Lincoln Administration has plunged the adhering States into an expense of \$200,000,000, which will never be paid. Mr. Chase is not content with the use of mendacity for the past, but practices deception for the future. Upon the basis of his figures for June 30, 1862 he estimates the total debt for the same period in 1863 at just double the sum, or \$1122,297,403, when the true amount, if the war continues, will be rising \$300,000,000. Among the items given is \$1339,710 for "foreign intercourse;" this is monstrous, when it is known that the fixed salaries of all the Ministers and Consuls, in the aggregate, is comparatively trifling. It is supposed, however, that Thurlow Weed, Bishop McIlvaine, and Archbishop Hughes, the special commissioners to manufacture opinion in Europe on behalf of the North, can account for the large balance; or has the system of espionage on your side of the Atlantic, and on board of the Cunard and Inman steamers, been so very extensive as to consume the difference? Like all "story tellers," Mr. Chase forgets his former "fibs;" it was only in October that he published an official statement of the "receipts and expenditures of the Treasury Department for the three months ending on the 30th of June," in which the receipts were set down at \$238,000,000, and the expenditures at \$194,000,000, or, as he admitted, at the rate of \$800,000,000 per annum, and that was acknowledged by every one to represent but two-thirds the actual expenditure; only the items that had reached that particular department were included, and all the unfinished and unsettled accounts with the contractors and soldiers did not appear upon the books.

Mr. Lincoln says: "The vast expenditures incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained." This is false; every dodge has been resorted to to avoid payment, and even a large portion of the acknowledged debt, is represented by promissory notes, called "certificates of indebtedness," at twelve months' date. Only

\$68,000,000 have been funded since the fall of Fort Sumter; all the 7.30-100ths Treasury notes are due in October 1864, and are simply "certificates of indebtedness," having two years to run. While Old Abe is honest (!) enough to suggest that "the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field" demand the consideration of Congress, i.e. insults the truth by stating that "the suspension of specie payments by the banks soon after the commencement of the last session of Congress made large issues of United States' notes unavoidable." Surely the banks have suspended often before, and "United States' notes" were never issued; and the fact is that in the present instance they got themselves so overloaded with Treasury notes, which they only took in order to prevent Mr. Chase interfering with their circulation by his own issues, that they were obliged to suspend specie payment; and, contrary to his agreement with them, he has issued, in addition, over \$300,000,000 of inconvertible "green-backs," that have exterminated the notes of the county banks, and the proposed further emission will drive in all those of the institutions of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—Mr. Lincoln's excuse for the "legal tender" notes is a barefaced falsehood, and his insinuation that "the long-felt want of a uniform circulating medium" is perfectly absurd. Gold and silver coins are the only "circulating medium" known to the Constitution, and bank notes, or any other kind of notes, have never saved "to the people immense sums in discounts and exchanges." The balance of trade always regulates exchanges, and the premium and discounts are greater now between the East and the West than they were prior to this boasted "circulating medium." The Illinois financier continues: "Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation." Who caused these "fluctuations?" but Mr. Lincoln himself, in his insane attempt to subjugate the South. And as to the recommendation for "the organization of banking institutions under a general Act of Congress," which would be unconstitutional, that could not help matters. The Government has already monopolized nearly every channel of credit, and an increase in the number of banks cannot augment the quantity of money, any more than the erection of flour-mills can give a greater number of bushels of wheat to the world; and the Federal Government has no more right to grant charters for banks than for blacksmiths' shops.

During the revolutionary war, hostilities against Great Britain were about being brought to a close in consequence of the want of money, when the individual States came forward and advanced the required amounts. Such, however, will not be the case now; the Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Delaware and Maryland, all have Democratic majorities, and will refuse their aid; besides which, the Constitutions of most of these States, which have been amended within the last thirty years, do not permit such use of their credit. The Government must, therefore, be brought to a standstill in a very short time from the want of funds; it is merely the "agent" for the States, and when the "principals" refuse to give the "sinews," it will lose all muscle. Many persons say that as Napoleon carried on great wars without money, so can the Federal authorities; but the two cases are quite different in their character, and the endeavour to find an analogy between them betrays an extreme want of judgment.

It has been frequently explained in this correspondence that Mr. Chase has had the advantage of the great credit system of the Northern States, by filling up the void created by the displacement of specie, with bank notes, and promissory notes; but as he proposes to "mount the liquor till it runs over," there will soon be a terrible "spill," when all the "froth" will be visible. With the failure of Mr. Chase, one-half of New York will be broke, and many of your Lombard-street neighbours will, no doubt, be "fellow-sufferers." The whole financial system of Wall-street has been carried on for the last two years on the wooden-matnags, Yankee-clock principle, viz.: not genuine in one respect, and only capable of going "on tick" for a limited period in the other; the deception will soon be perceived, when there will be many a "winding up."

NEWS FROM THE ALABAMA.

(From our own Correspondent.)

St. THOMAS, Nov. 28th.

The San Jacinto is now coaling here, and it is reported that the Alabama is coaling at Sombrero. The importers of coal refused to supply the San Jacinto for payment or drafts, and the Colonial Bank negotiated the Commander's exchange at 10 per cent discount, payable in American gold.

The *St. Thomas Times*, of the 26th inst., which it was well to caution you, is by no means friendly to the Confederate cause, contains the following account of the recent doings of the Alabama and San Jacinto, which I believe to be substantially correct:—

On Monday last the French brig Marie Valentine brought here from Martinique, to the care of the United States Consul, forty-one American seamen, they being a part of fifty that had landed on the 18th inst. at Port Royal, by the rebel ship Alabama, she having met and burnt on the 2nd of November, in lat. 35 deg. 40 min. north, and long. 66 deg west, the American whaler Levi, 376 tons, Captain Starbuck, out five days from New Bedford, to which port she belonged. The captain and twenty-eight of her crew were kept in irons until landed at the above-mentioned port. On November 8th, met and burnt the T. B. Wales, Captain Lincoln, from Calcutta, bound to Boston—cargo, saltpetre and gunny-cloth. Captain Lincoln had his wife with him, and as passengers, George H. Fairfield, Esq., (late United States' Consul at the Mauritius), wife, two children, and two servants. Captain Lincoln and wife, and Mr. Fairfield and family, were admitted to the cabin of

the Alabama, and the crew placed in irons. This vessel, it will be remarked, arrived at Port Royal on the 18th, and on the 19th the United States' frigate San Jacinto appeared, and laid off on the port, so as to avoid the detention of twenty-four hours had she come to an anchor. That evening, between 6 and 8 o'clock, the Alabama succeeded in eluding the frigate and made her escape; the next morning the San Jacinto went to sea. At Port Royal it is stated there was an English brig laden with coal and other stores intended for the use of the Alabama, and the supposition is that these two vessels would proceed to some distant island, for the purpose of having these articles transhipped.

The forty-one men landed here will proceed to-morrow in the American schooner Alice, Captain Goodale, to New York.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NASSAU, November 22.

The Confederate steamer Antonia (late British steamer Herald), and the steamer Leopard, arrived here on the 20th inst., with dates to the 17th inst. The steamers Aries and Hero were in port when these vessels left.

The exploits of Captain Semmes give great satisfaction to our friends in this place. It amuses us not a little to find that the Federals openly acknowledge they cannot catch him, but we were scarcely prepared to hear that they were asking the much-abused Britishers to help them. We had a visit to-day from Commodore Wilkes (Rear-Admiral, I should say). He was informed by the pilot that he could not enter the port, or come to anchor at any of the anchorages until the permission of the Governor was first obtained. With his usual insolence, he replied that if he wished to anchor his ship he should do so without the Governor's leave. He took very good care, however, not to attempt this, not liking, possibly, the look of the Armstrongs of the Barracouta.

I forward to you files of Charleston papers to the 13th of November.

PARIS, December 16.

The most important news of the week, in an American point of view, is supplied by *La France*, usually well informed in such matters. It states that the French Government have received important despatches from Baron Mercier, and that the inhabitants of Louisiana whose property has been confiscated and plundered by "General" Butler, Mr. Lincoln's *exécuteur des basses œuvres*—to compare him to an honest hangman would be unfair to the latter—have appealed to France for protection. It is not likely that such an appeal would be made in vain, even if the Louisianians had no claim on the French Government, but such is not the case. Not only are a large portion of the inhabitants of Louisiana of French origin, French in manners and language, but by special stipulations their rights are secured under the guarantee of France. Louisiana, as all your readers know, was ceded by France to the United States in 1803, and one of the provisions of the treaty was that France guaranteed the Louisianians their property, the free exercise of their religion, and all their political rights. *La France* tells us that victims of Butler's Confiscation Decree have, in their application to France, invoked that treaty. I am not able to say what course the Emperor is prepared to adopt with reference to this question, but it cannot be denied that the conduct of Mr. Lincoln's strap at New Orleans affords just and legitimate grounds for interference.

During the past week the belief has again sprung up that the large naval force despatched to the Gulf of Mexico is quite as much caused by the state of the relations between France and the Federal Government as by any possible contingency connected with the Mexican expedition. It is asserted that two more iron-clad frigates, the Magenta and the Solferino, are to be sent across the Atlantic—and as the Mexicans have no navy of their own, it is not surprising that the public should consider this great naval demonstration as specially connected with American affairs.

Alarming rumours have throughout the week been current touching the Mexican expedition. I have seen private letters, and have reason to believe that the hardships the expedition has had to encounter are nothing more than the matter-of-course difficulties so distant an expedition in so uncivilized a country is likely to meet with. Large reinforcements, however, are under orders, and a depot of men and stores is to be formed at Matinique.

A great many years ago, Count de Montalembert wrote a book about England, which excited a great sensation. One passage in particular created great indignation among the French press, whom he charged with being wholly deficient in that spirit of honesty and fair play which, he remarked, characterized every organ of public opinion in England. No English paper, said the Count, however bitterly it might attack an opponent, would condescend to garble his own words for the purpose of damaging his arguments; in short, with English journalists the *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* are things utterly unknown. I will not "look a gift horse in the mouth," and examine what foundation there may be for this sweeping compliment, but the accusation, I am sorry to say, is even more true now than when M. de Montalembert penned it, and in no respect is it so true as in all that regards the American war. Would you believe, for instance, that neither the *Debats*, the *Temps*, nor the *Opinion Nationale* have (save in their telegrams) in any way noticed the atrocious massacre at Palmyra, nor the infamous outrage on Mrs. Brinsmade? Yet the *Debats* and the *Temps* are beyond question the most honest and liberal of the French papers, but having with press inconsistency taken up in America the cause of despotism which they attack in Europe, they suppress all that can reveal the real character of President Lincoln's Government. They refuse to let their readers know that throughout the Federal States personal liberty does not exist, that the press is gagged, that peculation goes hand in hand with plunder, and that atrocities, which can only find a parallel in the horrors perpetrated in

France during the Reign of Terror, are applauded and rewarded by the Federal President, supported by an unruly mob, the fear of which keeps aloof all such honest politicians who place a higher value on their life and liberty than on the advocacy and defence of truth.

The *Constitutionnel*, on the other hand, distinguishes itself by the extent, variety, and general accuracy of its intelligence from the South. The following letter from New Orleans appeared in its columns a few days ago. I transcribe it *in extenso*. I can, after all, understand the thick and thin partisans of Lincolnism suppressing evidence so damaging to their cause:—

"——— Pudet

Hæc dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli."

The letter runs thus:—

This city presents a most melancholy appearance; the streets are almost deserted, and scarcely any one is to be seen but adventurers from the North who come to seek a part in the spoils. The shops remain open, but sell nothing, as no one has any money. Commerce is dead, and agriculture abandoned in all the localities in possession of the Yankees.

A measure which renders life still more difficult, is the proclamation, by which General Butler orders all lodgers who occupy houses belonging to the rebels, to pay their rent to a special officer appointed for the account of the Washington Government. The same measure is applicable to those who are debtors of the rebels, as well as to those who hold any bills or other securities belonging to the traitors. This, as you may imagine, is opening a door to denunciations and robberies of all kinds, and is a premium offered to bad faith. A woman was, a few days since, accused of opening a letter from a Confederate soldier to his wife, and containing a bank note, but she was acquitted of the charge, on the grounds that the money belonged to a rebel.

If we turn to the political and moral state of the city, the situation is still worse. There is no longer any trace of liberty or of confidence in the daily relations of life. A meeting of three persons in the streets is interdicted, and if you approach a friend to speak to him you are sure to see a spy come up to endeavour to catch what you say. It is only at home and in the bosom of one's own family, and with well-known friends, that any one can venture to give vent to his feelings. General Butler gives a slave a fee of from ten to twenty piastres for every tale he can bring.

It frequently happens that a well-known friend or acquaintance has disappeared, and the result of an inquiry is that he has been sent to some fortress as a prisoner, and it is vain that you ask why or wherefore, for no one can tell you; and if you ask for how long a time he has been condemned, you hear that it is for three or five years. When tried, they are not allowed either witnesses or counsel, or even a jury. They are taken before Butler, who, after swearing and stamping his feet for a few minutes, sentences them to imprisonment. And to what prisons are they sent? Horrible bastilles, situated on a desolate beach surrounded with pestilential swamps.

All communication between New Orleans and the surrounding country is nearly entirely cut off. No one can quit the city without showing the sentinels a permission signed by General Butler, and whose document cannot be obtained without great difficulty, and never except by those who have taken the oath of allegiance. The parishes nearest to the city are all deserted; the inhabitants have fled to escape the danger of death which threatened them night and day. The railway of the Opelousas is guarded by negro soldiers, who commit all kinds of depredations, and kill any one who attempts to make the slightest resistance.

Squads of bandits every day leave the camp and enter the houses, which they pillage of everything that comes in their way. Hence the whole of Lower Louisiana is a scene of indescribable desolation; the eye of the traveller can discover nothing but plantations abandoned or devastated. Beyond the parish of Jefferson, some fields of maize and beans may be seen, but the crops are all lost, for the negroes of President Lincoln have signified that they would shoot any proprietors who might attempt to remove anything off the ground.

The political situation of the North presents the deepest interest at the present moment, and excites the liveliest attention on the part of the South. Are the Democrats or the Radicals to obtain the triumph? What will be the consequence of the almost certain victory of the former?

Determined and intelligent separatists wish for the success of the Black Republicans, feeling persuaded that their madness and fury will exasperate the West and precipitate the crisis. I, for my part, cannot share in that opinion. In spite of the pains which the Democrats take to convince the public that they are determined to vigorously pursue the war, I think they are at heart very desirous for peace, and secretly ready to do everything to bring it about. They clearly see the insanity of this fratricidal struggle and the impossibility of a restoration cemented by blood. When they post up warlike declarations, it is because, as the proverb says, they are obliged to howl with the wolves. It is an electoral tactic and nothing more. That the Democrats sincerely regret the Union, I have no doubt; but they have too much political good sense not to see things in their real light, and they are too deeply imbued with constitutional principles to dream of the conquest and subjugation of the South. That party has a fund of patriotism and liberalism, which has become strengthened by the rude trials through which the country has passed and is now passing.

It is not the same with the fanatics of New England, a race obstinate, egotistical, haughty, and inflexible in its ambition, senseless in its counsels, sanguinary in its acts, and bigoted in its own hateful fashion of interpreting the sacred records. What that race desires is less the re-establishment of the Union, than the satisfaction of their self-love, their their jealousy, and their vengeance. The solution every day more and more hoped for, will, therefore, more surely result from the accession of the Democrats to power, for it is to be presumed that the Black Republicans, out of hatred, spite and envy, will refuse to their adversaries for the continuance of the war, the co-operation they have given during the radical administration. Supposing, however, that the war were to be continued under the direction and control of the Democrats, it would, at least, be carried on according to the laws observed in civilized countries. Brigandage would disappear, and we should no longer witness those excesses of which we are now the victims.

At the moment I am writing I have received a copy of the *True Delta*, in which mention is made of a proposed mediation on the part of the European Powers. We have so often been the dupes of rumours of this kind, that I receive the news with extreme mistrust, although the time appears opportune for step of that kind. What do the Powers wait for? Why do

they remain indifferent and apathetic spectators of a scene of war and devastation, which is unparalleled in history? It would be well for them to decide and abandon that strange torpor—which policy condemns, and humanity reproves. May God hasten the moment so painfully and anxiously looked for.

Leaving these painful scenes, and coming over to this side of the Atlantic the prospect, though not so gloomy, is still far from cheering. In the political world the greatest confusion prevails, and the great Powers of Europe preserve towards each other an attitude of distrust, which is far from reassuring to the friends of peace.

The chief stumbling-block in everybody's path is Italy and the Roman question—it is useless mincing matters. The new Cabinet which has been formed at Turin, and its programme, apparently so quiet and dignified, must be held as an answer to the last French despatches, in which Italy was made to feel so keenly her dependent position. The clerical party at Court are in a state of exultation, but they are so intoxicated with their own triumph that it seems to me they overrate their own power, and instead of being a convenient tool, fancy that they are the real master mind. Messieurs de la Guernonniere, the Papal Nuncio, Keller, de la Rochejaquelein, and Segur d'Aguesseau, imagine—modest souls!—that they can mould the Emperor, whose views and wishes they unconsciously promote, to do their bidding! Their organ, *La France*, reminds one of the Fat Boy in Dickens' "Pickwick Papers;" *La France* wants to make our flesh creep, and darkly hints at awful contingencies. In addition, our clerical friends are about to avail themselves of that powerful instrument for producing a sensation, an anonymous pamphlet, echoing M. de la Guernonniere's favourite scheme for the dismemberment of Italy. Do I believe that the Emperor means anything of the kind? I really cannot say; but think that His Majesty is determined on one thing—i. e., to keep his troops at Rome; and that, like our old Athenian friend, he thinks it useful to cut off the tail of his favourite dog. That dog of Alcibiades is one of our standing institutions, as Henri Heine pointed out long since. In one of his celebrated letters he introduces a stranger and a bourgeois. Scene, a little German town:—

Stranger: Bless my soul, what a fine dog that is.

Bourgeois: Yes; that is Alcibiades' dog.

Stranger: Indeed!—Alcibiades?—What do you mean?

Bourgeois: Why, of course, we have no Alcibiades amongst us, but we find his dog mighty convenient, and cut a bit off his tail from time to time.

I have always thought that the great use of *La France* was that it performed the part of that celebrated bow-wow. It always affords something to talk about, and enables the ruling Powers' real intentions to lie *perdu* until a fitting time occurs to reveal them. At the same time it is dangerous to play with edged tools, and these rumours of dismemberment, of placing a Murat on the throne of Naples, are calculated to keep up a feeling of distrust, and an agitation which is highly prejudicial to the continuance of peace.

The Greek question, though to all appearance settled, still occasions uneasiness, and the last move of the English Government—the cession of the Ionian Islands—gives rise to all manner of suppositions; for such is the perverseness of human nature in Paris that people refuse to believe that England would abandon a first-rate military position merely because the natives fancy they have a natural affinity with an adjoining country, unless she had some very good substantial reason for doing so. It may, indeed, be a piece of folly perfectly Quixotic, what the French call *eccentricité Britannique*, carried to its farthest limits; but it must be admitted that this extreme generosity is a case for reasonable suspicion.

In Paris we are going pretty much in the usual style. The formidable *Jour de l'an* announces its approach in its usual insidious style. Waiters, porters, coachmen, and servants are getting suspiciously obsequious and civil, and the toy and sugar-plum shops are putting forth all their most tempting wares.

Dr. Nelaton, who pulled the bullet out of Garibaldi's foot, has just administered a very proper rebuke to a deputation from Nantes, who sought to return him for that town on opposition principles. Dr. Nelaton very properly told them that his skill in the use of the bistouri by no means implied familiarity with public affairs, and gave them to understand that one honest man added to the Corps Legislatif would not much improve it, whilst his patients (and his patience) would suffer from his attending the deliberations of that celebrated corps.

M. Emile Augier has drawn a hornet's nest about his ears by his anti-clerical comedy *Le Fils de Giboyer*. The celebrated Louis Veuillot, the great Billingsgate *Quintillion* of the clerical press, has rushed into print, and demolished M. Augier in his favourite style. The dramatist meanwhile is paid marked attention to by Prince Napoleon and all the Radical party, and has published his comedy with a preface, in which he compares it to Molière's *chef d'œuvre*!

The Emperor has gone to-day to pay his long-announced visit to Baron Rothschild at Fécamp; only a dozen guests are invited to meet His Majesty. It is merely a shooting party, but if the fog was as dense in the country as it has been in Paris, His Majesty must have had but poor sport. A great deal has been said as to the real object of that visit being financial, political, and so on. But in spite of appearances, I am told that the only object was the destruction of the hares and pheasants in the financial Baron's well-stocked preserves.

The little Prince Imperial on Sunday last went to the play for the first time. The theatre was the Cirque in the Place du Chatelet; the performance consisted of a pantomime, *Rothomago*, which I am told the little fellow appeared to enjoy quite as much as a young bourgeois of his own years (he is six years old). The imperial party sat out the whole performance, from 7 to 12 p.m., and were vociferously cheered by a crowded house.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1862.

Mr. Lincoln's Message.

Manhattan, the eccentric New York correspondent of the *Standard*, tells a story of the Northern President which is worth repeating. An office-seeker, who considered that he had rendered large services to the Republican party, pressed his claims on the gratitude of the President, with the extravagant boast that the victory of 1860 had been owing to his exertions. "That is to say, you made me President?" "Yes, I think so," was the applicant's reply. "Then a pretty fix you have got me into, that's all;" and Mr. Lincoln closed the interview. *Si non e vero e ben trovato*. The Presidential Message is exactly in this tone. We could almost find it in our heart to pity the man who, in such a position, has nothing better to say, and the nation which, at the crisis of its fate, is doomed to listen to such a string of platitudes and absurdities from the Chief to whom universal suffrage has entrusted its destinies. Weakness is ever pitiable; weakness in high places, too conspicuous to be hidden, too helpless even to seek for strength in those who might strengthen it—the weakness of an insignificant man thrust by chance, or by that popular caprice which is worse than chance, inasmuch as it is wholly incalculable, into one of the most important positions in the world—weakness which yet is strong enough to deluge a continent with blood, to menace the peace of Europe, and interrupt the commerce of half the globe—weakness which has made Virginia a desert and Lancashire a poor-house—affords a spectacle too terrible for contempt, and almost too revolting for pity. The Presidential Message is the wail of bewildered, helpless, weakness, ashamed to confess, and yet unable to conceal, its utter perplexity. Never before, we think, did the head of a great nation gravely come forward when the national fortunes were in such peril, and the national passions so vehemently excited, to offer counsels so utterly void of meaning, and consolation so entirely barren of truth. Never before did Democracy show to such disadvantage as now, when the men to whom it has handed over the control of a vast empire, and the management of a gigantic war, appear before the nation to deliver themselves of nonsense that would hardly be endured by a parish vestry in language that would disgrace a fourth-form school-boy.

We have no doubt that Mr. Lincoln feels the wretchedness of his position. Even to such a mind as his, "to be weak is miserable;" to be so weak as he is, under such a burden as is laid upon him, would be misery that no sensitive conscience could endure. But Mr. Lincoln's conscience is not sensitive. He has never shown any squeamishness about bloodshed; he has never shrunk from lawless tyranny, from disgraceful treachery, from cowardly brutality; he has not even feared to assume, by tolerating assassins in the service over which he has supreme control, the guilt of deliberate murder. Yet he does seem to desire to do what is in his eyes the paramount duty of his position—to restore the authority of the Federal Government throughout the vast extent of territory that formerly constituted the United States.

That is his fixed idea; the one thing that is obligatory on his conscience, and essential to his peace of mind; and that is exactly what he is beginning to learn that he never can do. He feels that he does not see his own way, he feels that none of those about him see their way; and he goes on groping in the dark, and blundering into crime after crime, into disaster after disaster, till no obtuseness of intellect or conscience can prevent his knowing that he is assisting in the ruin of his country, and helping on the final destruction of that Union which it is his real and earnest endeavour to restore. When he was thanked for his Emancipation edict by a deputation of Abolitionist fanatics, he gave utterance to what has probably been the uppermost thought in his heart after every one of the acts into which he has been cajoled or hurried by Ministers and partisans—"I trust to God that I have made no mistake." It was the phrase of a man honest after his kind; a man whom the pride of place had not inflated with self-confidence, and whom political passion had not rendered deaf to doubts and qualms of conscience; but of a man so weak, so irresolute, so utterly wanting alike in the reserve and in the courage of a statesman that no one who heard it could ever again believe that Abraham Lincoln was fit to fill the position to which the voice of faction and fanaticism had called him.

That part of the Message which relates to foreign affairs displays the weakness not of indecision, but of insolence and insincerity; the weakness not of Mr. Lincoln, but of Mr. Seward and Mr. Gideon Welles. We are amused, if not surprised, to find that so far from apprehending European intervention, so far from fearing that if the Confederate States should not speedily be crushed, they may be recognized by Powers which cannot be expected in such a matter to wait on the pleasure of the Government at Washington, the President has entertained hopes, not yet dissipated, that the recognition of the belligerent rights of the South, so unwisely and unhesitatingly accorded by France and England, would ere long be withdrawn. It was but a few days after he had learned that France had proposed an interposition which would have finally sealed the independence of the Confederacy that Mr. Lincoln delivered himself of this astonishing idea. Seeing that the South has contrived to prove her belligerent status by inflicting upon the Federal armies a series of the most tremendous defeats that any modern army ever sustained, and to extort even from himself an acknowledgment of that status in the negotiation of a regular exchange of prisoners, it is incredible that he should seriously imagine that the European Powers have or ever had any idea of withdrawing from the position they have taken—the only position they could reasonably assume, or could hope peacefully to maintain. If—*Dis exaudita malignis*—Mr. Lincoln's hope were realized, what would be the consequence? In the first place, the search of British vessels on the high seas could no longer be permitted. That is a belligerent right, and if the United States are not at war, they cannot claim to exercise it; while, if they are at war, there can be no question as to the recognition of their enemy as a belligerent. Again, the right of blockade is one which can only be exercised in war; and if England and France ceased to recognize the Confederacy as a belligerent Power, they would be obliged to notify to Mr. Lincoln, that they could no longer tolerate his pretension to blockade Charleston, Mobile, and Savannah. If in return some practical obstacles were placed in the way of the shipment of arms and ammunition from Liverpool and Nassau, would this compensate the North for the inconvenient restrictions imposed on its operations by the acceptance of its absurd declaration that it is not at war—an assertion of which we certainly fancied that we had heard the last?

Notwithstanding that the "temporary reverses which have befallen the Federal arms, and which have been exaggerated by disloyal citizens abroad," have delayed this "act of simple justice," the President considers the state of foreign relations more satisfactory than he could have expected. Certainly, even Mr. Seward could hardly have foreseen that Great

Britain would endure so quietly the insult and contumely that have been heaped upon her—the burning of her merchantmen in neutral waters; the blockade of Bermuda; the attacks on British vessels within gunshot of British shores; and finally, the menace of Captain Wilkes to enter the harbour of Nassau by force, in open defiance of the prohibition of the colonial Government. The necessity of "blockading 3000 miles of sea coast" affords no excuse for such operations as these. But the patience of England—or of Lord Russell—is to be yet further tried. Mr. Welles is of opinion that the British Government ought to answer for the misdeeds of the Alabama, and to indemnify the merchants whose ships Captain Semmes has captured and destroyed. If she should decline to do this, it will be "matter of grave consideration" how long England is to be allowed to maintain her neutral attitude, and furnish arms and materials of war impartially to the agents of both the belligerent Confederations. This is "an abuse;" and "how far it may be carried with impunity to the Government which tolerates it" depends, in the opinion of Mr. Welles, and apparently in that of his superior, rather on the patience than on the prudence of the Northern Cabinet. If language of this kind were printed in official documents by any European Government, explanations would probably be demanded as soon as the telegraph had communicated to London the publication of the insult; but the habit of treating American impertinences with contemptuous forbearance is so ingrained in English statesmen that not even the lesson of the Trent has been sufficient to teach them that the tolerance of contempt is mistaken at Washington for the submission that springs from fear.

The Secretary of the Treasury has not yet presented his Report; but he has contributed to the Presidential Message a suggestion which appears to us a masterpiece of financial folly. Mr. Chase professes an anxiety to reduce the fluctuations in the value of the currency, and ensure its prompt convertibility into coin. The simple way of doing this would, of course, be to make Treasury notes payable in gold or silver at certain offices in every great town, or even in one town only. But this plan is either too simple for Mr. Chase's taste, or too difficult for his strength. We are inclined to suppose the former; because if the Treasury of the United States has not and cannot procure the means of paying its notes in coin, it certainly cannot give any other institution the means of doing so. But Mr. Chase proposes to create, by Act of Congress, certain banking companies, privileged to issue notes of a particular form, supplied to them by the Treasury in exchange for the deposit of United States' bonds, which notes are to be convertible into cash. We have tried in vain to make out what the Minister expects to achieve by this curious manœuvre. Suppose his banks established—suppose that they have lent to the Treasury £20,000,000 sterling, and begin to issue notes "payable on demand"—what will happen? Simply this, that as the currency is depreciated about 25 per cent., every note issued will immediately come back on the issuers in exchange for coin. Not only, therefore, would the proposed banks have no influence over the present currency, but while that currency remains extant, they could not float a single five-dollar note "convertible into coin." Is it Mr. Chase's hope that the banks would assist him to withdraw a portion or the whole of the mass of depreciated paper at present afloat; bringing it back to him in exchange for the bonds which are to form the basis of their own issues? It is true that this might be done—if the terms offered were worth the acceptance of any large banking companies—to a limited extent, but only to a limited extent. For when they had purchased as large a quantity of United States' bonds as would cover the whole amount of convertible notes that could be floated, a portion of the present inconvertible currency—that portion of it which, as is shown by the depreciation, is in excess of the amount of convertible paper or gold really required for the purposes of currency—would remain in the hands of the public. And as, while any portion of the currency is convertible or

metallie, the currency can never be in excess of the public demand (for such excess immediately causes convertible notes to be exchanged for bullion, and bullion to be hoarded or exported), the banks would only be able to float such a quantity of convertible paper as, together with the remnant of inconvertible Treasury notes, would make up the whole amount required for circulation; that is, they would not be able to issue notes up to the amount of their stock, even if the whole purchase money of that stock were used directly or indirectly to redeem the inconvertible paper now afloat. Mr. Chase's scheme would require that Government should first of all restore the value of the currency by redeeming the excess; in fact, should itself make its notes payable in coin. When it had done this there would be no occasion for the services of the banks; until it does this the banks cannot be brought into active existence. Finally, we do not see how it could be made worth the while of any company to accept the proposed terms. Any bank can at present issue notes, depositing or not depositing stock as security; and it can hardly be thought that the advantage of having notes of a particular and uniform pattern (and this is all that Mr. Chase offers) will induce any of them to lend to the Government money which can be employed to better purpose and on better security: for when a country, enjoying perfect liberty of commerce with all the world, is confessedly raising only eleven millions sterling by taxation, and spending a hundred and twenty millions—when it is creating a debt of which the interest alone will in another year exceed its whole revenue—the security of the Government must be rated very low indeed.

But whatever may become of the national finances, the war is to go on. It is sad to think that thousands of lives and millions of money are to be wasted month after month at the bidding of a man who actually assigns as a reason for prosecuting the war the impossibility of finding or drawing a boundary-line between the two Confederacies; as if the lines which suffice to separate States would not serve as the demarcations of empires; as if, while France and Russia are content with imaginary boundary lines, a "natural frontier" were necessary in America; or as if "natural frontiers" could not be found in abundance. But the war must go on, we fear; not because disunion is impossible, for disunion is an accomplished fact—not because boundaries cannot be drawn, for nothing is easier—not because terms of peace could not easily be arranged, for both parties are sick of the conflict, and would be glad to settle the dispute on any equitable basis—but simply because the North, having undertaken to conquer the South, does not see how to draw back. The war must go on, because it has begun. England has declined to join with France to put an end to it; it cannot end of itself; and there is not in the Northern States a man or a party with the genius, the courage, or the power to stop its progress, or to arrest the headlong course of the country on its road to destruction.

Compensated Emancipation.

The world has never beheld a more pitiable spectacle than that now presented by the head of a still great and powerful nation, who in a moment of supreme peril can find only homely commonplaces for its consolation, and suggests for its guidance nothing better than a vague visionary plan which has already failed in practical application. With the childish obstinacy of a very weak man, Mr. Lincoln clings to his scheme of "compensated emancipation" as the specific cure of the ills that afflict the country, and hopes that the proposition which was rejected by States of which he held military possession would be accepted by States in which the authority of Jefferson Davis is undisputed, or that a "generosity" which alienated friends still remaining to him in the border land, would win the affections of open and implacable enemies. We must, however, do Mr. Lincoln the justice to remark that in another part of his homily to the nation he himself is not without a confused perception of the inadequacy of his

remedy, for in a sentence as unclear as only he could write it, he seems to express the despondent belief that the strife between the North and South would not end before the present generation of men had passed away. The Northern President has a reputation for simplicity of mind and naïveté of expression, and he certainly deserves both by the remarkable manner in which he betrays the real purposes of his more astute advisers in permitting him to reiterate the already rejected proposal. "We are divided among ourselves," says, in substance, this ingenuous Chief-Magistrate, "on the subject of slavery. My scheme flatters all the divergent opinions—those who wish the abolition of the institution, by holding out to them a distant prospect of realizing their wishes; and those who deprecate the abolition, by postponing the whole subject to a dim and remote future. Thus if it does not heal the dissensions between North and South it may at least heal the dissensions among ourselves, and enable us to direct our undivided efforts towards restoring the Union by fire and sword." The plain interpretation of which is—the people in the recent elections have condemned the emancipation policy of the Administration. The Administration cannot dispense with the support of the violent party which raised it to power, and it dare not act openly in opposition to the popular will. The latter is to be flattered by the form of asking Congress for constitutional authority to carry out emancipation by a sober and peaceful process in the course of years; the former are in the same breath assured that the President, in his military capacity, will not await such authority, and will adhere to his more expeditious process.

Whether this cunning device will have the desired effect remains to be seen. We do not believe it. The President is too awkward a man to carry out successfully this species of political tight-rope dancing. His mode of steering a middle course has heretofore been to reel like a drunkard from one side of the road to the other. His steps are not likely to become at once more steady and even. Apart from the intrinsic impracticability of the scheme, whichever party, if any, may favour it, the other is tolerably certain to oppose it for party purposes, and each can do so upon equally good grounds. The Abolitionists may denounce it as a shameful compounding with sin and crime; the Democrats may dilate upon the absurdity of adding to the burthens of the nation another debt equal to more than half the National debt of Great Britain, and the impossibility of deporting outside of the United States a people of four million souls. Either of these modes of reasoning are purely speculative, for the laws of the United States can never have the slightest practical effect upon the nation which is now politically and historically, if not diplomatically, recognized to be a separate and independent nation.

In this connexion the letter from the South which we publish elsewhere arrives most opportunely, although written before Mr. Lincoln's proposal was known or even suspected. As a temperate statement of Southern views on the subject of emancipation, and a frank exposition of the danger which actually threatens the South, it will amply repay careful perusal. We are strongly impressed in this letter by a train of reasoning which has never received sufficient attention in Europe. Our correspondent, quoting the words of the Confederate President when Senator in the United States' Congress, says that slavery is less a question of property than a plan for the civil government of an inferior race. We in this country are wont to consider the compensation of the owners as the greatest difficulty of the problem of emancipation. Our correspondent suggests that a far greater difficulty lies behind this. It is not the master alone who is protected by this plan of civil government in a regular supply of trained labour; the slave also derives from it the only efficient protection of an inferior and feebler race, from the crushing heel of a stronger and exterminating race. Whoever has studied the invariable consequences of such a collision of races will not be apt to pass lightly over this branch of the intricate problem. The negro as a slave has only one master, with a

chance that this master, whether from his position in society or from self-interest, would at least be humane, and have a decent regard to his welfare. The negro, as a freed man, would have as many brutal masters as there are poor white men with whose earnings he might have to compete, and without greater protection from the laws than he now enjoys. The only substitute for the present plan of civil government is an unlimited issue of United States' bonds, and the deportation of a whole people from the land of their birth.

The Meaning and Power of Conventions in the United States.

The telegraphic summary of the Message of President Lincoln has given rise to the erroneous impression that he had recommended to the Congress of the United States the important step of calling a Convention of the States. Congress has no constitutional power to make such a call, except at the request of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States; but the mere suggestion by the President of such a measure would, as we shall endeavour to show, have a significance far beyond any amendments to the Constitution. There are two modes by which the Constitution of the United States provides for its own amendment—one by a simple and comparatively easy process which has been already repeatedly employed; the other so grave and so fraught with momentous consequences that the founders of the republic made it possible only by the previous concurrence of two-thirds of the States. These provisions are as follows:—

Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses should deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.

It will be seen, on reading the text of the Message, that Mr. Lincoln has contented himself with the simpler and usual method. His suggestion is therefore without the slightest significance. According to the theory of the North, the Southern States are still members of the Union, and to engraft the proposed amendments upon the Constitution three-fourths of the nominal number—that is to say twenty-four States, or more than are actually in the Union and represented in the Congress which he addresses—must give their concurrence. Well aware of this, the President hints at the expedient of manufacturing States for the occasion out of the Territories. Of the prosperity of these he speaks in glowing terms, apparently forgetful of the flat contradiction he gives himself in another place by admitting that the sale of the public lands—the unfailing indication of the increase of population in the wilderness—has ceased to be a source of revenue, and is not sufficient to pay for the management of those lands. Until the hint shall be acted upon, the subject is not worth extended comment, and we may better employ our space with one at present of more interest—the meaning and power of American Conventions.

The loose manner in which the word is used in the unintelligible slang of American party politics excuses even a well-informed English reader for ignorance of the precise meaning of the term, or the real function of such a body in the political machinery of the country. He is confused by hearing of the various "State" and "National" Conventions, which meet under various party names, nominate Governors and Presidents, and play so important a part on the political stage; but these are assemblages of self-constituted delegates, which derive their being and authority from no part of the written or unwritten laws of the country, and in this case, as in the case of commercial conventions, railroad conventions, etc., etc., the term is simply an Americanism for "congress," and used in the same sense as we speak of a

Social Science Congress, an International Copyright Congress, etc., etc. In its true political significance the term "convention"—probably borrowed from the French Revolutionary Assembly of that name—is a body representing and wielding the sovereignty of a regularly organized political community—that is to say, a State. The members must be elected according to the electoral law of the State.

Such a body always styles itself "The people in Convention assembled," and is held in theory to have all the powers which would pertain to the people of the State, if met together in a primary assembly. In practice, however, its functions are usually restricted, either by precedents and usage, or by the special purpose for which the Convention is convoked. From its very nature such an assembly can only be convoked by the highest constituted authority of the State, but it does not derive its powers from, nor can be restricted in the exercise of them by, the authority which convoked. The very reason of its convocation is to exercise functions and powers beyond and above the competency of the constituted authorities, and which require that the people should temporarily delegate the sovereignty residing in them to representatives in a common and extraordinary consultation. A Convention, therefore, is never called, except in some exceptional emergency—as to frame, remodel, or amend the organic law of the State, and nearly all the States have more than once made use of this agency to alter their several Constitutions. It was through the agency of such Conventions that the present Federal Constitution was adopted by most of the original members of the Union, it was through such agencies that each new State subsequently became a member, and it was through such agencies that the seceding States withdrew from the Federal compact. The essential difference between a State Legislature and a Convention of the people of the State is, that the former exists by virtue of the written law, and can exercise no powers not conferred on it by that law; while the latter is the source of the law itself, and bases its authority upon the fundamental theory of a republican polity, that the sovereignty resides in the people. It is remarkable that this apparently irresponsible and anomalous political engine is the only one of all the political institutions of America which has not at some time or other been perverted and abused. Whether it is that meeting only on extraordinary occasions, and for some great purpose, the Convention impresses the popular imagination with a respect which the American has lost for his ordinary governmental machinery, or from whatever reason, certain it is that the corruption and levity which so generally characterize American legislative assemblies have seldom or never disgraced Conventions. As a rule, the delegates are chosen with more discrimination and by a higher class of voters than in ordinary elections. It now only remains to add that no general rule or usage obtains, or has ever obtained, among the various States as regards Conventions. Thus in Virginia, the usage obtains that all acts of a Convention must be submitted to the primary electors before becoming valid; while in most of the other States the acts of a Convention are held to be final, unless by its own direction submitted to a popular vote, as has sometimes been the case. Nor can, in the relations between State and State, or between the State and the Federal Government, any distinction be drawn between the acts of a Convention and those of the Legislature, provided the sovereign will of the State be distinctly and unmistakably signified. Thus the adoption of the present Federal Constitution by the Legislatures of a few of the States was held to be equally valid, though not so solemn, as if, like in the majority of the States, it had been the act of a Convention.

The term "National Convention," as contradistinguished from a "State Convention," is used for convenience and in absence of a better. Strictly speaking, there can be in the Federal system no such thing as a National Convention, because the only political community known to this system is the State. As the Congress is a Legislature of and

for the States, so the so-called "National Convention" is a Convention of States, and not of the people. The style of the Federal Legislature is "the United States in Congress assembled;" the style of the Convention is "the United States in Convention assembled." In neither case is it in theory or practice an assembling of the people. In every other respect the analogy of the "National" to the "State" Convention is perfect, and the relative position of the Federal Legislature and the Federal convention is the same as between the corresponding State assemblies. This will be best illustrated by the reference to the history of the first and only national, or rather Federal Convention, so termed, that has ever been assembled in the United States. In 1787, the thirteen United States, finding their Federal system defective and insufficient for their purposes, severally sent, through their Legislatures or Conventions, delegates to a general Convention of all the States for the purpose of deliberating upon, and, if possible, proposing for adoption to the States, a new and improved Federal compact or Constitution. This Convention met under the presidency of George Washington, and after protracted secret deliberations, proposed to the States the Federal compact which, with the subsequent amendments, is known as the present Constitution of the United States. The old Federal Government was dissolved, and the new one went into operation, according to the fiat of the Convention, so soon as nine of the States had adopted the proposed change, and although the remaining four still delayed their entrance into the Union, and two of them remained for a considerable period outside of it as independent little republics.

The reader cannot fail to perceive the exceptional, and in one sense revolutionary, character of such a Convention. In theory and in practice it is independent of and above the President, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. Its assemblage would be, in fact, the resumption by the States of the powers delegated in the creation of the Federal Government; for the Convention, with the consent of all or a part of the States, might abolish the Presidential office, entrust the legislative branch of the Government to one instead of two assemblies, extend or restrict the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or abolish that tribunal, consolidate all the States into one compact empire, or dissolve the Federal tie altogether, and resolve the Union into as many separate republics as there were before States. For mere amendments of the Constitution it is unnecessary to conjure up a body with such extraordinary powers, since the Constitution itself provides within itself a simpler and less dangerous mode for its own amendment. The call for the Convention of the States could mean only a confession of the total wreck of the Federal Constitution, and the utter inadequacy of all its provisions to the emergencies of the crisis. Such a confession, in all probability, will, and perhaps must, precede the recognition of the independent nationality of the Confederate States by the States of the North, since the Constitution has conferred on no part of the Federal Government such a power, and the Convention is the only body which could exercise it with the form of law. In this view of the case, the call of a Convention would be the certain harbinger of peace. The Message of President Lincoln would indeed be an important State paper did it contain even the bare suggestion of this last refuge from the troubles that gather daily more thickly and heavily around the Government and the people.

The Ionian Islands.

The Greeks have been made the victims of a diplomatic trick as thoroughly unnecessary and idle as it has proved successful. The English Government was thrown into a great fright upon the expulsion of King Otho, by the suspicion that Russia, in order to obtain the election of the Duke of Leuchtenburg to the vacant throne, would either repudiate altogether the Convention of 1830, or, admitting it to be still in force, insist that the Duke did not come within its terms. To prevent this danger, the Government

organs were instructed to support the candidature of Prince Alfred, and encourage the Greeks to believe that the Prince would accept the throne if it should be offered him. With the same object Mr. Searlett, the English Minister at Athens, was kept in a state of complete uncertainty as to the intentions of the Government, and was not allowed to undeceive the populace of Athens, or even the Provisional Government. The manœuvre was perfectly successful. Russia, frightened in her turn by the possibility that Prince Alfred would accept the throne, hastened to declare her adherence to the convention, and to abandon the candidature of the young Beauharnais Romanowski. Inasmuch, however, as the Greeks have not shown the slightest desire to elect the Duke of Leuchtenburg, and, on the contrary, have displayed a violent antipathy to everything Russian, the success is utterly valueless. As the Russian had never the slightest chance of being elected, his promise, or rather the promise made for him, not to accept the throne was quite unnecessary. England has gained nothing by her *finesse*, but the Greeks have lost a great deal by it. They have wasted much energy and enthusiasm, sustained a severe and dispiriting disappointment, and if they have not exactly made enemies of France and Russia, have, at least, deprived themselves of the goodwill of those Powers. If we may believe statements very confidently made in well-informed quarters, Earl Russell is ashamed of the scurvy trick he has played the Greeks, and is disposed to make them amends. We are told that the Honourable Mr. Elliott has been sent to Athens upon a special mission, with instructions to spare the Greeks the trouble of looking out for a substitute for Prince Alfred, and to promise on the part of England to endow her nominee with the same dowry, which the Greeks only hoped might be given them with Prince Alfred. Improbable as the news appears, there really is reason to believe that Mr. Elliott is instructed to offer the Provisional Government of Greece the cession of the Ionian Islands upon condition that Prince Ferdinand is elected King of Greece.

The Ionian Islands would make no contemptible present to a regenerated Greece. Fertile and prosperous, their annexation would at once make a very respectable addition to the population and resources, and, we must add, to the debt of the Hellenic kingdom. Of the seven islands which, with their small dependencies, constitute the republic which bears the sonorous title of "The United States of the Ionian Islands," six—Corfu, Paxo, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Ithaca, and Zante—lie on the coast of Albania, and the western shore of Greece; and one, Cerigo, lies on the southern coast of the Morea, 150 miles from Zante, the southernmost of its sisters; and apparently having no reason at all for her political connexion with them. Corfu is the northernmost of the group, being posted, as it were as a sentinel, at the entrance of the Adriatic, and, with the exception of Cephalonia, is the largest. All the islands produce oil and wine; the currant is largely cultivated, especially in Zante, Cephalonia, and Ithaca, and forms the largest item in the exportations of the republic. Its total population must now be approaching a quarter of a million, spread over about a thousand square miles, and the town of Corfu, with a population of more than 16,000 may be taken as its capital. It has flourished exceedingly under the British protectorate, but it has never been content. The people have always clamoured for union with Greece, even at the time when Greece was most mis-governed and pauperized.

The history of the Ionian Islands, from the days when Ulysses governed them, *teste* Homer, to our own, is not very interesting. They experienced the same calamities with the mainland, and passing under the Roman rule, were the prey of that Slavonic scourge which ethnologists tell us rooted out the real Hellenes. In 1386, after being the prey of Norman conquerors from Sicily, and a battle-field for the rivalry of Venice and Genoa, they passed under the rule of the great Republic of the Adriatic, and remained hers until her death. When Napoleon, in 1797, annihilated Venice by the Treaty of Campo Formio, he in-

cluded the Ionian Islands in his own share of the spoils. France did not long enjoy possession of them. A combined Russian and Turkish fleet captured them in 1799, and in March 1800, *mirabile dictu*, the two most despotic Powers in the world signalized themselves by establishing a republic. "The Seven United Islands," as the new republic was called, was placed under the suzerainty of the Porte, and had to pay the Sultan a yearly tribute of 75,000 piastres. It was to be governed by the notables and principal persons of the country precisely as they pleased, but Russia and Turkey had the right, during the then present war, to put, with the concurrence of the republic, garrisons into the fortresses. Turkey some years afterwards bitterly complained that Russia continually violated this article of the convention by introducing as many troops as she pleased and using the islands as her own. This republic existed seven years; by the Peace of Tilsit Russia then delivered them back to Buonaparte, who incorporated them in the French Empire. England, however, soon took possession of all of them, except Corfu, which she only obtained by the Convention of Paris of the 23rd of April, 1814. The islands were formally placed in her hands by a treaty between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, signed at Paris on the 5th of November, 1815. By this treaty the islands were constituted a republic under the title of "The United States of the Ionian Islands," and placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of Great Britain. The other Powers renounced all pretensions to that protection, and guaranteed the stipulations of the treaty. The Ionians were to give themselves an interior organization; and to give it the necessary consistency and action, it was provided that the King of Great Britain should appoint a Lord High Commissioner invested with all authority necessary for that purpose. He was to convoke a Legislative Assembly, whose operations he was to direct, to prepare a constitutional charter which should be submitted to the King for ratification. The protecting Power had the right to occupy the fortresses of the republic, and its military forces were to be under the orders of the commandant of the British troops. Particular conventions were to regulate, in accordance with the revenues of the republic, the payment by it of the British troops, and their number in time of peace. All ports as to military and boundary rights were declared under British jurisdiction. Only commercial agents or consuls were to be accredited to the republic, and commerce from the Austrian States was to enjoy the same advantages as British commerce.

In accordance with this treaty a Legislative Assembly was convoked, and a constitutional charter duly enacted and ratified by the protecting Powers. The charter left the principal interior administration in the hands of a Senate and a Legislative Assembly; and if the Ionians would have accepted their position, and not have struggled for annexation to Greece, they might have enjoyed the most perfect freedom. But that they would not do. Insurrectionary movements, stimulated by the French revolution of February 1848, and marked by great excesses, were repressed with great severity by Sir Henry Ward, the Lord High Commissioner; but the protecting Power followed the re-establishment of order by very liberal modifications of the Constitution of 1817. Nothing, however, satisfied the Ionians; they grew more and more restive; every meeting of the Legislative Assembly was signalized by protests against the protectorate. At last the famous despatch of Sir John Young, the the Lord High Commissioner, in which he recommended the cession of five islands to Greece, and the retention as British colonies, for military posts, of Corfu and Paxo, determined the Government of Lord Derby to send a special High Commissioner to examine into the grievances of the Ionians. Mr. Gladstone accepted this office. His mission, which was marred not a little by the publication in the *Daily News* of Sir John Young's despatch, stolen from the library of the Colonial Office, was entirely unsuccessful. The Ionians chose to suppose that he came to announce their union with Greece, and received him enthusias-

tically; but when he undeceived them, and declared that the abolition of the protectorate was impracticable and impossible, they refused to listen to him, although he offered them a most liberal Constitution. Sir Bulwer Lytton, the Colonial Secretary at that time, took care to state emphatically that England could not renounce the obligations she had entered into to Europe; and the eloquent Mr. Gladstone was followed by a new High Commissioner, in the shape of Sir Henry Storks, who at once gave the Ionians to understand that their wishes would not be granted. Since that time nothing particular has occurred, unless it be the claim which, in the Legislative Assembly, Signor Dandolo based, for the right of the Ionians to unite themselves to Greece, upon Earl Russell's famous despatch to Turin, in which he laid down the doctrine that every people has the right to determine its own destinies, and ought not to be interfered with in the exercise of that right by other nations.

If the English Government has really resolved to give up the Ionian Islands a very great change must have come over its spirit within the last four years. We confess that we can yet hardly bring ourselves to believe that it has come to that determination. In the first place, it is not in its power to make this cession of its own will. England has been entrusted with the protectorate of the islands under certain conditions, and if she is no longer disposed to fulfil these conditions she must restore the trust to the Powers from whom she has received it. Russia and Prussia would probably acquiesce in the transfer of the islands to Greece, but we doubt whether Austria would; and Turkey would certainly, and with great reason, offer a very strong protest. The situation of Corfu and Paxo off the coast of Albania would furnish the greatest facilities for attempts to raise insurrection in the Turkish territory, and their possession by Greece would impose upon the Turkish Government a most costly system of precautions. On the other hand, we can scarcely believe that the English Government would abandon so important a fortress as Corfu, and Sir Bulwer Lytton has expressly declared that England cannot give up the other islands and retain it. Nor can we believe that Lord Palmerston would, in the present critical state of parties, risk the unpopularity which would inevitably be produced by a proposal to surrender any portion of British territory, and as such the Ionian Islands are popularly, and may, with truth, be practically regarded. It is not an English custom to cede any territory unless in exchange for something more important, and John Bull will assuredly be enraged at an innovation which he will rightly believe will furnish a dangerous precedent for the surrender of Gibraltar, Malta, and other military outposts, the possession of which he believes essential to the maintenance of his power and influence.

The Queen's Monument to Prince Albert.

The book* prepared "at the express desire and under the sanction of Her Majesty," and published on the first anniversary of the death of her husband, will be received in every English home with heartfelt sympathy, and abroad with respect and wonder. Surprise will be natural, for there is no precedent for the graceful and womanly act of Queen Victoria. If her sanction had been given to the collection of her husband's speeches and addresses, we must have admired her anxiety to rescue his works from the slightest chance of oblivion; but the memorial just published is much more than a book brought out under Royal patronage. The Queen virtually addresses her subjects, tells them of the worth of him for whom she mourns, and of how deeply she and they are indebted to the devotion, the patriotism, and the self-denial of Prince Albert.

As an orator the late Prince Consort had no opportunity of shining, and yet his speeches display so much individuality and thought, and so much lucidity of diction, that we can readily believe that if his lot had been cast in another position of life he would have become eminent for eloquence. His speeches and addresses are remarkable for their self-abnegation. It is evident he never for an instant sought to parade his learning and to impress his auditors with his intellectual

greatness. When he spoke, his sole object was to further the cause he advocated, and when he advocated a cause his heart was in work. The public labours of the Prince—his speeches and addresses, his punctual attendance at commissions, his promoting of the Exhibition of 1851, and attention to the first stage of that of 1862—were light compared to those that devolved on him as the Consort of the Queen. In 1850 the Duke of Wellington proposed that the Prince should succeed him as Commander-in-Chief, and urgently pressed his suggestion. Much was to be said on general grounds in favour of the appointment, for undoubtedly the immediate command of the army ought to be nearly associated with the Executive. The proposed position was sufficiently lofty and influential even to tempt any one in the high station of the Prince, and there were plenty of precedents for such commands being conferred on those who had no military experience. The Prince firmly rejected the offer, and this after listening with much respect to the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, and considering the affair in all its bearings. He gave the grounds of his refusal in the following letter addressed to the Duke of Wellington:—

My dear Duke,—The Queen and myself have thoroughly considered your proposal to join the offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General into one of a Chief of the Staff, with a view to facilitate the future assumption of the command of the army by myself. . . . The question whether it will be advisable that I should take the command of the army or not has been most anxiously weighed by me, and I have come to the conclusion that my decision ought entirely and solely to be guided by the consideration whether it would interfere with or assist my position of Consort of the Sovereign, and the performance of the duties which this position imposes upon me.

This position is a most peculiar and delicate one. While a female Sovereign has a great many disadvantages in comparison with a King, yet, if she is married, and her husband understands and does his duty, her position, on the other hand, has many compensating advantages, and, in the long run, will be found even to be stronger than that of a male Sovereign. But this requires that the husband should entirely sink his own individual existence in that of his wife—that he should aim at no power by himself, or for himself—should shun all ostentation—assume no separate responsibility before the public—but make his position entirely a part of hers—fill up every gap which as a woman she would naturally leave in the exercise of her regal functions—continually and anxiously watch every part of the public business, in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions or duties brought before her, sometimes international, sometimes political, or social, or personal. As the natural head of her family, superintendent of her household, manager of her private affairs, sole confidential adviser in politics, and only assistant in her communications with the officers of the Government, he is besides the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the Royal children, the private secretary of the Sovereign, and her permanent Minister.

How far would it be consistent with this position to undertake the management and administration of a most important branch of the public service, and the individual responsibility attaching to it—becoming an executive officer of the Crown, receiving the Queen's commands through her Secretaries of State, &c.? I feel sure that, having undertaken the responsibility, I should not be satisfied to leave the business and real work in the hands of another (the Chief of the Staff), but should feel it my duty to look to them myself. But while I should in this manner perform duties which, I am sure, every able general officer who has gained experience in the field would be able to perform better than myself, who have not had the advantage of such experience, most important duties connected with the welfare of the Sovereign would be left unperformed, which nobody could perform but myself. I am afraid, therefore, that I must discard the tempting idea of being placed in command of the British army.

Many of the duties undertaken by the Prince were self-imposed, but not less beneficial to the Sovereign and the country. With this incessant occupation, we can understand the Queen's anxiety for his health, and that in 1860 she should have written to Earl Granville, "without the knowledge of the Prince, expressing her earnest hope that he (Lord Granville) would do all that in him lay to prevent the responsibility and labour of conducting the undertaking being thrown in any way on His Royal Highness. The Queen felt deeply the necessity for averting any addition to the heavy work already entailed on the Prince by the assistance and support (every day more needful to her) which he gave her in the transaction of all public business; and Her Majesty was convinced that he could not again undertake the labour he had gone through in conducting the first Exhibition to its successful termination without injury to that health which was not only most precious to herself and his family, but to the country, and even to the world."

We will now quote a passage in itself affecting, but which is peculiarly touching as being dictated by the Queen of England:—

In allowing this memorandum of the Prince to be published, the Queen is also actuated by another motive in addition to those which have already been mentioned. It affords Her Majesty a fitting opportunity for expressing, in the most clear and ample manner, that which for many years she has desired to express. During the Prince's life the Queen often longed to make known to the world the ever-present, watchful, faithful, invaluable aid which she received from the Prince Consort in the conduct of the public business. Her Majesty could hardly endure even then to be silent on this subject and not to declare how much her reign owed to him. And now the Queen can no longer refrain from uttering what she has so long felt, and from proclaiming the irreparable loss to the public service, as well as to herself and to her family, which the Prince's death has occasioned. The position of Her Majesty, for many years accustomed to this loving aid and now suddenly bereft of it, can with difficulty be imagined to the full extent of its heaviness and its sadness. Desolate and sombre, as the Queen most deeply feels, lies the way before her:—a path, however, of duty and of labour, which relying on the loyal attachment and sympathy of her people, she will with God's blessing, strive to pursue; but where she fears

* The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, with an Introduction giving some Outline of his Character. (London: John Murray.)

her faltering steps will often show they lack the tender and affectionate support which, on all occasions, Her Majesty was wont to receive from her beloved husband, the Prince.

No other monarch could thus address his or her people. Whilst we condole with her heavy affliction and sadness of heart, it is pleasant to learn how Her Majesty depends "on the loyal attachment and sympathy of her people," for those she has most abundantly. Very memorable, too, is the announcement by the Queen that "she fears her faltering steps will often show they lack" their former support. The Queen, by this book, intended to honour the memory of Prince Albert, and she has done so; but at the same time, by her lively gratitude, by the tender confession of the desolation of her widowhood, and by her Christian meekness, she has for ever associated her own name with this enduring monument to the worth of her husband.

The Chair of St. Augustine.

On Friday last, Charles Thomas Longley, Doctor of Divinity, and lately Archbishop of York, was inducted into the Primacy of All England. The place and the ceremony were calculated to remind the spectator of the conservative nature of our institutions, and of the peculiarity of our national character, as well as to impress him with a feeling of solemnity.

Without desiring to enter into an architectural controversy, or to disparage the work of Sir Christopher Wren—which, if it were not so blocked up with warehouses, would be more appreciated—we cannot refrain from remarking that St. Paul's is less suggestive and imposing than Canterbury Cathedral. The former does not carry the mind back to the past, and seems even newer than it is, whilst the latter vividly recalls the past, and seems older than it is. The one is Wren's masterpiece, the other is a monument of national piety. Canterbury Cathedral was first built of wood on the site of the palace of King Ethelbert. On two occasions it was destroyed by fire, and frequently despoiled and injured by the Danes. But having fixed upon Canterbury as the place for their national cathedral, with true insular resolution, or, perhaps we should say, obstinacy, our ancestors cared not for the opposition, but as soon as fire or sword had destroyed their work commenced rebuilding. The Norman Lanfranc rebuilt the cathedral with Caen stone, and after his time it was repeatedly enlarged and enriched. The Puritans, in their zeal for destruction, considerably damaged the building; but, fortunately for England, the Puritan domination was cut short, or the national Church, and the hereditary freedom of Englishmen, as well as Canterbury Cathedral, would have been utterly destroyed. Let any one visit the shrine of the staunch and much-abused Saint à Beckett, and he will be conscious of the antiquity of the building, and that the venerable pile would declare its great age and historical associations if its history were forgotten. In St. Paul's we may be critical—in Canterbury Cathedral the true artist feels that criticism would be little-minded, almost irreverent.

The fact of Dr. Longley being the ninety-second Archbishop of Canterbury is even more significant of our conservatism than the endurance of the Cathedral of the Metropolitan See. The English Church is truly a reformed and Protestant church; but our ancestors, though martyrs for the cause, did not suffer their zeal to outrun discretion, or mistake destruction for reformation. In severing the English Church from the Roman communion, no attempt was made to confound the good with the evil. The authority of the Bishop of Rome, as the supreme head of all Christian churches, was denied; and certain doctrinal errors, and certain practices unauthorized by the Scriptures, were corrected; but these things being done, the Anglican Church was not cut off from communion with the past; on the contrary, the validity of the Romish ordination was insisted on; so that those who attached any value to the Apostolic Succession would perceive that the Bishops of the Church of England are, in that respect, as venerable as the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The Book of Common Prayer is modelled on the prayers that were in use when the English Church was a branch of the Roman Catholic Church. The ecclesiastical arrangements were as little disturbed as possible. Canterbury had been the Metropolitan See when the chief bishop of our Church owed allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff, and it continued so when the Sovereign of England became the temporal head of the Church; and when, if it had not been for our conservatism, it might have seemed reasonable to have made St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey the cathedral associated with the office of Primate of All England. But the Church of England was not founded in the reign of Henry VIII. At that era its reformation commenced; but its foundation dates back to the times of the Heptarchy, and Dr. Longley is the successor of St. à Beckett, and, we may say without any great license, of St. Augustine.

The ceremony of induction was free from anything approaching to theatrical display. It was as simple as the circumstances would admit, and if any fault could be charged to it, we might think it would be the want of magnificence in the enthronization of such an important personage as the Primate of All England. The grandeur of the scene depended solely upon its suitableness; and yet, all who witnessed it were impressed with it, and, perhaps, on account of its rigid simplicity. A procession was formed of Schoolmasters, King's

Scholars, Grammar Master of Choristers, Choristers, Lay Clerks, Minor Canons, and others. Besides the members of the Cathedral body, there were several hundred clergymen. Another procession was formed of the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Rochester, and Lincoln, all of whom hold offices connected with the Primacy, and to these were added the Dean and Canons. There was nothing extra-ecclesiastical about the assembly.

The introductory music consisted of the 121st and 122nd Psalms, and the Hallelujah Chorus; the instrumental accompaniment to the voice of the choristers being the organ. The morning service then commenced, and at the end of the lesson the Archbishop was conducted to the throne, and the Archdeacon's Deputy read the form of induction. This part of the ceremony was followed by an anthem and the Litany. Then the Archbishop was installed in what is called the Chair of St. Augustine, and again the Archdeacon's Deputy read the form of induction; and after this His Grace was led to the Dean's stall, and a shorter form of induction, or rather recognition, was recited. The Te Deum was sung, a prayer was read, the Archbishop pronounced the Benediction, and the service was over. After this the Archbishop went to the Chapter House, where he took the oath of office and allegiance, and received the usual promise of obedience from the cathedral clergy. Finally a minute or "act" of the proceedings was produced, signed, and attested by a public notary. We do not know what part of the ceremonial could have been more free from pomp than it was, still it was symbolic of the relation of the Church and State in England. The two, so nearly united, have separate and distinct functions, and the enthronization of the Primate was as purely an ecclesiastical celebration as the recognition of an Independent minister by his congregation.

The appointment of Archbishop Longley has given general satisfaction. At the present moment it is very desirable that the Primate should be a man of moderate views, and yet not a member of that Broad Church party which is too ready to sacrifice principles for what are supposed to be the exigencies of a National Church. Dr. Longley is tolerant, but he is a Churchman, and will not, we may be assured, sympathize with the semi-Romanism of the Puseyites, or with the Low Churchism that, equally to the detriment of the Establishment and of Dissent, apes the manners and customs of Nonconformity. Neither have we any reason to doubt that His Grace, whilst countenancing free inquiry and the free expression of opinion, will not tolerate episcopal and clerical scepticism as to the authority of the Scriptures. A bishop or clergyman may, and is bound, to study the meaning of Scripture, and this is what is meant by the right of free inquiry, but he is not justified in casting doubts upon the authority of Scripture. He holds office upon the express understanding that he believes in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. It must not be gathered from these remarks that we are anxious about the safety of the Church of England. An institution that has lasted so long and sustained so many assaults is not likely to be destroyed because some of her ministers are infected with that curious species of infidelity which professes the profoundest veneration for the religion of the Bible, whilst it seeks to discredit the authority of the Bible.

Reviews.

A RETROSPECT.*

The war in Kansas in 1857-8, and the John Brown raid into Virginia in 1859, should have warned all who loved the Union that if it was to be preserved, it could only be by the resolution of a majority at the North to suppress the further agitation of the slavery question, and to deal with all matters in which the interests of the two sections came into conflict in a spirit of moderation, fairness, and compromise. If the South were to be taxed enormously for the benefit of Northern merchants and manufacturers, to be insulted in the most violent language by Northern newspapers, stump orators, and self-styled statesmen, and at the same time to be excluded from the common territories, and to be liable to actual invasion by Northern filibusters, supported by the sympathy of a large portion of the Northern people, and of some of the New England Governments, why should she remain in the Union? How could she continue to act in concert with confederates who made a boast of plundering, affronting, invading her, and denying her the rights secured to her by the Federal Constitution? It was clear that only prudence and moderation of the highest kind in the Congress which met in December 1859, and in the Presidential election of 1860, could avert a civil war which must inevitably end in final and irrevocable separation. But nothing was further from the thoughts of the dominant faction than anything like concession. They conceived that victory was within their grasp; that perseverance would enable them not merely to seize and keep power at Washington, and the spoils of power throughout the Union, but to reduce the South to a condition of political depression from which

she would never recover, and to ensure to a mere sectional majority a permanent ascendancy over the whole area of the United States. Few of them believed in secession. The Abolitionist wing of the Republican party, which had for years denounced the Union as a league with death and a covenant with hell, professed to desire nothing better than its disruption, and to fear only that, as their organ expressed it, the South could not be kicked out of the Union. They fully endorsed the emphatic words of one who has since become a staunch Unionist:—

Et I'd my way I hid rather
We should go to work an' part,—
They take one way, we take t'other,—
Guess it would n't break my heart;
Man had ought' to put asunder
Them that God has noways joined;
An' I should n't gretly wonder
Ef there's thousands o' my mind.

The mass of the Republicans, who as yet did not profess Abolitionist doctrines, affected to depreciate at once the value, the spirit, and the power of the South; they refused to believe that she was necessary to the prosperity of the North; that she would dare to break away from it; or that if she did she could maintain her resolution for three months. They pretended, too, to speak contemptuously of the Union. "Let it slide," said one of their leaders, while Mr. Seward, who had long preached an irrepressible conflict between the two sections, laboured hard for the fulfilment of his own prediction.

Congress met, and the conflict began. The post of Speaker in America is of much greater power, though of less dignity than in England, and the Republican majority in the House of Representatives were determined to place in that office one of the most violent and least respected of their number. Mr. Sherman was among those who had endorsed Helper's book, a declaration of war to the knife on the men and institutions of the South. His election would have been an intolerable insult, a direct challenge to civil war. Yet it was vehemently pressed by his party, and for two months the organization of the House was delayed in consequence; for, be it remembered, an absolute majority of votes is requisite to a choice. At last Mr. Sherman was withdrawn, and another Republican, less deeply compromised, elected in his stead.

While the Republicans showed themselves thus resolute and aggressive, their opponents were weakened by a division of opinion on the territorial question. Mr. Douglas, who might be considered the leading spirit of the Democratic party, brought up the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," which would have given to the earliest inhabitants of an unsettled region, on its organization as a Territory, the right to admit or exclude slavery; a right which, according to the orthodox Democratic doctrine, could only be exercised at the time of the acceptance of its constitution as a State. The point in dispute was more important than it seemed; at all events, it sufficed to break up and disorganize the Democratic party. The majority of the Northern Democrats adhered to Douglas, whose doctrines were generally repudiated at the South. The consequences were seen when the Democratic convention met at Charleston, and, by a vote of 165 to 138, refused to affirm the Southern proposition, that neither Congress, nor the Territorial Legislatures which derive their authority from Congress, have any right to exclude from the Territories the citizens of any of the United States, or their property of any kind. On this refusal, the delegates of the cotton States seceded, and they were subsequently followed by the Border slave States-delegations, excepting that of Missouri. The Northern Democrats, adjourning to Baltimore, nominated Douglas; the Southerners, in the same city, selected Breckenridge as their candidate. Bell was nominated by the remnant of the Whigs; Lincoln by the Republicans. Douglas received many Southern votes, and in many States a "fusion vote" was given for electors taken from the three anti-Republican tickets. Giving each of the three his share of this vote, it appears that the popular vote was:—

For Lincoln	1,858,200
„ Douglas	1,276,780
„ Breckenridge	812,500
„ Bell	735,504

Had the Presidential election been a direct one, and yet required, as most American elections do, an absolute majority, Lincoln would not have been chosen. But the division of his adversaries gave him every Northern vote but three (from New Jersey) in the Electoral Colleges, and he was chosen by 180 to 123. The Legislature of South Carolina called a State Convention, by whose act, on the 20th of December, 1860, the Palmetto States ceased to belong to the Union. Five States followed before the end of January 1861; Mississippi on the 9th, Alabama on the 11th, Florida on the 11th, Georgia on the 20th, Louisiana on the 26th. The United States' forts in

* The First Year of the War. By Edward A. Pollard, Author of "Black Diamonds," &c. (Richmond, Virginia: West and Johnston, 1862.)

these States, except those in Charleston Harbour, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, were occupied by the State troops. A convention of delegates assembled at Montgomery on the 4th of February, to frame a Constitution for the Southern Confederacy; and they were joined by delegates from Texas, which seceded on the 1st of February. The Provisional Government was chosen on the 9th of February and inaugurated on the 18th.

Meantime the House of Representatives at Washington had passed resolutions in favour of coercion; and the Legislature of Virginia had convoked a peace convention in the Federal capital, which broke up without accomplishing anything. On the 30th of December Major Anderson moved from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. Mr. Buchanan refused to order him back, and Mr. Floyd, Secretary at War, thereupon resigned, declaring that the change violated pledges given to South Carolina. On the 9th of January, Mr. Buchanan attempted to reinforce Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour, and the *Star of the West*, which carried the troops and provisions, was driven off by the Carolinian batteries. On this Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior, resigned. On the 4th of February a Convention was chosen in Virginia, which contained an anti-Secession majority. North Carolina and Tennessee decided not to call Conventions. Arkansas, however, was lost to the Federal Government before Mr. Lincoln came into power, though she was not admitted into the Confederacy until the 18th of May.

Terrified by an imaginary danger of assassination, Mr. Lincoln hurried in disguise to Washington, and went through the ceremony of inauguration, surrounded by cavalry and infantry—a most unusual proceeding in America. He spoke doubtfully and moderately; talked of “causing the laws to be executed,” promised to “occupy” the forts belonging to the United States, but professed an intention to abstain from armed violence, beyond what might be necessary for these purposes. The Confederate Government expected and prepared for war, but did its utmost to preserve peace. It sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate the withdrawal of Federal garrisons, and the settlement of all claims with regard to public property. Mr. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, declined to receive them officially, but gave them verbal assurances that he was disposed to peace, and that at all events nothing should be changed in the military status of the Federal power in the South. Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court, conducted these verbal negotiations. Meantime debates went on in the Cabinet as to the practicability of reinforcing Fort Sumter. Mr. Pollard says that the point was decided in the negative, and that it was determined only to make a feint of reinforcement, in order to provoke a collision. We believe otherwise. However, an expedition was secretly prepared and despatched to Charleston. Judge Campbell heard of it, and protested; Mr. Seward having personally promised him that the fort should be at once evacuated. Mr. Seward answered: “Faith as to Sumter fully kept; wait and see.” Meantime the Northern, especially the New England States, were urgent for war, and offering the Government the means of waging it. The Confederates, on their side, with the aid of Southern-born officers, who were resigning their commands in the Federal army, were organizing their forces and making ready for self-defence. On the 8th of April the expedition destined for Fort Sumter—three men-of-war, three steam transports, and above 1000 men—had sailed. The Federal Government threw off the mask, and declared that they would “provision” the fort “peaceably, if they could, forcibly if they must.” General Beauregard, commanding for the Confederate States at Charleston, telegraphed to Montgomery for orders, and received them. The fort was summoned, and refused to surrender. The bombardment began early in the morning of the 12th. It surrendered on the 13th; and on the 14th Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation of war, calling out 75,000 men to disperse certain “combinations,” in the seven cotton States, and repossess the forts and property seized from the Union. In a word, he, as has been aptly said, read the Riot Act to seven sovereign States. The North was roused to frenzy; even the Democrats, who had publicly and privately declared that there could, would, and should be no war, being as warlike as the Abolitionists themselves—nay, proving themselves much more ready to fight in person than the Abolitionists have ever been.

The consequences of the proclamation were at first disastrous for the North. On the 17th Virginia seceded; on the 6th of May Tennessee followed her example; on the 18th Arkansas entered the Confederacy, and on the 21st North Carolina passed her secession ordinance. Kentucky and Missouri peremptorily refused to assist in carrying out “the wicked purpose of subduing their sister Southern States;” and Maryland, but

that her Governor was secretly pledged to Lincoln, seemed to intend to follow the same course. The passage of the Yankee troops through Baltimore was resisted by force, and blood was shed. In St. Louis, Missouri, similar collisions took place. On the 19th of April Mr. Lincoln at once declared the Southerners belligerents and pirates; he proclaimed the blockade of their ports, and he threatened their privateers with the penalties of piracy. On the same day Harper's Ferry was evacuated and partially destroyed; on the 20th the Norfolk Navy-yard shared the same fate. Meantime the organization of the Confederate forces proceeded rapidly. A bill was passed authorizing the President to accept the services of 100,000 volunteers for twelve months. On the 20th of May the Government was transferred from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Va. The Federal forces were collecting in and around Washington. Maryland was occupied by a force of 30,000 men, the *Habeas Corpus* was suspended, and military tyranny inaugurated.

War actually began on the 24th of May, when a Federal corps of 8000 men crossed the Potomac and occupied Alexandria, the Confederates falling back on Manassas. Here the first blood was shed. Colonel Ellsworth, of New York, entered an hotel to bear down a secession flag, and was shot dead by Mr. Jackson, the proprietor, who was killed in his turn. To an Englishman, it seems that Ellsworth was a fool, and Jackson little better. The town had not surrendered, and Jackson had therefore a technical right to kill the invader on his own threshold; but in civilized warfare it is considered that citizens not enlisted in the army should remain quiet in the presence of an overwhelming force, where resistance can only provoke the enemy to outrage. However, the North made a hero of Ellsworth, and called Jackson an assassin; the South naturally will always pay a high respect to the memory of the first Southerner who had fallen in defence of his home.

On the 10th of June the first battle took place. A Confederate force of about 1800 men, under Magruder, entrenched at Bethel, were attacked by about 3500 Federals. The assailants were repulsed, losing about 130 killed and wounded. The next engagement ended adversely for the South; the insufficient forces of General Garnet, in Western Virginia, being beaten on the 5th of July at Rich Mountain, and driven back on Monterey, their commander himself being killed. This was the first exploit of General McClellan.

On the 4th of July the Northern Congress met, to receive Mr. Lincoln's demand for 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. Both demands were agreed to; and a bill was introduced to confiscate the property of rebels.

On the 18th of July took place the “artillery duel” of Bull Run, in which the Federals were worsted. On the 21st was fought the great battle of Manassas, a detailed account of which, taken from this work, was published in last week's INDEX. The result was the ruin of Generals Scott and McDowell, and the appointment of McClellan to the supreme command. That general busied himself energetically in the work of creating an army out of an undisciplined mob and a beaten militia, and for some time no active operations took place in Eastern Virginia. The chief interest of the war was transferred to the West.

(To be continued.)

LETTER FROM THE SOUTH.

ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, AND THE DANGERS THAT THREATEN THE SOUTH.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—Your impression of the 7th of August, by some of the many accidents to which our communications with Europe is subject, did not reach me until quite recently. In this number you treat editorially, under the appropriate heading of “The Last Card of the North,” the prospect of an emancipation decree being launched against the South. The article is marked by a clear perception of the true condition of both sections which I had thought impossible in a foreign journal, and the event has thus far verified your predictions, even to the political effects of such a measure in the North itself, as proved by the elections just held. But while I concur fully with the article so far as it goes, I do not think that you have exhausted the subject, or, indeed that you have touched what in my opinion at least, is the most important feature of it. What I should wish to impress upon your European readers and to keep constantly before the public mind abroad, is that this so-called Emancipation threatens our prosperity, not more than it does that of Europe, and that no blow can fall on us which does not equally fall on you.

The genius of modern civilization is commerce. Past ages have marched in their career of progress under different banners and actuated by different impulses. Religion, monarchical ambition, the mere love of adventure, or other influences, more or less distinguishable and well defined, have directed the thoughts of bygone generations of men and coloured their history. In our day commerce sits supreme at the council board of nations, declares wars, and dictates treaties of peace, and inspires their policy both in peace and war. It is for a commercial monopoly that the Northern States of this Continent have attempted the subjugation of their late political co-partners. It is for a commercial policy that they persevere in the attempt. Now, what is this modern commerce which has become the prevailing spirit of nineteenth century civilization, which has become more potent than the kings and emperors of olden times? It took its birth in the discovery of the New World, and it finds its life and growth exclusively in commodities which before that discovery were either wholly unknown or were the rare luxury of a few, but which now are the common necessities of all civilized men. Of these commodities the most important, because the most universally used, is cotton. Imagine the New World to be blotted out from the map, so far as its productiveness or commercial importance is concerned, the shock to commerce, and, therefore, to civilization, would be as great as that from its discovery, but instead of a life-giving, it would be a death-dealing shock. Scarcely less would be the disaster, arising from the permanent cessation of the supply of cotton from the Southern States. Whence, ransacking the whole inhabited globe, could you obtain the four millions of bales to make up the deficiency? or, granting that the stimulus of a great necessity would in time raise up other supplies, how many years must elapse before the new supplies can compensate for those lost? Meanwhile, what would become of the industry which in every country of Europe rests and depends on the basis of Southern cotton? Again, to produce these four millions of bales, a vast amount of capital and labour must be diverted from other pursuits which now feed the great arteries of commerce, and to compensate one loss, another equally as great must be sustained. Experience as well as common sense teach us that any essential change in the current of trade displaces the commercial centres. As Venice ceased to be an emporium when the passage around the Cape of Good Hope was found, so Liverpool would cease to be your great cotton port, when America ceases to be the chief producer. A ruin so extensive, that the imagination fails to compass it, must ensue before out of the fragments a new structure can arise.

The supply of Southern cotton now depends on the regular and well-directed labour of four millions of Africans. I will not prejudice your readers against me by any defence of the system which regulates and directs this labour; but, believing that all things are ordained by an All-wise Providence, have I not the right to infer that Providence, in making such great and universal interests to depend upon this system, warns us not to meddle with it rashly or with unskilled hands. The course of all true progress is slow and gradual, and mankind has suffered more from radical and self-conceited reformers than from the obstinate persistence in time-honoured abuses. We go quite fast enough in this century of ours not to require any accelerating impetus. The problem how two widely differing races can live together in unity and equality is not yet solved. The relative position of different races in the scale of intellectual development is itself a problem. Is the civilized world prepared to risk its vital interests upon a doubtful experiment? Slavery doubtless has many and grievous imperfections; but what earthly institution has them not? I hold it as incontestible that the sudden destruction of any long-established system, whether inherently good or bad, is a remedy far more dangerous than the evil it intends to cure. It is an infallible method of removing a disease to kill the patient; but what would be thought of the physician who advised it? Before, then, vowing the destruction of our social system, would it not be wise to suggest another to take its place? Would it not also be well to ascertain first whether the sum of human misery would be increased or diminished thereby?

You in Europe—and we of the South are largely to blame for your error—have too exclusively considered slavery as merely a question of property. I believe Mr. Davis was the first of our public men who took a wiser and more correct view. In one of his last speeches in the United States Senate he said that slavery was not so much a question of property as a *plan of civil Government*. It seems to me clear that if the negro would work for wages in money as faithfully as he now does for wages in kind, the community of which he forms a part, and the world at large, would lose nothing by eman-

icipation. Individuals, freeing their slaves while their neighbours retain theirs, lose the capitalized value of their slaves' labour; but if all alike free them, nobody loses, since the cost of slave labour is confessedly far above the minimum of the cost of agricultural labour in every other country. But destroy this plan of civil Government for the negro, only a few generations removed from Africa, and what other plan has as yet been devised to make him industrious, provident, self-governing? And had he all these qualities, what plan can you devise to protect him against the inevitable consequences of collision with the stronger, more numerous, and haughtier master race? Will the negro, unassisted and unprotected, be able to compete with, nay, to live by the side of, the white man? You in Europe have been so long taught to regard the master only as a cruel oppressor and a monster of wickedness, that you may find it different to regard him as the natural protector of the slave, yet even the most bigotedly prejudiced against us might well hesitate on reflection, whether it was better for the African to be transferred from the power of a man who as at least a strong self-interest in his welfare, and who belongs to the higher and more cultivated classes of society, to the tender mercy of the roughest and rudest of the community, who look upon him as a hated rival, and who have no other interest than his extermination.

Except through the total annihilation of the Southern people, and the partition of their soil among the Northern invaders, the disaster which I foreshadow cannot come to pass in its worst and most fatal form. But in a less degree it is now occurring, and every day of the war adds to the danger which threatens the South, and, through the South, the commerce of the world. The Emancipation decree, which you predicted in August, has since been launched. To it I attach no importance whatever. It was a silly attempt to enlist European sympathies, and it has only resulted in drawing upon the imbecile executive the condemnation of his own people. Whatever the Decree bids the Federal soldiery do after the 1st of January, was always done by them before the Decree was issued, and they cannot possibly do more. Wherever our invaders have gained a temporary foothold they have attempted to seduce our servants by promises and acts characteristic of themselves. They have endeavoured to bribe them as household spies, they have cajoled them with visions of a lazy freedom, and officers and men have lived publicly with Mulatto women. There are people in England who may call this instilling into the slaves a proper thirst for liberty. Viewing it as a Christian, and judging the tree by its fruits, I call it demoralization and the perdition of body and soul. It must have caused much surprise and shocked many preconceived opinions, that these unremitting and systematized efforts have produced so little results, that the slaves, as a class, have not embraced the unprecedented opportunity, and that disloyalty and treachery have been the rare exception, whilst tried fidelity has been the rule. So it will always be with the mass of our servants, and everywhere where the master's influence is not obliterated by long absence and by the repeated whips of the unscrupulous tempter. You speak of the probability of partial outbreaks along the Mississippi River, and your observation is just, less, however, for the reasons you assign than from geographical causes. On the Mississippi, for a thousand miles, and on its many tributaries for perhaps an equal distance, the plantations are close to the banks, and the residences of the negroes are within a quarter of a mile from the stream. An impenetrable back swamp skirts the plantations in the rear. The width of this swamp, part of the year inundated, averages about fifty miles, with only occasional "bluffs" at long intervals, which are accessible to the river. The narrowest space between the swamp and the river is over thirty, and the widest over one hundred and thirty miles. Thus, the most productive cotton region of the South, resembles a chain of long narrow islands from which there is no, or at least very circuitous, communication with the interior. Thus cut off, and everywhere accessible to the enemy's boats, it is virtually abandoned for the cultivation of cotton. The mass of the negroes have been left to subsist on the grain and meat they can raise, their owners having neither employment nor the means of subsistence for them elsewhere. The negro would indeed be more than human, he would show himself more capable of self-government than any other race of men, if thus left to himself he could for ever resist the wily suggestions which he cannot avoid. If in any other country an enemy had equal facilities for sowing dissatisfaction and sedition among the working classes, the effect in course of time cannot be doubtful. Besides, I know the negroes well, I have lived among them from a child, and have had the direction of their labour, and the charge of their welfare ever since my earliest manhood. The very qualities which bespeak him the servant of the white man, his docility to the teachings of the white man, his instinct of obedience to the superior race, make him as ready an instrument in the white man's hands for evil as for good. Not that he can be trained as a soldier against his former master, no more than his ethnical superior the Sepoy, as you justly remark, but he can be trained to steal, to plunder, and in individual instances to murder. Once he has acquired these habits, it was easier to tame the savage from Africa than to redeem this semi-civilized barbarian.

The demoralization of one-fifth, or one-half of our negro population, would not advance the North one

step towards our subjugation. At worst, and as a last alternative, we might cause its own-chosen weapon to recoil fearfully against the hand that attempts its use. But such a demoralization would inflict a fatal blow on our prosperity, and every bale of cotton we produce the less, renders the world so much poorer. Already the waste of property and the individual ruin is on a frightful scale. Vast tracts of fertile lands will soon return to the state of primitive wilderness, leaving the owners without the means of redeeming them again. Let the war progress for a year or two longer, and the destruction from which we now might recover within a reasonable period of repose, will be irreparable for a generation, perhaps for ever. The South has already produced her largest crops. Every day of the war impairs more her productiveness, and this permanently impoverishes commerce. It is not now a question of independence or subjugation, it is a question whether the source of inexhaustible wealth, not to us alone, but to the world at large, shall or shall not be permanently dried up.

Such are a few of the reflections hastily thrown together, for which I ask the aid of your abler pen to impress them upon the consideration of your readers. They are the result of life-long experience, and some thought both before and since this cruel war, upon a problem which still defies human wisdom to solve.

I am very respectfully yours, &c.,

AN OLD PLANTER.

Mobile, November 7.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO THE UNITED STATES' CONGRESS.

After a few introductory remarks, Mr. Lincoln discusses the state of foreign relations:—

If the condition of our relations with other nations is less gratifying than it has usually been at former periods, it is certainly more satisfactory than a nation so unhappily distressed as we are might reasonably have apprehended. In the month of June last there were some grounds to expect that the maritime powers, which, at the beginning of our domestic difficulties so unanimously and unnecessarily, as we think, recognised the insurgents as a belligerent, would soon recede from that position, which has proved only less injurious to themselves than to our own country; but the temporary reverses which afterwards befel the national arms, and which were exaggerated by our own disloyal children abroad, have hitherto delayed that act of simple justice. The civil war, which has so radically changed for the moment the occupation and habits of the American people, has necessarily disturbed the social condition, and affected very deeply the prosperity of the nations with which we have carried on a commerce that has been steadily increasing throughout a period of half a century. It has at the same time excited political ambitions and apprehensions, which have produced a profound agitation throughout the civilized world. In this unusual agitation we have forbore from taking any part in any controversy between foreign States and between parties or factions in such States. We have attempted no propagandism and acknowledged no revolution, but we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects, and the consequences resulting to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise.

The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it, on the part of her Majesty's government, has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens.

A blockade of 3,000 miles of sea coast could not be established and vigorously enforced in a season of great commercial activity like the present without committing occasional mistakes, and inflicting unintentional injuries upon foreign nations and their subjects. A civil war occurring in a country where foreigners reside and carry on trade under treaty stipulations is necessarily fruitful of the complaints of the violation of neutral rights. All such collisions tend to excite misapprehensions, and possibly to produce mutual reclamation between nations which have a common interest in preserving peace and friendship. In clear cases of these kinds I have, so far as possible, heard and redressed complaints which have been presented by friendly powers. There is, however, a large and augmenting number of doubtful cases, upon which the government is unable to agree with the governments whose protection is demanded by the claimants. There are, moreover, many cases, in which the United States or their citizens suffer wrongs from the naval or military authorities of foreign nations, which the government of these States are not at once prepared to redress. I have proposed to some of the foreign States thus interested mutual conventions to examine and adjust such complaints. This proposition has been made especially to Great Britain, to France, to Spain, and to Prussia. In each case it has been kindly received, but has not been formally adopted. I deem it my duty to recommend an appropriation in behalf of the owners of the Norwegian barque Admiral P. Fordehs Riola, which vessel was in May, 1861, prevented by the commander of the blockading force off Charleston from leaving that port with cargo, notwithstanding a similar privilege had shortly before been granted to an English vessel. I have directed the Secretary of State to cause the papers in the case to be communicated to the proper committees. Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favour their emigration, with a view to such colonisation as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress; other parties at home and abroad, some from interested motives, others from patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have suggested similar measures, while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish American Republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances I have declined to move any such colony to any State without obtaining the consent of the government, without an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all their rights of freemen, and I have at the same time offered to the several States situated in the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favour the voluntary emigration of

persons of that class to their respective territories upon conditions which shall be equal, just, and humane. Liberia and Hayti are as yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens, and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonisation do not seem so willing to emigrate to these countries as to some others, nor as willing, I think, as their interests demand. I believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both these countries from the United States.

Reference is then made to various treaties made within that year, and to the prospects for the Atlantic and Pacific telegraphs. With respect to the Territories of the United States, Mr. Lincoln says, that with unimportant exceptions, they have been undisturbed by the war, and that they are so prosperous as soon to be in a condition to be recognized as States. He recommends the development of the mineral resources of the territories.

In reference to finances, he observes:—

The vast expenditure incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained. The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, demand your best reflections as to the best mode of providing the necessary revenues without injury to business, and with the least possible burdens upon labour. The suspension of specie payments by the banks soon after the commencement of your last session made large issues of United States' notes unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of the troops, and the satisfaction of other just demands, be so economically or so well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress securing the receivability of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a "legal tender" for other debts, has made them universal currency, and has satisfied, partially at least, and for the time, the long felt want of a uniform circulating medium, saving thereby to the people immense sums in discounts and exchanges. A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all interests, should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation. Convertibility, prompt and certain convertibility, into coin, is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest against them, and it is extremely doubtful whether a circulation of United States' notes, payable in coin, and sufficiently large for the wants of the people, can be permanently, usefully, and safely maintained. Is there, then, any other mode in which the necessary provision for the public wants can be made, and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

I know of none which promises so certain results, and at the same time so unobjectionable, as the organization of banking associations under a general act of Congress, well guarded in its provisions. To such associations the Government might furnish circulating notes on the security of the United States' bonds deposited in the Treasury. These notes, prepared under the supervision of proper officers, being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always into coin, would at once protect labour against the evils of a vicious currency, and facilitate commerce by cheap and safe exchanges. A moderate reservation from the interest on the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes, and a general supervision of the system, and would lighten the burden of that part of the public debt employed as securities. The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved, and the negotiations of new loans greatly facilitated by the steady market demand for government bonds, which the adoption of the proposed system would effect.

It is an additional recommendation of the measure, of considerable weight in my judgment, that it would reconcile, as far as possible, all existing interests, by the opportunity offered to existing institutions to re-organise under the act, substituting only the secured uniform national circulation for the local and various circulations, secured and unsecured, now issued by them. The receipts into the Treasury from all sources, including loans and balances from the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, were \$583,885,274 66c., of which sum \$49,056,397 62c. were derived from customs; \$1,795,231 73c. from the direct tax; from public lands, \$162,203 77c.; from miscellaneous sources, \$931,787 64c.; from loans in all forms, \$529,692,460 50c. The remainder, \$2,257,065 80c. was the balance from last year. The disbursements during the same period were:—For Congressional, Executive, and Judicial purposes, \$5,989,009 29c.; for foreign intercourse, \$1,339,710 35c.; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mints, loans, post-office deficiencies, collection of revenue, and other like charges, \$14,129,771 50c.; for expenses under the Interior Department, \$3,102,985 52c.; under the War Department, \$394,368,407 36c.; under the Navy Department, \$42,674,569 69c.; for interest on the public debt, \$13,190,324 45c.; and for the payment of the public debt, including reimbursements of temporary loans and redemptions, \$96,096,922 09c.; making an aggregate of \$570,841,700 25c.; and leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st day of July, 1862, of \$13,043,546 81c. It should be observed that the sum of \$96,096,922 09c., expended for reimbursements and redemption of the public debt, being included also in the loans made, may be properly deducted both from the receipts and expenditures, leaving the actual receipts for the year \$487,788,324 97c., and the expenditures \$474,744,788 16c.

For further information as to finances, and for the condition of the Army and Navy, Congress has reported to the Secretary of the Treasury, War, and Navy. The report of the Post-Office is financially favourable, stating that the dividend last year \$2,112,000, while the year before it was \$4,551,000. The sale of bonds has ceased to be a source of revenue. From July 1861, to September, 1862 the debts did not cover the expenses of the land system during that period.

Mr. Lincoln dilates on the insubordination of the Indians:—

The Indian tribes upon our frontiers have during the past years manifested a spirit of insubordination, and at several points have engaged in open hostilities against the white settlements in their vicinity. The tribes occupying the Indian country south of Kansas renounced their allegiance to the

United States and entered into treaties with the insurgents. Those who remained loyal to the United States were driven from the country. The chief of the Cherokees has visited this city for the purpose of restoring the former relations of the tribe with the United States. He alleges that they were constrained by superior force to enter into treaties with the insurgents, and that the United States neglected to furnish the protection which their treaty stipulations required. In the month of August last the Sioux Indians in Minnesota attacked the settlements in their vicinity with extreme ferocity, killing indiscriminately men, women, and children. This attack was wholly unexpected, and therefore no means of defence had been provided.

It is estimated that not less than 800 persons were killed by the Indians, and a large amount of property was destroyed. How this outbreak was induced is not definitely known, and suspicions, which may be unjust, need not be stated. Information was received by the Indian Bureau, from different sources, about the time hostilities were commenced, that a simultaneous attack was to be made upon the white settlements between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. The state of Minnesota has suffered great injury from this Indian war. A large portion of her territory has been depopulated, and a severe loss has been sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State express much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State, as a guarantee against future hostilities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs will furnish full details. I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodelled. Many wise and good men have been impressed with the belief that this can be profitably done.

After referring to the progress of the Pacific railroad; the progress for enlarging the canals in New York and Illinois; the military importance of enlarging the Illinois canal and improving the Illinois River; and the organization of the department of agriculture, Mr. Lincoln enters upon the subject of emancipation, which he treats at great length, introducing it by the following homely platitudes:—

On the 22nd day of September last a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called "Compensated Emancipation." A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. "One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever." It is of the first importance to duly consider and estimate this never-ending part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent, and its variety of climate and productions, are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and telegraphs, and intelligence, have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

After quoting a passage from his inaugural address upon the "inadequacy of disunion" as a remedy for the difference between North and South, he continued:—

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide. Trace through from east to west upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length are rivers easy to be crossed and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly upon both sides, while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines, over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up on the part of the sectional obligations upon the seceding section the fugitive slave cause, along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulation would ever be made to take its place.

Another difficulty he says is, that the Western States, which he calls "the great body of the Republic," and which in fifty years will have fifty millions of inhabitants—will be cut off from free communication with the ocean.

And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the non-free and slave country, or place it in the south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets, east, west, and south, are indispensable to the well-being of the people inhabiting and to inhabit this vast interior region. Which of the three ways be the best is no proper question. All are better than neither, and all of right belong to that people and their successors for ever. True to themselves they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow rather that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the west, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary. Our national strife sprung not from our permanent past, nor from the land we inhabit, nor from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this, but would multiply, and not mitigate, evils among us. In all its adaptations and aptitudes it demands union, and abhors separation. In fact, it would, ere long, force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves, to the passing generations of men, and it cannot without convulsion be hushed for ever with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the constitution of the United States;—

Resolved,—By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the legislatures and conventions of the several States, as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures or conventions, to be valid as part or parts of the said constitution.

Article.—Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit: The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate

of —, for each slave shown to have been therein by the eight census of the United States, said bonds to be delivered to such State by instalments, or in one parcel at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time within such States; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid and afterwards. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards introducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

Article.—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion shall be for ever free, but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

Article.—Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free coloured persons with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slaves it could not continue. Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery, and the African race amongst us. Some would abolish it suddenly and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles amongst ourselves; by mutual concessions we should harmonize and act together. This would be a compromise among the friends and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States. As to the first article, the main points are—First, the emancipation; secondly, the length of time for consummating (37 years); and thirdly, the compensation. The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greatly mitigate their dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement, in fact from the necessity of any derangement, while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure, will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation, in localities where their numbers are very great, and it gives the inspiring assurance that their posterity shall be free for ever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it power to abolish slavery, now or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole, or any part of the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This it would seem would further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favour perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay, and not to receive, will object, yet that the measure is both just and economical is certain.

The liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired, by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property.

It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North, and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we use—all of us use—cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If then for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge? And if with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not only economical to do it? Let us consider it then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether, if the measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the Slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and in that view would be prudent and economical. Certainly it is not so easy to pay something as to pay nothing. But it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires money at once: the aggregate sum necessary for compensating emancipation of course would be large, but it would require no ready cash, no bondsmen, any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not, and probably would not, close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have 100,000,000 people to share the burden, instead of 31,000,000 as now, and not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after the period as rapidly as before, because our territories will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same rate of increase which we have maintained on an average from our first national census in 1790 until that of 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,208,415—and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homesteads, is an ample resource. Were our territory as limited as the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated, and instead of receiving the foreign born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away; but such is not our condition. We have 2,963,000 square miles. Europe has 3,800,000, with a population averaging 73 and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some future time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface, by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts, or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If then we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon?

He then quotes from the census of 1850 to show the possible increase of the population

The proposed emancipation would shorten this war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all that emancipation would cost, together with our other debts, easier than we should pay our other debts without it. If we had allowed our old national debt to run at 6 per cent.

per annum, simple interest, from the end of our revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying anything on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then, and this because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than 6 per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus time alone relieves a debtor nation so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. This fact would be no excuse for delaying the payment of what is justly due, but it shows the great importance of time in this connexion, and the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred millions what by a different policy we would have to pay now when the number is but 31,000,000. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life. It will be a saving of both.

As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such. The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige, but merely authorizes, Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable on the one hand or on the other, inasmuch as it comes to nothing unless by mutual consent of the people to be deported and the American voters, through their representatives of Congress. I cannot make it known better than it already is, that I strongly favour colonization; and yet I wish to say there is no objection urged against the coloured persons remaining in the country which is not largely imaginary, if not sometimes malicious. It is insisted that deportation would probably enhance the wages of white labour, and very surely would not reduce them. Thus the customary amount of labour would still have to be performed. The freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably for a time would do less, leaving an increased part to white labourers, bringing their labour into greater demand, and consequently enhancing the wages of it. With deportation even to a limited extent, enhancing wages of white labour is mathematically certain. Labour is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labour by colonizing the black labourers out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for and wages of white labour. But it is decided that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, there would be but one coloured to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven?

Is it true, then, that coloured people can displace any more white labour by being free than remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places they jostle no white labourers. If they leave their old places they leave them open to white labourers. Logically there is neither more nor less of it. Emancipation even without their presence would injure and displace white labour and white labourers. If there could ever be a proper time for mere arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity.

There are many communities now having more than one free coloured person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The district of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. The district has more than one free coloured to six whites, yet in its frequent petitions to Congress I believe it has never presented the presence of free coloured persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation South send free coloured people North? People of any colour seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore coloured people, to some extent, have fled north from bondage, and now, perhaps, from both bondage and destitution; but if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to fly from. The old masters would give them wages, at least until new labourers can be procured, and the freed men in turn will gladly give their labour for the wages till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes and with people of their own blood and race.

This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved; and in any event cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them. Again, as practice proves more than theory in any case, has there been any irruption of coloured people northward because of the abolishment of slavery in this district last spring. What I have said of the proportion of free coloured persons to the whites in the district is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here. The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not but that a restoration of the national authority would be accepted without its adoption, nor will the war, nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22, 1862 be stayed because of the recommendation of this plan. Its timely adoption, I doubt not, would bring restoration, and thereby stay both. And notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provided by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of, but additional to all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than it can be done by force alone, while it would cost less, considering amounts and manner of payment, and times of payment, and the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war if we rely solely upon force. It is most likely—very likely—that it would cost no blood at all. The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of Congress, and afterwards, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the Slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no distant day, upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union for ever.

The Message concludes by wishing Congress to adopt the Presidential scheme.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The operations in Virginia were the subject of much speculation in the North. It was not so much a question as to whether Burnside was on the north or the south of the Rappahannock, for that at some point or other he could cross that stream was certain; but the question anxiously discussed was whether the Federal army having crossed will be able to advance; and whether a battle-field nearer to Richmond will be to the advantage of the invader. It is manifest that if the advance is persisted in a battle must be fought before a junction of Federal forces is effected in the peninsula, and it is not less clear that the nearer the Federals are to Richmond the further they are from the base of their operations, and from their source of supplies. The people of the North are learning to appreciate the difficulties incident to campaigning in Virginia, and are not so sanguine of success as formerly. It seems as if the very elements were warring against the invader. The last Army of the Potomac was decimated by heat; the present army is suffering from intense cold. Some soldiers have died from exposure; and the transport of stores to Aquia Creek has been hindered by the ice.

According to the latest reports from Washington, General Burnside had crossed the Rappahannock and taken possession of Fredericksburg—the Confederates having retired to their line of works outside the city. The Confederates having constructed their defences on the south side of the city, we can perceive why the Federals occupied the city without much opposition. It is also rumoured that on the 11th inst. General Franklin's division crossed the river three miles below the city, and General Sigel had marched to join Burnside, and that the junction had been effected. We are informed that "the Federal losses have been slight." According to the usual meaning of Northern telegrams, for "slight" read "considerable."

The destination of General Banks's expedition was still a mystery. Some say it will co-operate with the Army of the Potomac, and others, that it will attack Wilmington.

The Confederate victory at Hartsville, Tennessee, was, as we expected, signal and important. The Federal brigade which was captured consisted of three entire regiments—the 104th Illinois, the 106th Ohio, the 108th Ohio; and of Nicklen's battery,

and a small detachment of the 2nd Indiana Cavalry. The Northern accounts state that General Morgan accomplished this with three regiments of cavalry, and two of infantry. We presume the numbers were nearly equal, or that the Federals were more numerous, for the *Associated Press* speaks of the affair as a surprise, and says, "Our arms are again disgraced;" and the New York papers call upon the Government to institute inquiry. Several other captures have been made lately by General Morgan, including three Federal officers and thirteen waggons. As usual, we have the information that the Federals are in "hot pursuit" of their gallant enemy, of whose movements they only become acquainted by their own disasters.

A battle was fought at Cronfordsville, Arkansas, on the 7th of December, between the Confederates under General Hindman and the Federals under Generals Herron and Blunt. According to the Northern accounts the fight lasted from 10 a.m. till dark, and at 9 p.m. the Confederates retreated, taking with them all their guns and stores, which the Federals had made several ineffectual attempts to capture. The Federals confess to a loss of 600, and add, "The rebel loss was 1500 by their own admission." Was General Hindman so obliging as to send an account of his loss to the enemy before he left the field? Details generally give an air of probability to an account, but to do so they must be ingeniously and not clumsily introduced. The Confederates must, according to the Federal story, have "admitted their loss" before they had had time to ascertain it.

On the 10th of December the Confederates drove in the Federal pickets before Nashville at every point, and great excitement existed in the town.

Captain Wilkes has written to his Government to complain that the Governor of Martinique would not allow him to enter the harbour to watch the Alabama.

The reported Federal occupation of Grenada, Mississippi, is now considered doubtful.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of the 3rd inst. says that deserters from Washington report that Banks's expedition was at Newbern, and that Wilmington was to be attacked. The *Enquirer* publishes the following resolutions unanimously passed by the House of Commons of North Carolina:—

Resolved,—That the Confederate States have the means and the will to sustain and perpetuate the Government they have established, and to that end North Carolina is determined to contribute all of her power and resources.

Resolved,—That the separation between the Confederate States and the United States is final, and that the people of North Carolina will never consent to reunion at any time or upon any terms.

Resolved,—That we have full confidence in the ability and patriotism of His Excellency President Davis, and that his Administration is entitled to the cordial support of all patriotic citizens.

Resolved,—That we heartily approve the policy for the conduct of the war set forth by His Excellency Governor Vance, in his inaugural address and message to the General Assembly, and that he ought to be unanimously supported in the manly and patriotic stand he has taken for our independence.

There has been a serious military riot in east New York. A soldier named Stellfax, encamped at Centreville, Long Island, obtained permission to visit the city, and after drinking at various houses, called with a companion at an hotel kept by a man named Schellein, situated at the corner of Vermont Avenue. Here a dispute arose about the measure of some whisky, and after some scuffling the Federal soldiers left the place. Stellfax insisted upon returning to the house. The door was partially opened to him, and he was fired at, but ineffectually. He ran across the street and was fired at three times in succession, one of the shots hitting and killing him. The affair became known to the soldiers, and the officers could not restrain the rage of the men. They

went in a body to wreak their vengeance on Schellein, whom they could not find, but they burnt the hotel to the ground. In the crowd assembled a dispute arose between a German and an American soldier, which resulted in the latter being shot in the leg.

General Butler's Sequestration Committee continue their confiscation measures at New Orleans. Immense quantities of goods and contents of splendid mansions are daily being sold by auction. General Butler occupies a house vacated by Dr. Campbell, who left when the Federals occupied the city, closing his house and leaving everything, including his plate. General Butler has extended his confiscation order to all that part of the State of Louisiana east of Mississippi River, except the parishes of New Orleans, St. Brener, and Plaque Mines.

The *New York World* publishes an article strongly denouncing General Butler, and which may show his few European admirers how richly merited is the universal censure pronounced upon him.

There are American journals so ignorant or so base as to praise the administration of General Butler at New Orleans. The fact is that he not only disgraces the Union cause—he disgraces civilization and humanity itself. He would be without apologists in Algiers. He ought to be without eulogists in America. Silence concerning his abuses of power and malfeasanances in office, his brutality, and the peculations at which he winks, if he does not share their profit, might be tolerated by the consciences of those who, hopeless of moving the mind of Mr. Lincoln, were unwilling to really obstruct the Government or even seem to encourage disloyalty. But when that silence is misconstrued into approbation,—when presses are found which, like most of our contemporaries in this city, actually praise General Butler, dwell upon the cleverness of his rhetoric and the efficiency of his rule, which laud the safe brutality of his intercourse with Secessionists, as if that were the best means of bringing them to reason,—when presses exist which have the effrontery or the ignorance to represent the number of those who have taken an enforced oath of allegiance as the number of those whose hearts have been constrained to loyalty, then silence becomes a lie. The truth concerning this basest and most unprincipled man should then be told, and his misconduct be denounced as it deserves, that the shame of the loyal and honest millions whose Government Mr. Lincoln has sent him to represent may at least be undeserved. The Administration presses will act wisely not to praise him. They should be thankful if their own silence secures his immunity from public odium. Neither they nor Mr. Lincoln can secure him against the infamy of history.

From all quarters there is abundant testimony of the terrible demoralization of the Federal troops. The following private letter from an officer in one of the South-Western armies has been published in the *New York Times*:—

If I should tell you the state of demoralization of many of our old regiments in the Valley of the Mississippi you would not believe it. They have no respect for man or woman, and are guilty of offences that, if committed at home, would send them to the penitentiary for life. Similar representations are made in so many other quarters that it is no longer possible to doubt that portions of our army have become greatly demoralized. It is not a pleasant fact, but it is criminal to shut our eyes to it. Every loyal organ of opinion in the land should raise its voice against it and demand its suppression.

The Governor of New Hampshire has ordered the draft to be enforced in those towns which have not filled up their quotas. This is a remarkable comment on the alacrity for enlistment which Mr. Seward boasts of in his despatch to Mr. Adams after the battles of June.

At the trial of General Porter, General Pope was examined at great length. The accusation mainly had reference to the following order, dated the 29th of August:—

Major General F. J. Porter,—The General Commanding, immediately on the receipt of this order, the precise hour of which you will note, requests that you will march your command to the field of battle to-day, and report to him in person for orders.

You are to understand that you are to comply strictly with the order, and be present on the field within three hours after its receipt, or by daybreak to-morrow morning. Signed by

COMMANDING-GENERAL POPE.

Upon being asked in what particular General Porter had failed to act in accordance with these instructions, General Pope replied:—"I thought he failed to obey it because two of the brigades of his command were not brought up with him, but by some means or other had straggled from it and were at Centreville." This seems to us rather a poor excuse for such a sweeping accusation. General Pope is not the first inefficient general who has been troubled with "stray" and "straggling" regiments, though perhaps he is the first to allow his temper to so far master his discretion as to admit his utter incapacity.

General McClellan gave evidence before the Court of Inquiry as to the conduct of General McDowell. It was strongly in favour of the accused. General McClellan censured the policy of separating McDowell's corps from the Army of the Potomac, and further stated that it would have been of great service if it had joined him by the way of Honour Court House. He does not hold General McDowell responsible for not joining him on either occasion. His evidence must be very distasteful to the Lincoln Cabinet.

In the Federal Senate a resolution, that the call upon the Secretary of War for the correspondence relating to the Army of the Potomac be extended so as to embrace all operations of the army since the first movement, was adopted. If this correspondence is published we may expect some curious revelations.

The Committee of Ways and Means has introduced a bill into Congress, providing for an issue of \$1,000,000,000 in bonds, similar in amount and form to those authorized by the Act of February 1862, with the interest payable in United States' lawful money, and the principal payable in twenty years in gold or silver coin of the United States; also, the issue of legal tender notes, the amount not to exceed, with those already authorized, \$500,000,000, in order to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to call in all 5-20 and 7-30 Treasury bonds now in circulation, and to cancel them, and authorizing the Secretary to redeem legal tender notes held as loans and bearing interest. The Committee has further proposed that the law authorizing the payment of interest on United States' bonds in gold should be repealed.

The Federal House of Representatives has passed a Bill to indemnify President Lincoln and his Cabinet for suspending the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The Republican press approve of this measure. Mr. Lincoln's friends are evidently afraid of what will happen when the new Congress assembles."

The House has also passed a Bill admitting Western Virginia as a State, by a majority of 96 to 55. The Bill provides for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. It had previously passed the Senate.

Several fresh captures by the Alabama were reported in New York.

It is "semi-officially" stated that the Federal Government has received information that France will not further prosecute her proposal for an armistice or mediation." Rather in contradiction to this is a special despatch to the *Boston Journal*, dated Washington, December 9: "Our relations with France are the prominent topic of conversation here, and many anticipate trouble with our Gallic friends."

The Mexican Minister at Washington "is making arrangements to accept the services of Federal officers who have volunteered to assist the Mexicans." This is, of course, intended as an insult and menace to France. We should have thought Federal officers would have found enough to do at home. Perhaps Mr. Lincoln hopes by these means to get rid of several of his unsuccessful generals—General Pope, for example; and if so, Mexico will not have much cause for gratitude.

A resolution has been proposed in the Federal Congress, that an American war vessel should accompany any ship carrying provisions for Lancashire, to protect her from pirates. This has reference to the Confederate war steamer Alabama. If by any means merchantmen laden with Southern cotton could be insured against Federal "pirates," the distress in Lancashire might be effectually obviated, and the English cotton industry saved from threatened ruin, or, at all events, years of depression.

In the House of Representatives the resolution condemning President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as unconstitutional and unauthorized was laid on the table by a vote of 95 to 47.

The *Hibernian* brings us a piece of intelligence that is much better than nine-tenths of the jokes that will be uttered this Christmas. "The Confederate Governor of North Carolina has sent a Message to the General Assembly. The Message shows no union sentiment whatever." This is a smart sarcasm.

Mr. Seward has published a mass of diplomatic

correspondence. Below we give a summary of the principal despatches:—

In June Mr. Adams writes that the darling desire of the governing classes that America may be divided, though subdued in expression by events, remains as strong as ever.

Mr. Adams writes, in October, that he has had an interview with Earl Russell, in which, referring to Mr. Gladstone's speech, Earl Russell said it was not for him to disavow anything on the part of Mr. Gladstone, but that Mr. Gladstone had no idea, in saying what he had, that there was serious intention to justify any inferences of a disposition of the Government to adopt a new policy. Earl Russell stated as guardedly as possible that Lord Palmerston and the other members of the Cabinet regretted Mr. Gladstone's speech, but it was still their intention to adhere to perfect neutrality, and let the struggle come to its natural end without the smallest interference, direct or otherwise. Earl Russell, however, could not say what circumstances might happen from month to month in the future.

Mr. Seward's recent communications to Mr. Adams are summarized thus:—

In June Mr. Seward writes that a list of purchases made for the Confederates in England, which list had fallen into the hands of the Federals, shows that the complaints made to Earl Russell fell short of the real abuses of neutrality committed in England in the very face of the British Government. "The rebellion," says Mr. Seward, "is now approaching its end, and it is just at this moment proof becomes irresistible that if it had succeeded its success would have been due to the assistance derived from the English people." Mr. Seward says the President thinks it desirable that the English Government should consider before the war closes what are likely to be the sentiments of England and America towards each other after its termination.

In August Mr. Seward writes that a war with England could not fail to unite North and South.

In November Mr. Seward writes that while European parties are more hostile than ever to America, America herself is stronger to resist intervention than at any former period. Intervention would only afford an additional motive for America to sustain her resolution to remain united. Less than three years ago all England showed itself desirous of friendship with America, and a similar desire may before long recur.

On the 3rd of the same month Mr. Seward states that the President is compelled to regard the destruction of ships by the Alabama as having been made by British subjects in violation of the law of nations. "It is presumed," says Mr. Seward, "you have already brought the subject before the British Government in that light. Legal proofs to support indemnity claims will be collected and transmitted as soon as possible."

France has a right to make war against Mexico, and to determine for herself the cause. We have a right and interest to insist that France shall not improve the war she makes to raise up in Mexico an anti-Republican or anti-American Government, or to maintain such Government there. France has disclaimed such designs, and we, besides reposing faith in the assurance given in a frank and honourable manner, would in any case be bound to wait for and not anticipate a violation of them. Circumstances tend to excite misapprehensions and jealousies between this Government and that of France in spite of all the prudence we can practise on our part. We studiously endeavour to avoid them. You will therefore be fully authorized in assuming that this Government does not inspire and has no responsibility for the assumptions of a different character made by the press. When we desire explanations from France, or when an occasion shall have arrived to express discontent, we shall communicate directly and explicitly with M. Thouvenel, through your good offices.

Mr. Dayton writes to Mr. Seward in March that at an interview with the Emperor he stated that the opinion of Americans was that if France and England would withdraw their recognition of the Southern insurrectionists as belligerents the rebellion would collapse at once. If this recognition were withdrawn, Mr. Dayton believed that as an equivalent the blockade would be raised at an early date.

The Emperor replied that the recognition of the Southerners as belligerents was made upon an understanding with England; that some legal questions were originally involved, and that he must consult M. Thouvenel. When the insurrection broke out the Emperor did not suppose the North would succeed, and it was the general belief of European statesmen that the two sections would never come together again. This belief was the principal reason why the concession of belligerent rights was granted.

The correspondence from Russia is only remarkable from the tone assumed towards England. Mr. Cassius M. Clay writes to Mr. Seward in January last:—

Union with us, with equal rights, should be offered the Canadians, and the life and property of friends secured. Men and money should be sent into Ireland, India, and all the British dominions all over the world, to stir up revolt. Our cause is just, and vengeance will sooner or later overtake that perfidious aristocrat.

No one will be surprised at this outburst from Mr. Clay, but its publication is an insult to this country such as was never before offered to any Power, great or small, and no insult half so coarse has ever yet been suffered to pass with impunity.

Next to Mr. Clay's contribution one of the choicest morsels in the whole of the published correspondence is a letter from the French Consul at New Orleans to the French Minister at Washington. He says General Butler used extraordinary language in addressing him; that his first words were almost always, "I will hang you, or I will send you to Fort Jackson." All the world knows that Butler is a ruffian, but he is not many degrees worse than his Government, who, being aware of his ruffianism, retain him in office.

A despatch from the American Minister at St. Petersburg states that Prince Gortschakoff told him in October last he thought the hope of reunion was daily growing less, and impressed upon him that Russia would regard a separation as the greatest misfortune. The Prince stated that Russia would refuse to aid in intervention, but was most anxious for some means to be adopted to prevent separation.

ENGLAND.

This week we have to record the first sign of improvement in the condition of Lancashire. Pauperism is actually diminishing. The weekly report of the Poor Law Board exhibits the following results:—

(a). Seven unions have more:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	70	Salford	320
Bolton	179	Wigan	190
Chorlton	250		
Liverpool	190	Total	1,920
Manchester	730		

(b). Two unions are in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Macclesfield, Stockport (no return this week).

(c). Twelve unions have less:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Blackburn	290	Preston	30
Burnley	290	Rochdale	150
Bury	40	Saddleworth	140
Chorley	430	Todmorden	70
Glossop	70	Warrington	90
Haslingden	2,740		
Oldham	890	Total	5,230

It will be seen that while Manchester and its suburbs—if suburbs they be—of Salford and Chorlton, which at first suffered as little as any manufacturing towns, show an increase of 1300, Wigan and Ashton have only a trifling increase, while in Blackburn, Burnley, Oldham, and Preston, which suffered severely at first, there is an actual decrease. We shall not attempt an explanation of this phenomenon with our present information on the matter; we are satisfied to note it as a hopeful symptom.

The Mansion-house Committee granted £40,000 last week, besides £18,000 for Christmas dinners. They have distributed altogether £250,000. They continue to receive letters expressing a hope that they will retain all their functions as distributors, from those local committees whose applications have been deservedly refused by the Central Executive at Manchester.

The example of the county meeting of Lancashire has been followed in Cheshire. The proprietors, merchants, and manufacturers of that county assembled on Saturday in the Volunteers' Armoury at Stockport, under the presidency of the High Sheriff. The Marquis of Westminster stated several cases of distress; and enumerated several instances of large benefactions on the part of the manufacturers—one firm having actually given £14,000; others £2000, £5000, and £7000. The Bishop of the diocese described in moving terms the condition to which the working classes had been reduced. Lord Stanley of Alderley (no connection of the family whose chief is Earl of Derby) vindicated the conduct of the manufacturers, and expressed an unlimited belief in Surat—much his lordship knows about it. Lord Grosvenor, son of the Marquis of Westminster, expressed his satisfaction that there were no cries for a war with America, of which no one could foresee the result, and which would be far more costly than the cotton famine. (The result would be that the North would be forced in six months to make peace on any terms, at about the cost of the last six months of distress.)

Mr. Potts, the Clerk of the Peace, read a long list of subscriptions which had been promised at this meeting. The list included the following:—The Marquis of Westminster (in addition to a former subscription), £2000 (loud cheers); the Marchioness of Westminster, £50; the Marquis of Cholmondeley, £500; the Earl of Stamford and Warrington, £1000; Lord Berners, £500; Earl Grosvenor, £100; Viscount Combermere, £100; Lady Combermere, £50; Lord H. Cholmondeley, £200; Lord de Tabley, £50; Sir P. Egerton, £100; Major Egerton Leigh, £100 (in addition to local subscriptions); Mr. R. H. Greg, £200 (besides three local subscriptions); Mr. R. Barbour, £100 (in addition to former subscriptions); Lord Crewe, £100; Mr. J. Tollemache, £300 (in addition to a former subscription, and £2000 in works); Sir E. Cust, £100; and the Bishop of Chester, £100. There were several other subscriptions of £100, and a large number of smaller sums.

The Central Executive Committee held its usual weekly meeting on Monday. A bad fit of the gout prevented Lord Derby from taking the chair. A correspondence was read referring to certain charges made by a certain Rev. Mr. Williams at Ashton relative to the "partiality" shown by the Committee. The history of the case is very simple. A Committee was formed in Ashton, which included all the leading men of the place. A few malcontents got up a rival organization. The Central Committee tried to mediate, in vain; and finally determined to entrust the distribution of its funds to the only body in Ashton which could be considered responsible. The opposition is now sustained entirely by remittances from London, as the Mansion-house Committee will insist on judging for itself on matters of which it is wholly ignorant, instead of abiding by the judgment of those who are better informed; and

Mr. Williams has busied himself in circulating throughout the country complaints against the Central Committee, which are not merely false, but obviously absurd; with no other apparent purpose than to damp the charity of those who have hitherto given largely through the Central Committee. We trust that the severe rebuke he has received in the publication of the facts will put a stop to his disreputable intrigues.

Mr. Farnall read his usual weekly report, which is more cheerful than his previous communications have been:—

Manchester, Dec. 22.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ended Saturday, the 13th inst., will show you that there is a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week of 2403. This decrease of 2403 is explained as follows:—There is a decrease at Barton-upon-Irwell of 11; Blackburn, 292; Burnley, 163; Bury, 115; Chorley, 426; the Fylde, 3; Glossop, 70; Haslingden, 2998; Lancaster, 3; Preston, 26; Rochdale, 152; Todmorden, 81; Warrington, 94;—total 4434. There is an increase at Ashton-under-Lyne of 73; Bolton, 16; Chorlton, 255; Garstang, 76; Leigh, 68; Macclesfield, 11; Manchester, 732; Prestwich, 197; Saddleworth, 93; Salford, 320; Wigan, 190;—total, 2031, making a net decrease of 2403. I have received no returns from the clerks of the Unions of Clitheroe, Oldham, and Stockport for the week ended the 13th inst., and I have therefore inserted in my tabular report their figures for the week ended the 6th inst., and I am unable to state whether there has been an increase or a decrease in either of these places. The figures entered for the Fylde represent a decrease of pauperism as compared with the week ended the 29th ult., and those for Haslingden are also compared with the same week. There were on the 13th inst., 269,580 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 59,482 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 210,098 persons in receipt of parochial relief, or 353.2 per cent. The total weekly cost of outdoor relief on the 13th inst. was £18,638 4s. 1d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2,940 7s. 11d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £15,697 16s. 2d., or 534.6 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism in the population of these unions on the 13th inst. was 13.6; in the corresponding week of last year it was 3.0. The average amount of outdoor relief per head per week, both in money and kind, in these unions on the 13th inst. was 1s. 5½d.; the lowest was 1s. 0½d., and the highest 1s. 11½d., at Glossop. Of the 269,580 persons receiving parochial relief on the 13th inst. 12,522 were indoor paupers. I have returns from 98 local committees, formed for the distribution of charitable aid in the cotton manufacturing districts; and I am able to state that at the date of those reports they were aiding 190,794 persons, who were not receiving parochial relief from the guardians of the poor, and that the weekly expenditure of the 98 committees was £24,908 18s. 4d. The total number of persons, therefore, included in this report who are either receiving parochial relief or who are aided by local committees of charity, is 460,374, or 23.2 per cent. on the population. The present total weekly expenditure by the guardians, on 257,058 outdoor paupers is £18,638 4s. 1d.; and by the 98 local committees, on the 190,794 persons aided by them, is £24,908 18s. 4d.; making together £43,547 2s. 5d., or 1s. 11½d. to each recipient. The amount of money in the hands of the treasurers of the above union on the 13th inst. was £89,631 1s. 3d.; in the previous week the amount was £55,453 19s. 5d.—I am, my lords and gentlemen, your obedient servant,
H. B. FARNALL, Special Commissioner.

P.S.—Since writing the above report I have received a return from the clerk of the Stockport union which enables me to inform you that there was on the 13th inst. a decrease in the pauperism of that union of 1040, so that I have now to report that the total decrease of pauperism on the 13th, as compared with the 6th inst., was 3443.

Mr. M. Ross dissented from Mr. Farnall's conclusion that more workpeople being employed than last week it was probable the crisis was passed. Mr. Ross stated there was nothing in the statistics of a future cotton supply to warrant the supposition.

His views were adopted by Mr. Edmund Ashworth; both stated that they hoped in a few weeks to establish their opinions by undemable statistics.

Several members of the Committee expressed their opinion that the reported diminution in the number of unemployed people this week was only apparent, and occasioned probably by the fact that the many cases heretofore relieved by both the guardians and relief committees, and included in the returns from each, were now being thrown entirely upon the care of one of these relieving agencies. They saw no probability of any material lessening of the pressure of distress for some considerable time to come.

The O'Donoghue and other "mannikin traitors" have been getting up disturbances at meetings intended to express the sympathy of Ireland with the distress of Lancashire. At Tralee the O'Donoghue carried a resolution that the subscriptions of Ireland were needed for some imaginary Irish distress, and broke up a meeting convened by the Sheriff for the purpose of collecting aid for the victims of the cotton famine. A Mr. O'Brennan endeavoured, but without success, to imitate his example at Galway. It would be gratifying if any repetition of the cabbage-garden affair should afford an opportunity for obliging these gentlemen "to leave their country for their country's good." Only let them be sent not to Australia, but to New York; perhaps a few of them may find courage to enlist under Captain Meagher or Colonel Corcoran, and signalize themselves in some new Bull Run.

On Thursday last the Members for Birmingham met their constituents in the Town-hall. Mr. Scholefield, as the senior gentleman, pressed them first. He

thought the Government ought to introduce a Reform Bill which would do justice to the non-electors, and to make such reductions of expenditure as might be made without impairing the efficiency of the army and navy. He had thought the secession of the Southern States an act of inconceivable folly. But if they chose to secede they had a right to do so; and the North had no right to coerce them. The North had no right to go to war to emancipate the slaves, and as a matter of fact it had done nothing of the kind. He thought that the Confederate Government ought to be recognized by the European Powers. Mr. Bright assailed the Indian Government, which he accused of having discouraged the growth of cotton; and proposed that lands growing cotton should be exempted from the Indian land-tax. He then turned to the American question, and repeated all the oft-refuted falsehoods and fallacies current among the little knot of Americanized Englishmen of whom he is the leading spirit. He said the South had revolted without cause. The United States' Government was not an expensive one. It had not a great army, a great navy, a great debt, or a burdensome foreign policy. Therefore it was impossible that the Southern States could have had any real cause of complaint against it. When they attacked Fort Sumter the North could not help going to war. The North might not be fighting to put down slavery; but the South certainly was fighting to maintain it, and for no other purpose whatever. He abused the aristocracy, the Government, the Alabama, Mr. Davis, the Confederate leaders generally, everybody and everything, and concluded as follows:—

I do not blame any man who takes the restoration of the Union to be hopeless; you have the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on that point; he is as a speaker unsurpassed by any man in England; but, unfortunately, he made use of expressions in the north of England nearly three months ago, and seems ever since then to have been engaged in trying to make people understand what he meant. He is, however, quite welcome to think the struggle hopeless for the North. I do not hold that opinion. The leaders of this revolt oppose by their Constitution this simple thing—that over a territory some forty times as large as England the blight and bondage of slavery shall be for ever perpetuated. I cannot myself believe in such a fate befalling that fair land, stricken though it now be by the ravages of war; I cannot believe that civilization in its journey with the sun will sink into endless night to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek "to wade through slaughter to a throne, and shut the gates of mercy on mankind." I have another and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will still cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of Pacific main, and I see one people and one law and one language and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race.

The South is fortunate in Mr. Bright's hostility. He never fails to damage any cause which is disgraced by his support.

At the meeting of the Blandford Agricultural Society the Members for Dorsetshire delivered their views on things in general. Mr. Portman criticised Mr. Bright's speech at Birmingham, as the most angry he had ever read, and supposed that the speaker had lost his temper with the vexation of seeing the ruin of his model Democracy. He thought that the "tall talk" of the Northerners about the invasion of Canada and war with England was all bluster, and that the blusterers knew better than to attempt to put their threats into execution. Mr. Ker Seymour vindicated his consistency as a conservative in domestic, and a liberal in foreign politics. He thought our institutions good, wished to maintain them; he thought those of some foreign countries very bad, and was glad to see them amended. He spoke in favour of Italian unity, and the withdrawal of the French army from Rome. But he thought Austria had as good a right to Venetia as we to Gibraltar. It was a pity that she governed it so badly, but she was perfectly justified in her determination to keep it by the sword. Turning to America, he expressed great fear of wounding the morbid sensitiveness of the Northern people. Still if he did not feel bound to speak of American matters in England, it was not the fault of those indiscreet friends of America who had been continually holding up that country as a pattern which we were to follow. For a long period there had been a certain class of politicians in this country who seemed to think everything English bad and everything American good. Even to this day Mr. Bright talked of our costly monarchy, and of our aristocracy being supported and living by patronage. He did not know how much Mr. Lincoln cost, but however little it might be he was sure that he was dear at the money. People talked about the army and navy in this country being a kind of outdoor relief for the aristocracy, and pointed out how small a standing army was necessary in America. All that we then could do was to prophecy, and say, "Wait until the time comes, and see what will happen. America is not bordered by great monarchies like England; but, supposing that a war occurs, how will they

come out?" The case had occurred, and we had seen how America had come out. For himself, he believed that during the last two years there had been more extravagance, more speculation, and more promotion of incompetent men to high office in the United States than there had been in England during the last half century. However, we must not say too much, or the Americans would be sending over a battering-ram to destroy our whole fleet. He observed from the papers of to-day that there was a "friendly" message for them, and that there was some talk of patching up their differences to have a "go" at the old country; but if they did so they might have reason to repent their step. He concluded by finding fault with the lightness of our prison discipline, and referring to the extreme laxity of the law relative to the confinement of lunatics on medical certificate. Mr. H. Portman, a member of the Canadian Legislature, asserted the loyalty of Canada, and declared that, backed by the army and navy of England, the Canadians were prepared to resist and repel any invasion from the United States.

The following paragraph is copied by the London papers from the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*. We can hardly suppose it to be true. If it should prove so, the neutrality of the British Government is indeed a perfect farce.

THE ALABAMA.—The *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* of yesterday says:—"We have been informed that Her Majesty's Government have issued orders to their agents, at the various ports of the western islands, that if the Confederate steamer Alabama, or '230,' should enter any of these ports, she is at once to be ordered off, and not allowed to take in coal or provisions. The order further states that if the Alabama should call at Fayal or other ports they are to inform Captain Semmes that if, after this notice, he should destroy any merchandise which may be consigned to British merchants in neutral ships, Her Majesty's Government will, at once take steps to destroy the steamer under his command."

The Yelverton case has reached another stage. Its history will be familiar to most of our readers. A Miss Theresa Longworth contrived to force herself upon Major Yelverton, went through the form of marriage with him before a Catholic priest in Ireland, and afterwards lived with him as his wife or mistress in Ireland and in Scotland. An Irish jury decided that the Irish marriage was valid, but did so by finding a verdict which was obviously false on the point of Major Yelverton's religion. In the meantime the Major had married a respectable Scotch lady. Miss Longworth is labouring to deprive this lady of her rights by proving that a marriage "by cohabitation and repute" took place in Scotland. One of the judges of the Court of Session decided against her. She appealed; and two of the other three pronounced in her favour, the President dissenting. As the judge who had given the decision appealed against was absent on the appeal, this results in a decision that she is Mrs. Yelverton. An appeal lies to the House of Lords. The *Times* of Monday had a very severe article on the advantage given to the "adventuress," by this Scotch decision; saying, with great truth, that if that decision remains undisturbed no woman can be safe in marrying any man who has ever lived in Scotland, and with whose life there she is not intimately acquainted.

The following letter to the *Times* records the success of a new experiment in co-operation, of no small interest and value:—

Sir,—The interesting article from your "Own Reporter," dated Rochdale, respecting co-operative societies, induces me to trouble you with a few lines on the same subject. About 30 years ago, upon a small farm in Suffolk becoming vacant, I called together 20 labourers and offered to lend them capital without interest if they would undertake to farm it, subject to my rules and regulations. They gladly availed themselves of my offer. In the course of 10 years they paid me back my capital, so that I was induced to let another farm of 150 acres to 30 men upon the same terms. These have also nearly paid back the capital lent to them, and, instead of eating dry bread, as I regret to say many of the agricultural labourers are now doing, each man has his bacon, and numberless comforts that he never possessed before; thus the rates are reduced, as these 50 families are no longer burdensome. The farmers are sure to meet with honest men, as conviction of crime would debar them of their share, and the men themselves have become much more intelligent, and present happy, cheerful countenances. If every country gentleman would follow my example, distress among the agricultural poor would not be known. I merely add that I have no land so well farmed. I shall be happy to send you my plan, rules, and regulations, if required.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

Assington Hall, Suffolk, Dec. 19. JOHN GUDON.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—M. Prevost Paradol has published in the *Courier du Dimanche* a criticism on the composition of the Chamber of Deputies, which is, he affirms, filled with officials, 200 members out of 260 being "mayors," who, in France, are officers of the Central Government, and appointed by the Ministry of the Interior.

ITALY.—The Parliament has been prorogued. A Committee had been appointed to inquire into the brigandage which desolates the Neapolitan provinces,

"This time last year it was the cry at the North that they would starve us out. Those who joined in it knew but little of the resources of our 'Sunny South,' or of the energy of our people.

"Thanks for the homage paid by the great Powers to the Lincoln Government and his paper blockade, we now have enough and to spare. It is highly gratifying to our young pride as a nation to find in this practical way how rich and diverse are our resources, and how independent of the rest of the world we may be if necessity so require."

NO SIGNS OF PEACE.

(From the *Charleston Courier* of November 11.)

Though some see signs of an early peace, to our gaze the cloud of war covers all the sky, and we cannot discover a rift in the black mantle. The beginning of the end is not visible to our eyes. And while in our judgment the war cannot last another year, our opinion, though grounded on strong and solid reasons, may be thrown into ridicule by the march of events, and this unnatural, wicked, and ruinous strife may be prolonged far beyond that period. But there is an evil of terrible complexion and vast proportions which we will be exposed to, whether the strife be brought to an end in a twelvemonth, or moisten with tears and redden with blood years that are to come. And it behoves us to protect ourselves against that great calamity.

The Yankees have made but small progress in their attempts to invade the South. They have organized and equipped vast armies, and constructed an immense navy, and their operations on land and water have cost them an incredible sum of money. They have succeeded in obtaining possession of a few square miles of territory embraced in the Southern Confederacy, but their successes bear no proportion to their efforts and outlay, and at the present time they who were to have subjugated the recalcitrant States, or exterminated their audacious and wicked inhabitants, have not begun the impossible undertaking. And before they accomplish that brave purpose, they will have to defeat and utterly destroy armies that have worsted theirs whenever they have met them on the red field of war. We have no fear that they will accomplish their direful devices. But we are anxious concerning the invasion we are threatened with after the war is over. That is the real evil that excites our deepest apprehension.

The people with whom we are now fighting can inflict greater evils upon us after peace is declared than they are capable of doing during the continuance of the existing strife. We have shown ourselves fully able to defend our homes and our honour, and in the midst of our struggles we have acquired a renown whose lustre has attracted the admiring notice of the whole civilized world. But while we have prevailed over the Yankee people by the mere skilful and courageous use of sword and cannon, we fear that the people of these Confederate States will suffer grievously at their hands, when they come against us armed with the weapons of deceit and falsehood. They are superior to us in craftiness and ingenuity, in shamelessness and enterprise. They are destitute of honour, self-respect, and conscience. And as by their oily tongues and secret professions, they retained us in bondage so many years, in like manner will the mean race endeavour, after the war is ended, to circumvent us with their cunning arts and profit by our simplicity.

If before this contest was waged the hateful Yankees were able to impose upon our credulity and to blind our eyes to their true character, they are now greater adepts in the vile art of lying and deceiving, and unless we turn our knowledge to good account after the roar of battle has ceased, we shall again fall victims to their insatiable avarice. For they have cast aside every moral restraint, seared their consciences with a hot iron, wiped out the last vestige of honour, discarded every principle of justice, destroyed every feeling of humanity, and clothed themselves in a garment of lies.

Perfectly qualified are the Yankees to carry on against us a more harmful war in the days of peace and prosperity than they are waging at the present time. They will flock in vast numbers to our fair and fertile South, with their clocks, and shoes, and fabrics, and nutmegs, and with everything our necessities and comfort require, and not the truest and most amiable friend we have will smile more blandly upon us, and shake our hands with a more pleasing cordiality, than the men who are now endeavouring to overthrow our liberties and despoil us of land, home, and honour. The faces of the thousands of tradesmen, and artisans, and pedlars, will not redden with the blush of shame at the mention of the cruelties and outrages committed upon the old men, and women, and children, by the base hirelings of the despot; for of all who come into our territory to carry on gainful pursuits, there will not be one who ever raised his voice against our cause during the war. These seekers after money will affirm, with fluent tongue and emphatic utterance, that they were among the few who stood out against this unrighteous war, and exhibit, with beaming countenances, the marks of the harsh treatment they received for stoutly opposing and resisting the unconstitutional measures enforced by their Government.

If we permit them to impose upon us again, with their false professions, the Yankees will do us infinitely greater injury after the war is terminated than they can do us while the conflict is going on.

CONFEDERATE BONDS.—A Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* says that Confederate bonds are being bought wherever they can be obtained, at 50 cents for the dollar. Also a considerable quantity of Confederate currency finds its way North.

PRICES IN CHARLESTON, NOVEMBER 10.—Iodide potass, \$18.50 per lb.; conserve of roses, \$3 per lb.; e. lomet, \$8.25 to \$9 per lb.; pulverized liquorice, \$1.75 per lb.; carbonate of ammonia, \$4.10 per lb.; oil of aniseed, \$10 to \$11 per lb.; oil of lemon, \$9.25 per lb.; oil of sassafras, \$4.50 per lb.; oil of cassia, \$9 to \$11 per lb.; spirits nitre, \$8 per lb.; sulphate morphine, \$28 to \$30 per oz.; strychnine in crystals, \$4.25 to \$5 per oz.; chloroform \$13 per lb.; Colman's Durham mustard, \$4.5 per lb.; pulverized Turkey opium, \$39.50 per lb.; castor oil, \$12.50 to \$17 per gall.; balsam copaiba, \$10.75 per lb.; pulverized ipecac, \$16.50 per lb.; sulphate quinine, \$13.25 to \$18 per oz.; quicksilver, \$3 to \$4 per lb.; oil of peppermint, \$12 per lb.; oil of cloves, \$6.25 per lb.; oil of bergamot, \$13.5 to \$16 per lb.; essence of bergamot, \$13.50 per lb.; gelatine capsules, \$6 to \$6.50 per doz.; cubeb capsules, \$7.50 per doz.; pearl cocoa, \$1.40 per lb.; homoeopathic cocoa, \$1.35 per lb.; soluble chocolate, \$2.45 to \$3.05 per lb.; Cleaves' Honey Soap, \$6.75 to \$12.50 per doz.; fancy soaps, \$8.75 to \$12.75 per doz.; London turpentine soap, 95 cents to \$1.12½ per lb.; Hale's patent sperm candles, \$1.75 to \$1.95 per lb.; stearine candles, \$1.85 to \$2.05 per lb.; tobacco, various, 70 to 85 cents per lb.; imperial tea, \$9.45 to \$9.75 per lb.; Hyson tea, \$9.75 per lb.; Oolong tea, \$4.70 to \$5.50 per lb.; black pepper, \$154 to \$155 per lb.; assafoetida \$2 per lb.; hops, \$3.35 to \$2.85 per lb.; magnesia, \$1.05 per lb.; bi chromate potass, \$4.75 per lb.; sal soda, \$1.47½ to \$1.80 per lb.; chlorate potass, \$8.75 to \$9.25 per lb.; nutmegs, \$1.20 per lb.; gum arabic, \$3.25 per lb.; cream tartar, pulverized, \$2.30 per lb.; cream tartar, crystals, 90 cents to \$1.25 per lb.; pulverized rhubarb, \$6.75 per lb.; gum tragacanth, \$2.20 per lb.; iodide of mercury, \$1.60 per oz.; tartaric acid, crystals, \$1.50 per lb.; tartaric acid, pulverized, \$2.75 per lb.; bi carbonate soda, \$1.92½ to \$2.25 per lb.; refined camphor \$8 per lb.; gum opium \$35 per lb.; rhubarb root, East India, \$3 per lb.; preserved meats, \$1.40 per small can; assorted preserves, \$17 per doz.; sardines, in ¼ boxes, \$1.25 to \$1.30 each box; sardines, in ½ boxes, \$2 to \$2.25 per box; olive oil, quarts, \$37 per doz.; citric acid, \$1.12½ to \$1.75 per lb.; bi chromate potass, \$4.20 per lb.; champagne, quarts, \$46 to \$55 per doz.; Madeira wine, \$27.50 per doz.; Madeira wine, \$6.12½ to \$6.25 per gall.; old Hennessy brandy, \$71 per doz.; old London Dock brandy, \$20 to \$27.50 per gall.; old pale brandy, \$14.50 to 20 per gall.; London Dock port wine, \$27.50 to \$29 per dozen; pale sherry, \$15 per dozen.; Bourbon whisky, \$34 per doz.; rye whisky, \$37 per doz.; Schiedam Schnapps, \$24.50 per doz.; Forks, 50 cents per doz.; tea spoons, 35 cents per doz.; table spoons, 75 cents per doz.; tin dinner plates, \$3 per doz.; horse shoes, 41 cents per lb.; Blue denims, \$1 per yard; white linen duck \$1.05 per yard; grey drill, 95 cents per yard; huckaback bleached, 90 to 95 cents per yard; brown huckaback, 80 cents per yard; huckaback towels, \$6.75 per doz.; hunting, 75 cents per yard; Graniteville drills, 60 cents per yard; Augusta drills, 54 cents per yard; Canaburgs, 65 cents per yard; ducks, 95 cents per yard; 7-8 Graniteville sheetings, 55 cents per yard; 4-4 Graniteville sheetings, 63½ cents per yard; English grey sheetings, 66 inch 7½ to 77½ cents per yard; English grey sheetings, 39 inch, 67½ to 74 cents per yard; 7-8 bleached shirtings, 54½ cents per yard; 4-4 English longcloth, 83 cents to \$1.27 per yard; felt hats, \$13 to \$14 each; 7-8 Graniteville shirtings, 56 cents per yard; 4-4 Graniteville sheetings, 62½ cents per yard; brown drills, 62½ cents per yard; grey cassimeres, \$1.22½ per yard; brown Jean drawers, \$32 per doz.; Tweed suits, \$25 per suit; blue serge suits, \$25 per suit; wax calf skins, \$277.50 per dozen; French patent leather calf, \$170 per dozen; elastic boot webbing, \$1.10 per yard; cambrie longcloths, \$1.30 per yard; ladies' white cotton hose, \$7.25 to \$16.25 per doz.; men's brown half hose, \$10.50 to \$11.75 per doz.; linen bosom shirts, \$70 to \$76 per doz.; striped Osnaburg shirts, \$33 per doz.; gauze merino shirts, \$26 to \$40 per doz.; worsted tapes, 30 to 35 cents per piece; white spool cotton, 200 yards, \$4 per doz.; black spool cotton, \$4.12½ per doz.; black flax thread, \$7 to \$9.37½ per lb.; whitey-brown flax thread, \$5.37½ to \$5.96 per lb.; hair brushes, \$13 per doz.; tooth brushes, \$17 per doz.; fine horn combs, \$7.50 per doz.; fine ivory combs, \$11.70 per doz.; rubber combs, \$6.62½ per doz.; gold braid 85 cents each piece; black alpaca, \$4.75 per yard; cambrie handkerchiefs, \$7.25 per doz.; English letter paper, \$17.50 to \$19 per ream; French letter paper, \$13 per ream; envelopes, \$12.50 per M.; candle meltings, \$1 per lb.; extract logwood, \$4.27½ per lb.; catechu, \$1.25 per lb.; Guatamala indigo, \$11.60 per lb.; madder, \$1.95 per lb.; ruled note paper, \$7.50 per ream; friction matches, \$14.25 per gross; English pins, \$10 per pack; needles, \$3.62½ per M.; Coats' spool cotton, 100 yards, \$2.50 per doz.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, December 9.

All nerve appears to have left Wall-street; its inhabitants can stand hard shocks, but the monstrous falsehoods of Mr. Chase are even more difficult to bear than the monstrous amounts known to be due by the Washington Government. Bankers and merchants are the easiest-going people in the world as long as they have confidence; they will credit an insolvent if they believe him to be honest, but the moment they ascertain that he endeavours to deceive them they let him drop, and "close on him." Such is the condition of Mr. Chase just now; it would have been much better for him to have exhibited a true state of his affairs than to have practised the frauds he has enacted by his report to Congress. A Government desiring to borrow money has no more right, and, in fact, no more power to behave in an improper manner than an individual; and if it does so, the consequences it will encounter must be the

same. Even Bennett, of the *Herald*, blushes at Mr. Chase's manifesto; he says: "The probability is, that on the 1st day of July, 1864, the Federal debt will be \$1000,000,000; the ascertained and audited debt is no criterion of the real debt, and those who desire to prolong the war, either to make money out of the calamity of the country or to abolish slavery, have an interest in concealing the truth from the people who will have to bear the burden."

In addition to the civil war that is raging between Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, there is a very uncivil conflict going on between the bank presidents and Mr. Salmon P. Chase, which will soon come to blows; there will be bloodletting, and a stoppage of the circulation of the "greenbacks."

In military affairs there is nothing of moment; as in matters financial; the action of Banks occupies the public mind; no one expects that he will redeem his promises; at all events, his movements are in a state of "suspension."

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 23.

Once more there are rumours abroad of a proposal for mediation in America, in which all the great European Powers would join. The Presidential Message has produced the impression here that the North is on its last legs, and would be glad to avail itself of any opportunity to extricate itself from the fearful difficulties in which its own recklessness and folly of the Republican party have involved the country. We shall, however, soon know what foundation there may be for these rumours, as in little more than a fortnight the Emperor will deliver his speech on the Opening of the French Chambers when some clue to the policy His Majesty means to pursue with regard to the great American struggle may be expected. *En attendant* it is impossible to pass over the almost general impression that prevails, that the close of the war is at hand, and to that impression Mr. Lincoln's admissions have not a little contributed.

In their comments on the Presidential Message the French papers appear to have been guided solely by their party bias. The *Debats*, the *Temps*, and the other journals whilst they attack despotism on this side of the Atlantic, uphold it on the other, praise it for those very qualities of which to all impartial minds it is utterly destitute. The *Debats*, would you believe it, praises it for its "dignity"—the *Temps* admires it for its wisdom!

*Illic prævertantur amatores quod amici,
Turpia decipiunt cæcos vitia aut etiam ipsa hæc
Delectant—*

In short, none of the New York prints approaches the French admirers of Mr. Lincoln, in their sham enthusiasm. The *Constitutionnel* alone seems to appreciate the Message with fairness, and draws from it the inference which it has led to everywhere in England—that he is completely puzzled and bewildered at the dreadful position of affairs, and feels himself unable to cope with the crisis which he has had the greatest share in bringing about. The *Constitutionnel*, in replying to attacks from the *Debats*, and the *Siècle*, points out with much truth that the cause of the South is that of individual liberty—but its opponents do not venture to enter into a controversy on that delicate ground, and retaliate by upbraiding it with supporting slavery.

The relations between France and the Federal Cabinet, are, it is said, rather more than cool, and every mail from America is likely to increase the coolness. It does not appear that the victims of Butler's spoliations in Louisiana have appealed to France for protection, but this petty tyrant's persecution of French subjects, has, I have reason to believe, given rise to an animated exchange of notes between the two Governments.

The news from Italy continues very unsatisfactory. There are apprehensions—too well founded I am afraid—of another ministerial crisis, owing to dissensions in the Cabinet. Meanwhile, it would seem that the French Government is about to give Italy a practical mark of ill-will, by refusing the forthcoming Italian Loan to be quoted at the Bourse.

Within the last day or two, there have been rumours of a diplomatic rupture between France and Spain, in consequence of a speech of M. Calderon Collantes in the Cortes on the Mexican question. According to the *Moniteur*, the difficulty has been smoothed over; M. Collantes having declared that he had been incorrectly reported when he was represented as having charged the French Minister with wilfully misrepresenting the intentions of the Spanish Government, as expressed by himself in conversations with M. Barrot.

The Emperor's visit to Ferrières, the seat of Baron Rothschild, has afforded the town what it very much wanted—something to talk about—it is a relief now and

then to turn aside from politics—*dulce est desipere in loco*—and the town has talked about it with a vengeance. Want of imagination has never been a French failing, and both the financial baron and his illustrious guest would be not a little surprised were they to hear all the smart things they said, and the wonderful amount of business they contrived to transact, during a short December afternoon. The makers of epigrams, and other good-natured souls

Skilled with a touch to deepen scandal's tints;
With all the kind mendacity of hints,

have actively employed their talents in finding out a motive for the visit, but such gossip, amusing though it be, is too decidedly personal a character to find its way into print anywhere save in the latitude of New York. If the description of Ferrières given by the papers be correct, its splendour is quite sufficient to account for the honour paid to its owner—you must not expect a detailed description of all its marvels, a task which would tax the combined powers of the great George Robins, and the immortal Jenkins, and moreover, I confess my total incapacity to describe upholstery, be it ever so splendid. The great feature at Ferrières is its central hall—a room, which I believe, has only its parallel in some of the ancestral mansions of England. It forms a square of 160 feet, and is 60 feet high. In this noble apartment, pictures, cabinets, statues, tapestry from the gobelines, and all the artistic treasures that money could purchase and taste select, were grouped in picturesque profusion. The rest of the mansion is on a corresponding scale, and I can readily believe that not one of the Imperial palaces presents such a combination of magnificence, luxury, and comfort. The reception was worthy of the occasion, but it would appear from all accounts that the Baron fell into the great mistake of overdoing it, but the Emperor admired everything, and made his host feel in ecstasies with himself. His Majesty was asked to plant a tree to commemorate his visit and for this purpose, a golden spade, with an ivory handle, was put into his hands! The Emperor inquired would the tree grow fast? The gardener (there is always a gardener by on such occasions to manage the practical part of the business) replied, "Very fast, your majesty," whereon the Baron, in his comical German-French,—"Il aura beau grandir vite il ne sera jamais aussi grand que votre Majesté." Apropos of M. de Rothschild's bad French, the *Figaro* tells a story that will bear repetition. On handing the Emperor into the carriage on his return, the Hebrew banker is reported to have said—"Sire, je ne perdrerai jamais, le mémoire de ce jour." Your readers all know French well enough to be aware that "*la mémoire*" means memory, whereas *le mémoire* simply means the bill. Some people say that the mistake was intentional, and that considering that *le mémoire* is said to have amounted to £50,000, it is not likely that even a Rothschild would forget it in a hurry. £50,000, however, is a large sum to get through in a few hours' entertainment, consisting exclusively of a breakfast and a shooting party. Therefore, I do not think that the *carte à payer* could have amounted to any thing like that sum, even though the game included China and Japan pheasants, mandarine ducks, and even a wonderful parrot who squeaked "Vive l'Empereur," as he fluttered, mortally wounded to the ground. Even such courtly game could not account for such a sum unless, M. de Rothschild took a hint from a well-known Genoese banker in the last century, who had the honour to entertain the then Emperor of Austria, Joseph II., at breakfast. The meal was a very plain one, but it came out in due time that the only fuel used in its preparation had been Austrian bank-notes, and that 5,000,000 of florins (about £100,000), had thus been consumed. The cheapest, and at the same time, the most sumptuous entertainment given by a subject to a sovereign, was that offered by Prince Narishkin to the father of the late Czar. It was got up with such magnificence that the Czar was fairly astounded, and requested to know what it had cost. Narishkin hemmed and hawed—"Really, your Majesty," &c. The Czar insisted; when Narishkin replied, "The fact is, sire, I am only twenty silver roubles (about £5) out of pocket." The Czar was amazed. Narishkin continued, "That is the sum I paid for stamps for the bills I have had to give." It is added that the bills were never taken up.

The Emperor's speech to the Chambers on the 12th proximo will *dit on* be very pacific.

M. Gramer de Cassagniac's new paper will be called *La Nation*, which he has about as much claim to represent as the celebrated Tooley-street tailors. The *Independence* states that the policy of the paper will be aggressive, and that he means to attack everybody.

M. Grandguillot, ex-editor of the *Pays*, is about to bring an action against the management of that paper.

As he has selected for his counsel M. Emile Ollivier, one of the opposition leaders, curious revelations are expected.

A VOICE FROM PHILADELPHIA.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

New Philadelphia, November 27.

Sir,—Your journal, which is regularly received by me, is read with much interest; you have done much to enlighten Englishmen concerning America and the Union of the States. American institutions have been but little understood by them, and it is only now that their own interests are opening their understandings to the truth. It has amazed many that your countrymen should for so great a length of time have neglected American affairs, and that with all their natural fairness they have prejudged, without knowledge, Southern society and Southern institutions in general. But when we see around us here the great mass of the Northern people exhibiting the most profound ignorance of the Constitution which is the bond of union between sovereign States—ignorant, too, of the fact that it is the State governments which protect, or should protect, the people in their rights of property and person, and that the central Government, as it is called, has but little to do with either the property or persons of its own citizens, which may be made evident to any who will examine the acts of Congress (the acts prior to the Lincoln usurpation, now attempting centralization and the ruin of State rights), and those of the State Legislatures, and the proceedings of the Courts, State and Federal—when we witness this ignorance exhibited at home, we are unreasonable to be amazed at the ignorance of foreigners on these same subjects.

Your views, and those of the English in general, discussing the war question and its probable duration, have not yet penetrated to a solution of the question.

The duration of the war will be found to be dependent on one of two events; first, decided and *fruitful* victories of the Southern armies; second, the financial ability of the Administration at Washington to conduct the war. As to the first of these, it would be idle to discuss their probability here; suffice it to say, however, that the Northern people fully believe in their own invincibility, and in the success of numbers; and if their armies should be defeated, but their own soil remain uninvaded, there are such vast and wide-spread interests interwoven with and dependent upon the war and the army, with its enormous corps of officers, the majority of whom are sprung from the lowest and most ignorant classes of the community; now receiving high pay; with the hundreds of thousands of rank and file also from the poor and labouring classes; together, also, with the legion of contractors and plunderers from all classes, but chiefly from the so-called "*white kid upper-ten-dom*," that with simple defeat, new recruits would soon be pressed forward to fill the thinned ranks and fresh contracts would be readily had to replenish lost and wasted supplies. These interests are so overpowering, *being full present substitutes for the lost Southern trade*, that as long as the sinews of war are unbroken, so long will Northern public sentiment sustain the war measures of whatever Administration may be in power. But these sinews of war, what are they? Not gold nor silver, for of the precious metals none are to be had; but Government credit, or, as it is termed, paper money; of such are the sinews of war.

The Administration at Washington, from the great resources of the country, can supply itself with all the munitions of war, and every necessary, without going abroad; and inasmuch as the people are still satisfied with its ability to redeem its credit, this is, under such circumstances, as exhaustless as the paper upon which it is printed, and at home it answers every purpose.

Now, this faith in the ability of the Government to pay its debts is based upon a faith in its ability to conquer the South and restore the seceded States to the Union, and then to exact by taxation and confiscation the means to meet a large part, if not the whole, of the debt. And the Administration, by means of its supporters, chiefly constituted of the press, the pulpit, and the plunderers and their dependents, is applying all its spare energies, together with deceit and falsehood (so freely practised), to persuade the people that this enormous debt, reaching at this time to at least the sum of two thousand millions of dollars, will be redeemed chiefly by the taxation and confiscation of property in the restored States; the North, they are told too, will be in a great measure relieved from the burthen, and the stimulus of present spoils keeps the war spirit

alive; it is found necessary, also, to lull the people with the belief that the North is invincible; that the South is poor, starved, exhausted, and also full of Union sentiment; and last and most important of all, that the *European Powers will never recognize the Southern Confederacy as a nation*.

As long as the credit of the Government is untouched, the temptation of plunder and profit will hold the people to their faith in their invincibility, and in the exhaustion of the South; but once let it be known that European Powers have recognized the Confederacy as a nation, then will the interests of the people here at home bring into play their judgments; then will reason resume its sway; the *North alone cannot and will not pay the debt*; the veil will be rent asunder; every one will wish to realize on his 7-30 bonds; then no longer will greenbacks be received as legal tender; then will the bankruptcy of the old Government be immediate; then will come the revolution at the North.

It seems as though, stimulated by the demands for the vast armies and navy, every trade and occupation is now flourishing, not even excepting the clergy and physicians, and, indeed, I may say the strong-minded women, for these last find full occupation in superintending hospitals and supplying bureaus; the preachers are, some, nominally regimental chaplains, and if good Christians (?) they are exterminators of their Southern fellow-countrymen, and therefore favourites; they can draw their pay while sitting in their easy chairs at home; or many others eke out a respectable living as the agents of relief (job) committees, &c. The physicians are everywhere in demand, either for the army or hospital service. Iron, cotton, woollen mills, coal mines, ship yards, machine shops, are humming away at contract jobs, and prosperity seems to reign triumphant, and so it will continue to be until payment stops, which will be with European recognition.

The end will be, as regards the North, identical with that of the original Confederacy; each State of the North will resume its sovereignty; the remnant of the Union will be resolved into its original elements; each will renounce the concern at Washington, and each State will repudiate its share of the stupendous debt contracted by the central Government. *Thus it will be realized where the real Government lies*; persons and property will then be protected by *State laws* now on the statute books; but which by usurpers at Washington have been set aside; and as long as the State Governments exist, we will be saved from anarchy. At this moment there is ample power in the States to protect their citizens from the reign of terror enacted by the Administration at Washington, but the executive power of all the States, North, being in alliance with the central despotism, the minority whose rights are trampled upon are powerless to save themselves, they have no appeal. The great majority of the people finding it to their interest, as shown above, to side with the powers that be, either sustain them in their abuse of power, or, not being themselves the sufferers, are, as it were, passive aiders and abettors.

The minority here are subjugated not so much by the Lincoln Administration, as by the unscrupulous and ignorant majority. In short, a fraction of the people, who sympathise with the sufferings of their Southern fellow-countrymen, are rendered powerless by the most terrible of all despotisms, that of the mob.

Your obedient servant,

M. D.

THE BENCH AND BAR OF ENGLAND.—In the trial of Hudson v. the Benchers of the Middle Temple, Serjeant Shee, who was leading counsel for the defendants, ended his address in the following eloquent terms:—

Lord Plunket, once said the people of this country look to the Inns of Court as the portals through which their children may enter in the hope of inheriting honour and distinction. There, the highway is open to all—to the son of the peasant as to the son of the peer. Of all the institutions of the country—independent of the Crown and of the Government—there is none so truly in the possession of the people, and the citadel of public freedom, as the institution of our Inns of Court. Any man may take his son there and place him on an equality with the sons of the noblest and most distinguished in the land, and give him the opportunity of rising to the highest eminence in the country. Only once in the last hundred years has the second place in the councils of the realm—that proud place (after that of the blood Royal), next after the Primate of the Church—only once in a hundred years has that place been held by one not of the people; only once again, from the time of Lord Mansfield to my Lord, has that high seat (of Lord Chief Justice of England) been held by one for whom the tide of hereditary blood has not been driven back to its source in the fountain head of honour—obtained by professional distinction! I implore you, as you value the freedom of your country—as you wish well to your children, and your children's children, who may hereafter rise to the highest honour and distinction in this profession—I beseech you not to disparage, by a careless or hasty verdict, in favour of a gambler in character and in shares, one of the noblest institutions of the realm! Gentlemen, I leave the case with all confidence in your hands, and I trust that I have satisfied you I am entitled to your verdict."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 273, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1862.

Amenities of American Diplomacy.

American gratitude is likely to become as proverbial as Punic faith. The part which England has acted in the present quarrel has been remarkably consistent and straightforward; and the only fault which any impartial observer could find in it is that of over-anxiety to keep the peace, and a consequent tendency to concede to the wishes of the North more than justice and fairness towards the South would have allowed; a tendency which is observable only in the action of the Government, and not at all in the feelings of the people, but which has been of substantial service to the Federal cause. The obvious policy of this country, at the beginning of the war, was one of jealous and hostile watchfulness against the North. A Minister who had consulted only the interest of Great Britain would have insisted on the strictest construction of every belligerent privilege claimed by the aggressors. He would have disputed, while it was something more than disputable, the validity of the blockade of the Southern ports. He would have exacted the most ample indemnification for every wrong or injury done to British subjects. He would have insisted on the immediate restoration of every British ship illegally seized, and would have treated with supreme contempt, the decisions of American Prize Courts, so long as the judiciary was kept in submission by despotic threats and actual military violence. He would have strengthened to the utmost our squadrons in the West Indies, and he would have given such orders to the Admiral in command as were given by the Captain-General of Cuba when the *Blanche* was burned in Spanish waters. He would have taken advantage of the foolish outrage of Captain Wilkes to demand such reparation for the crime, and the restitution of the kidnapped men under such circumstances, that Mr. Lincoln must have chosen between instant war and abject humiliation. He would have insisted on the recall of the American Ambassador, who, in a public speech at Paris, denounced this country, and expressed an anxious desire to be at war with her. He would have proclaimed neutrality; but he would have interpreted it as suited English and not American convenience. He would have admitted the war-ships of both parties, with their prizes, into British ports, and thereby at once ruined the commerce of the Northern States, and conferred an inestimable advantage on the Confederates. He would have ordered the Federal cruisers out of British waters on pain of instant destruction, after the first insult offered to a British port. He would have shut his eyes to all violations of the Foreign Enlistment Act, as was done when Garibaldi declared a war—legally piratical, however morally justifiable—against the tyrant of the Two Sicilies. All these things he would have had a perfect right to do; most of them he would have been perfectly right in doing. The Federal Government would have had no tenable cause of complaint; if it had been foolish enough to complain, its complaints might have been disregarded or answered contemptuously, in the certainty

that they could not be prosecuted by war, and that if they were, war with the North would be a blessing to England. This is the course which the British Government might lawfully have pursued; the course which other Governments have taken under similar circumstances; the course which America pursued towards us during the Crimean war; the course which Mr. Seward would certainly pursue if we were at war with France or Russia now; the course which Lord Palmerston would have followed had he been guided simply by a desire to maintain the selfish interests of England so far as the rules of international law would allow. Had he done so, the Northern people would have had a right to hate us, but the Northern Government would have had some difficulty to discover a plausible *casus belli*. And in return for the hatred of the North we should have secured the friendship and alliance of the South; we should have turned the scale in favour of our friends and against our enemies; we should have done much to relieve the sufferings of Lancashire, and still more to secure for ever the safety of Canada.

We should have acted lawfully; but let us grant that such action would hardly have been honourable; that it would have been more worthy of America than of England; that it would have involved an amount of diplomatic sharp practice which would not be congenial to the feelings of the British nation. Still, had we done nothing more than abstain from pursuing our own interest to the utmost, had we so interpreted our neutrality as to give no advantage to either party, we should be entitled to the gratitude and admiration of the North. We should have made a great sacrifice—a sacrifice which they would not have dreamed of making—for their advantage. But this is not all our title to their good-will. In our anxiety to conciliate an enemy whom we could have crushed in a week we have done great injustice to a friend in sore need. We protected Northern commerce by closing our ports against the prizes of both parties. Had we not done this, the sea would have been so utterly unsafe for Federal vessels that the shipowners of New York and Boston would have been almost ruined. Our action in this matter, concerted with France and imitated, as a matter of course, by all other Powers, deprived the Confederates of a weapon which would have been of the greatest service to them; which might ere now have brought their enemies to terms. But we went yet further; on the demand of the Northern envoy, we made such regulations as practically deprived the Confederate cruisers of shelter in our ports—an unusual act, and one peculiarly hard upon a country whose own ports were under blockade. We endured with the extremest patience such wrongs to our subjects, such insults to our flag, as no other nation would have suffered. When an outrage was offered which, in the face of the world, we could not possibly allow to pass unatoned, we demanded in the most courteous possible form the least satisfaction that honour would permit us to claim. No other nation would have failed to demand the punishment of Captain Wilkes; Spain asked and obtained such reparation for a much smaller offence. Thanks to our gentleness, the commander of the *San Jacinto* has been sent again and again to blockade our colonial ports, fire on our vessels, and insult our flag with impunity. Nay, our Government has gone so far as to interfere—though abortively—with the shipment of arms for the South, though it has made no pretence of stopping their export to the North. It has refused to recognize the Confederate States; it has stood between the Government at Washington and the interposition of France. It has done all it could to conciliate the North, without absolutely committing acts of hostility against the South. And what is the reward of the partiality of the Cabinet and the forbearance of the nation? The Northern people swear to hate us till the last American now living has descended to his grave; the Northern Government insults us as no civilized Government has ever dared to insult us since the days of Charles II.

Englishmen forgive and pity the railing of an angry rabble; they cannot condescend to resent the

impertinences of a press the least respectable and the least respected in the world. But Ministers and Ambassadors, American though they be, must be held accountable for language deliberately uttered and yet more deliberately published. When we find the Ambassador to Russia suggesting to his Government that they should offer to annex Canada, and send money and men to stir up revolt in India, and when we read this suggestion in an official Blue-book presented to Congress by the Secretary of State, we cannot consider it a mere piece of popular nonsense, unworthy of official notice. When Mr. Seward warns the British Government to consider what are likely to be the feelings of the American people towards Great Britain at the close of the present war, we feel that he has been guilty of an impertinence which ought to have been promptly and severely rebuked. But as if this were not enough, Mr. Seward has actually dared to write that “a war with England would be sure to unite North and South”—in other words, plainly and distinctly to threaten us with war as soon as he shall find it convenient to wage it. We are curious to know whether Mr. Adams read this despatch to Lord Russell; and if so, whether (as George III. inquired of the envoy sent to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet), he was received on the ground floor or in an upper chamber? It must have taken all the meekness of which the Foreign Secretary is capable, and all the warmth of his friendship for the North, to save him from some outrageous violation of the rules of diplomatic decorum.

Mr. Seward is apparently as ignorant as ever of international law and international courtesy. In June he wrote to complain indignantly of the purchases made by the Confederates in England, which he said afforded proof that the British Government did not enforce its professed neutrality. We should like to know what right the British Government would have to prevent the Confederates from buying whatever British subjects choose to sell; unless, indeed, from some reason of British policy, it choose to prohibit altogether the export of munitions of war. Is Mr. Seward so ignorant of the business of the War Department as not to know what large purchases have been made in England on Federal accounts? or, has he so faint a smattering of public law as to imagine that one belligerent may be allowed by a neutral country a privilege refused to the other?

If so, he is likely ere long to receive—perhaps has now received—an unpleasant enlightenment. He has, it appears, instructed Mr. Adams to demand from the British Government indemnification for the destructive exploits of the *Alabama*, “as having been made by British subjects in violation of the law of nations.” Now if it be true that there are British subjects on board the *Alabama*, it is also true that there are British subjects in the Federal army; and Mr. Davis might as reasonably demand from us an indemnity for the losses inflicted on Virginian citizens by the invading hordes of the North. The *Alabama* is a Confederate cruiser, commanded by Confederate officers, as much a Confederate man-of-war as the *San Jacinto* is a Federal man-of-war; and England has no more concern with her doings than with those of Russian or French ships. She is of British manufacture; so are vessels in the service of twenty different nations. Her guns are British; so are tens of thousands of Federal muskets. She was not armed or fitted out in England; we do not believe that she has broken any English law; but if she have, that rests between the Attorney-General and Mr. Laird. Suppose her builder, captain, or crew have contravened, as Americans allege, the Queen's proclamation of neutrality—what then? That is an offence against a municipal regulation, not against international law. The Queen's proclamation does not affect any but the Queen's subjects; it directs their conduct as her subjects, and for any disobedience they are answerable to the laws of their country. It imposes on England no new obligations towards America; it gives the Federal Government no rights which are not implied in the mere fact of English neutrality. And no neutral obligations have been violated in the case of the

Alabama, which is as much within the ordinary privileges of neutral trade as the shipment of arms to New York. Mr. Seward's claim for indemnity is therefore as absurd as it is insolent; and it will cost the British Ministry dear if their countrymen should discover that it has not been answered as it deserves.

Mr. Seward does not reserve all his insolence for England. He has thought fit to inform France that she is not to think of setting up a monarchical or "anti-American" Government in Mexico; a piece of dictatorial folly for which France will care about as much as for the protests of M. Juarez. He has, it appears, caused Mr. Dayton to remonstrate at Paris against the recognition of the Southern States as belligerents; thereby eliciting from the Emperor his opinion of the utter impossibility of reunion; and he has succeeded in obtaining the assurance that "nothing would happen" even if France should propose mediation and the North should refuse. At least, this is the report Mr. Dayton gives of a conversation with M. Thouvenel on that head. As M. Thouvenel's successor, in spite of Mr. Dayton's assurance that it would be refused, soon afterwards proposed to England a tender of mediation, we are inclined to question the strict accuracy of this despatch. It may be that Northern Ministers, like Northern generals, are forbidden to report defeats or "reverses;" it may be that Mr. Seward's brag-gart insolence is softened to the ears of European Powers, and brought out in full force only for the benefit of his countrymen. If he have really written all that he has published, he must have an unlimited trust in the contemptuous patience of European diplomatists, and an almost heroic indifference to his own character with foreign nations and with posterity, to the credit of his Government and the honour of his country.

The Federal Balance-Sheet.

The people of Europe, after eighteen months' experience, have learned how to translate Federal telegrams, and extract the truth from the dross of falsehood which they contain. These despatches are made up from the intelligence contained in the Northern journals, which, as is well known, have not much character for veracity. It was expected, however, that serious State Papers, emanating from the War and Treasury Departments, would at least give unvarnished statements of the true condition of those branches of the Government; but our hopes have not been verified.

Mr. Stanton boldly declares that he has 800,000 men under arms, and 200,000 being equipped, making a million of persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who have entered the service; this is more than half the number who voted for Mr. Lincoln in the entire Union, and those above forty-five far outnumbered those between eighteen and twenty-one years. Surely there is some mistake here. The Government may have a million of men under pay, but they are certainly not in the field or preparing to enter it. Bad as Mr. Stanton is, Mr. Chase is worse, because his figures are calculated to do more harm. Up to 1843, all the accounts of the Treasury were made to end with the calendar year. By the Act of August 26, 1842, the Secretary was required to furnish, at the December meeting of Congress, a complete report of the monetary affairs of the Government, making the fiscal year to end on the 30th of June, thus giving him five full months to prepare his accounts. Mr. Chase says that the public debt on the 30th of June, 1862, amounted to \$514,211,371.⁹²/₁₀₀; but that "this amount of course does not include claims, but only that debt the evidences of which exist in the Treasury, upon its books, or in the form of requisitions in favour of creditors, or of disbursing officers. It is not probable that at the date named these claims will much, if at all, exceed the balance in the Treasury—namely, \$13,043,546.⁸¹/₁₀₀." Now, when it is known that in peaceful times the Washington Government owes more in unsettled accounts than the funds in hand, what must we think of Mr.

Chase's remarks when he has full opportunity, between July and December, of ascertaining the "probable" aggregate of the unascertained indebtedness at the close of the fiscal year? On the 1st of July, 1860, the United States had an issue of bonds of \$64,769,703.⁰³/₁₀₀, with unaudited claims of \$10,000,000, and cash in hand \$3,629,206.⁷¹/₁₀₀; in 1861, the figures stood by the books \$90,867,828.⁶⁸/₁₀₀, in open account \$30,000,000, the war having only existed sixty days; and funds in the Treasury \$2,257,065.⁸⁰/₁₀₀. Yet we are told that \$13,043,546.⁸¹/₁₀₀ will "probably" cover any unknown bills. The fact is, that the Government is now six months behind hand in its payments or settlements; the classes of securities afloat that do not reach Mr. Chase's portfolio, are "colonels' certificates" issued to the soldiers, who sell them at a discount, or pass them off to sutlers for their requirements; then comes quarter-masters' vouchers for goods delivered, which are followed, in the course of a few months, by "orders for certificates of indebtedness," and after a time the twelve months' notes are given in exchange. There have been emitted since the 1st day of July last the following securities

Bonds having 20 years to run	\$ 10,000,000.00
Treasury notes 7. 30—100th due Oct. 1, 1864 ..	28,000,000.00
United States notes, "greenbacks"	200,000,000.00
Certificates of indebtedness, orders &c. ..	542,000,000.00
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	\$780,000,000.00

and these have just been sufficient to pay the then outstanding demands. The expenditure since that period, which has been at the rate of \$100,000,000 a month, has been met by the minor classes of scrip alluded to. In order to get a clear idea of the state of the finances on the 1st of July, 1862, it will be necessary to add to this \$780,000,000 of paper paid out since that time, the bond notes, &c., that were acknowledged by Mr. Chase:—

Loan, April 15, 1842 due December 31, 1862 ..	\$2,883,364.11
„ July 22, 1846 „ November 12, 1856 ..	3,100.00
„ Jan. 28, 1847 „ January 1, 1868 ..	9,413,650.00
„ Mar. 31, 1848 „ July 1, 1868 ..	8,908,341.80
„ June 14, 1848 „ January 1, 1874 ..	18,620,000.00
Texas indemnity June 1, 1865 ..	3,461,000.00
Texas Debt Act, February 28, 1855 ..	197,463.24
Treasury notes 7. 30—100ths due Oct. 1, 1864 ..	122,037,585.34
Loan due in 1882	13,980,000.00
Oregon war bonds	1,700,000.00
Loan due in 1882	66,463,513.63
„ Act, February 8, 1861	55,257.50
United States' Notes, Acts of July 17, and August 5, 1861, and February 12, 1862 ..	60,030,000.00
United States' Notes, Act of Feb. 25, 1862 ..	98,650,000.00
Temporary loans, 4 and 5 per cent. ..	57,926,116.57
Certificates of indebtedness, Acts March 1 and 17, 1862	49,881,979.73
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	514,211,371.92
To which add outstanding claims as above ..	780,000,000.00
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Federal debt (actual), July 1, 1862	1,294,211,371.92
Add six months' expenses to Jan. 1, 1863 ..	600,000,000.00
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Federal debt Jan. 1, 1863	1,894,211,371.92

And this frightful amount leaves nothing for bounties and other expenses that will appear upon the closing of hostilities. It will be observed that only a small amount has been funded, and as the "certificates of indebtedness" mature, they will have to be paid, and in the second year, the first season's cost will have to be settled for over again. Nearly all the channels of currency and credit have been filled up, and a few more issues will cause an overflow. During the Revolutionary war the Americans came very near returning to their allegiance to the British throne, in consequence of financial exhaustion, but the States stepped forward and pledged their individual credit; and, in the second conflict with Great Britain, Mr. Munroe, the Secretary of War, found the finances in such a condition just before the battle of New Orleans, that he had to guarantee a portion of the public debt by giving liens against his private property. It is not at all likely that the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with Democratic Legislatures, will extend facilities to the Washington Government; indeed, they are debarred from doing so by clauses in their Constitutions placing restrictions in dealing with the credit of their States.

Mr. Chase says that the aggregate circulation of coin, bank notes, and United States' notes in the

"loyal" States on the 1st of November, 1861, prior to the suspension of specie-payments, was \$355,140,000, [coin \$210,000,000, bank notes \$130,000,000, and United States' notes \$15,140,000], and after gold and silver were displaced, the entire circulation of Government and bank notes touched \$377,101,000—viz., the former \$210,101,000 and the latter \$167,000,000—and that "the whole, or nearly the whole, increase in the volume of currency which has taken place was, it is believed, legitimately demanded by the changed condition of the country in the year between the two dates." No wonder that this should be the case when so much "currency" was disbursed among the masses. Since the 1st of November there have been issued another \$100,000,000 of United States' notes, which must have forced in a corresponding amount of bank paper, and hence the remonstrances now being made by those institutions. It seems, too, that the deposits in the banks increased in the same twelve months from \$261,000,000 to \$344,000,000, and the loans made by them from \$607,000,000 to \$677,000,000.

At last advices, the Federal Treasury was nearly empty, the most pressing demands were made upon it; the limit of United States' notes had been reached; less than \$100,000,000 of the twenty years 6 per cent. bonds had been disposed of; although the Act of Congress authorized an issue of \$500,000,000; but the people would not purchase, notwithstanding they were in every broker's hands for sale; the whole of the 730-100ths notes due on October 1st, 1864, had been paid out, and nothing was left but the postage stamp currency. It is proposed now to issue more bonds; but if they did not find a market a year ago, how can they be placed at this time? It is also suggested that a further amount of United States' notes should be put in circulation; certainly, they cannot more than occupy the space of the bank notes now out (\$67,000,000) and when that currency disappears, there will be nothing but "greenbacks," which must at once become worthless; at present they are assisted by the credit of banking paper, which has private property as security for its redemption. As to the idea thrown out that the corporate institutions should be compelled to invest their capital in Federal securities, and deposit them with the Government against their issues, it is not only unconstitutional, but absurd; in order to do so the banks would have to dispose of their State Stocks, now pledged for the same purpose, and where are the customers to be found for these securities? The amount also, as is shown by Mr. Chase, would be very inconsiderable. In connection with these ridiculous propositions, it is remarked that the domestic exchanges would be regulated; this is equally fallacious, the \$300,000,000 of Mr. Chase's notes have failed to effect the balance of trade between the States. It is as impossible to avoid discounts and premiums on bills of exchange, in a country of such large geographical proportions as the United States, as it is between nations. A Bank of England note is worth what its face calls for anywhere in these islands, because they are limited in their area, and from the fact that all large sums are made payable in London. New York, to be sure, is the financial centre in America, but all the commercial transactions of the country are not retired there. The Bank of the United States did not accomplish such a result, except in a partial manner, and that was done sometimes at great loss to itself, and at other times by suspending or increasing its line of discounts at particular branches, to the annoyance of the mercantile community.

It is very inexcusable in Mr. Chase withholding the truth in reference to the condition of his department, and more outrageous in his attempting to estimate the expenditure for the years 1863 and 1864 upon the basis of his partial figures for 1862, particularly when, according to Mr. Stanton, the army is now double what it is stated to have been on the 30th of June last. The Federal debt in 1864 will be, if the war goes on, at the lowest estimate \$4,000,000,000.

The only sensible portion of Mr. Chase's voluminous report is the suggestion that the half-eagle

Catholic Church. If we are to allow the quibble about the Major's faith to set aside that marriage—a ceremony publicly performed by an authorized minister, and with due ecclesiastical licence—what security is there in any marriage performed in Ireland? How do we know that some paltry quibble may not be started to prove it invalid? Did Major Yelverton intentionally deceive her, and did he kneel with her at the altar and knowingly take false vows? Then how can we take this man's oath, that he did not at that time profess to be a Catholic? If he did not intend to deceive her the marriage is morally, if not legally, binding. It would be a cruel thing to declare that Theresa Longworth is not his wife, though if such is the law no consideration of pity will interfere with the decision. We are not surprised at the public sympathy with the unfortunate lady.

But what of Mrs. Forbes? Her case is, if possible, even more heartrending. She was guilty of no act of imprudence; she, the mother of a young family, a lady of fortune, holding a high and honoured position in society, is asked in marriage by the Honourable Major Yelverton, and she marries him—according to a form and ceremony which is indisputably binding in Scotland. Is she to be told that the man she had lived with as his wife is not her husband?—that what children she may have by him are bastards? If so she will have cause to curse the secret marriage system of Scotland, and the sham marriages that are permitted in Ireland. However this case may end it must seal the misery either of Theresa Longworth or of Mrs. Forbes (we are obliged thus to name the ladies, for we know not which is the Major's wife), and even she who is declared the wife, might, we should think, almost envy the disgrace of the other.

And what of the Honourable Major Yelverton? What does the author of so much misery and woe suffer? Nothing. Say what we will, there is to some extent in this country a more lenient law for the rich than for the poor. If instead of being an "Honourable" he had been in an obscure position, he would long ere this have had to answer to the charge of bigamy, and we much question whether he would have been able to escape punishment by asserting that he intended a deception in Ireland, and that he took false oaths at the altar to please or quiet the conscience of Theresa Longworth. Every person punished for bigamy who is not well up in the subtleties of the Scottish law, and the peculiarities of the law as sanctioned in Ireland, may reasonably think himself hardly dealt with whilst Major Yelverton is not called to any account for conduct that has made two respectable ladies miserable; that has made one or the other of them a mistress when she thought herself a wife.

Reviews.

THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT IN AMERICA.*

Most visitors to Niagara Falls must have noticed a small daguerrean's shop in a spot whence one of the best views is obtained. The "artist's" specialty, judging from the display in the windows, appears to be, to make the mighty cataract do duty as background to the portraits of his patrons. The harmless vanity which delights in having insignificant little self set-off by one of nature's sublimest spectacles is the more amusing from the obvious unconsciousness of the irresistible effect of the contrast thus challenged. Of nothing so much do the two volumes before us remind us. The reader, on turning the last page and endeavouring to define the general impression produced on his mind, is confronted by a full-length portrait of William Howard Russell, L.L.D., the photographic minuteness of which is brought into striking relief by an imposing spectacle of warring nations serving as the background.

It is impossible to conceive circumstances more favourable than those under which Mr. Russell visited America. The representative of the most influential press in Europe—a power, in Mr. Lincoln's opinion, greater than that of any potentate "except, perhaps, the Mississippi River"—he was certain of the most cordial reception at the hands of both parties, both equally eager to propitiate this great power, both convinced that on the manner in which their cause was represented to the people of England depended in no small degree success. It was a time, too, of profound agitation, when things appeared on the surface which lay at fathomless depths before—a period of transition, when old forms of thought had passed away and new ones had not yet become stereotyped; when men were changing their life-long creeds and speaking of yesterday as of the history of a remote past—a period, in brief, when the hearts of the two American nations lay, as it were, bare to the scrutinizing gaze of the historical psychologist.

Mr. Russell passed from the capital of Washington to that of Montgomery, met President Lincoln to-day, President Davis on the morrow; he crossed and recrossed freely the lines of contending armies, spent an evening with the general conducting a siege, the next

day discussed the plans for defence with the commander of the beleaguered fort. In a circuit of several thousand miles he visited the most important towns North and South, making the personal acquaintance of most of the prominent citizens. Generals and naval commanders were eager to go with him over their maps and charts, to reveal to him their most hidden intentions, to explain the range and bearing of their batteries and the precise significance of each separate position. The Federal Secretary of State breaks off a friendly game of whist to read to Mr. Russell the draft of his next despatch to the British Government; the Confederate Under-Secretary of State in vain solicits Mr. Russell's advice as to the form of making out the commissions of privateersmen.

From a man so favoured with opportunities for observation, a man who could move, as if some Gyges' ring rendered him invisible, to and fro between countries at war, and assist at the counsels of rival diplomatists and antagonistic commanders—from such a man we might expect a work that should comprise and reveal all the world wishes to know about this gigantic struggle, its mysterious origin, and its probable termination. We have a right to expect that he has thought much and thought deeply upon all these subjects, and that as the result of this thought he would make clear to us not only the scenery and properties of the stage on which the tragedy is enacting, but the whole mechanism of the plot and the precise part assigned in it to each of the actors. Placing in a higher sphere, at an immeasurable distance above the excited bustling swarms of human pignions, as the Correspondent of the *Times* evidently felt himself, we have a right to look to him for the comprehensive views of the eye that surveys at one glance the vast area and sees each part in its true proportion to the whole. By a few bold masculine strokes of the pen we expected to find sketched off the national differences, whether inherent or the result of circumstances, and the incompatibilities of temper which have impelled two great and seemingly prosperous societies of British race, not only into political divorce but into the frenzy of self-destruction. Under the concentrated rays of light from every light-giving source, we hoped that the tangled subtleties of this complicated and contradictory quarrel would arrange themselves into intelligible tangible propositions. As under the magic touch of the sculptor's chisel, the living figures in the diorama would be made to stand before us in sharp and distinct outlines, singly and in groups, each in its appropriate dimensions and position.

Alas! for a still benighted world, Mr. Russell has disappointed these great expectations. What he has beheld from a distance he has seen through an inverted telescope; what he has approached closely he has examined through a magnifying glass. As well might we expect to read a man's character or take his intellectual measurement through a microscopic study of his epidermis, as through Mr. Russell's minute and often comic descriptions of peculiarities of appearance, dress, or speech. *Punch's* caricatures of social foibles and follies would form nearly as good material for a philosophical treatise on English manners and customs as Mr. Russell's photographic miniatures of men and scenes for a moderately correct conception of the national characters of either North or South. His reflections and deductions never rise above respectable commonplace, and are those of a mind which cannot seize more than one feature of a subject at one time. Were Mr. Russell modest we should not quarrel with him for a fault which is not more noticeable in him than in other travellers, and we should gladly accord him full credit for a merit with which few atone this fault in an equal degree—vividness and accuracy of description. But the figure in the foreground struts with such an offensive stride, talks so constantly and so flippantly, and has such a supercilious estimate of its own importance, that one does not know whether to be amused or angry, and forgets the background of the picture. The polite attentions bestowed upon the Correspondent of the great London newspaper are received by Mr. Russell as the just meed of his own transcendent abilities. He swallows with delightful credulity the more or less gross and often sarcastic flatteries of which he is the victim, and writes himself down in the evening into his Diary blissfully insensible of the quiet rebuff, the keen irony, or the scarce concealed contempt with which his superiors in age, station, or wit, have met his obtrusive impertinence. To one who knows personally some of the prominent figures in the piece—the quick intuitive reading of character and practised self-control of the life-long gambler in the most desperate games of politics, the cold haughtiness of the man of stern command, or the wily unctuousness of the man of counsels and shrewd devices—this diary of interviews and conversations is as good as a broad farce, in which Mr. Russell does not perform the dignified

part he flatters himself. It would have been rather too cruel a blow at Mr. Russell's bump of self-esteem could he have heard or read the spoken and written versions of some of those very interviews he details. Long before he had completed his tour, his portrait had preceded him, and it was not such a one as Mr. Russell would have pronounced a likeness. In the South, at least, Mr. Russell was treated by gentlemen as gentlemen are wont, from self-respect, to treat strangers, even when they are not the correspondents of an influential foreign journal at a critical juncture of affairs; but we need not go beyond Mr. Russell's own narrative to discover that, in too many instances, he has been unscrupulously and mercilessly quizzed. Towards a man who meets others with the idea ever uppermost of enriching his Diary by a sprightly paragraph for future publication, and who, so to speak, draws a caricature of his hostess under the table, while she is talking to him, the proceeding is not, perhaps, altogether inexcusable.

Mr. Russell, as a military critic, is not the least curious feature of the book. He censures or praises, ridicules or approves, with a complacency and reliance on his judgment, which must have excited the unqualified admiration of officers by training and profession. His command of the technical vocabulary which he acquired in the Crimea betokens the veteran commander, and the glibness and profuseness with which he showers and scatters its terms cannot fail to duly impress the profane reader. In this capacity the public is already accustomed to admire him outside of his Diary, and we may remark *en passant* that his predictions are usually good omen to those against whom they bear. Apart from the fact that the works about which simple, confiding General Bragg could not help betraying his anxiety withstood, a few months later, with incredibly small loss of men, a four days' combined bombardment of fleet and fort, we have since found that the Confederates were on the eve of some of their greatest victories precisely when Mr. Russell's pen had doomed them to utter annihilation.

Mr. Russell's unconscious frankness as regards his individual self in a manner disarms hostile criticism. He himself naively tells us how he insulted the Confederate President at the first meeting by asking him for a safeguard, as if he were the despot over some Turkish pachalic, issuing firmans to travel safely through his dominions, and how the President quietly reminded Mr. Russell that he was in a civilized country; how he disputed with the Confederate Attorney-General the probability of England's recognizing the belligerent rights of the Confederates; how he suspected three inoffensive travelling companions to be spies about to be smuggled into the enemy's stronghold under his (Mr. Russell's) sheltering wings by a cunning functionary; and how, on divers occasions, it was attempted to extract from him—cautious, wide-awake Mr. Russell—military secrets to the prejudice of those whom he had visited as a neutral. He tells us how he stood in hourly dread of assassination among the Yankees, and how he felt scarcely more safe from the revolvers and bowie knives of the fire-eaters. He tells us how he refused an introduction to "Stonewall" Jackson, "a tall, lean man, ill-dressed, in a slouching hat and wrinkled clothes, standing, with his arms folded and legs wide-apart, against a wall, looking on the ground." In a word, he describes himself morally and intellectually with the same graphic power and fidelity of detail that he describes the *physique* of others. In this power of description he has indeed few equals and probably no living superior. The reader follows him as he would the wand of a showman at a moving panorama. It is impossible to mistake, once seen, a person or a landscape which he conjures up to the imagination. A book that has this merit cannot be otherwise than entertaining. Instructive in a higher sense we cannot pronounce it. The limner who paints a blacking-brush on the floor so truthfully that his friends stumble over it, is not thought to have given the highest evidence of art, nor employed art for those great purposes it is destined to subserve. Indeed, too servile an imitation of the reality of detail is seldom consistent with the reality of truth. Truth in writing, as in painting, consists in the selection of characteristic features and the representation of their correct proportions. Imagine a man's idea of a cheese or a drop of water, if his eye saw in either that world of mites and infusoria which, we are assured by the curious in such matters, form the bulk of both. Vulgarly and oddities of character abound in the ingredients of every nation, and to find them it is not necessary to travel across the Atlantic; but a gallery of specimens, no matter how cleverly drawn, would teach nothing of the tendencies, the qualities, or the capabilities of the nation from which they were selected. This is equally true of individuals. The more expressive a face is the more readily does it lend itself to a caricature. The

* My Diary: North and South, By William Howard Russell. (London: Bradbury and Evans).

most exalted intelligence is clad in a garb of mortality upon which the flippant seeker after trifles may indulge his propensity. The exaggerated importance attached to detail is Mr. Russell's forte and foible. To read his account of Bull Run, of which he saw only the rout, and not the battle, one is disposed to consider all the Northerners as arrant cowards. To read his descriptions of the other side of Mason and Dixon's line, one is tempted to believe that all the Southerners are swaggering bullies. The events of the last eighteen months have shown that though the type of both characters may be found in perfection, they are in neither case the representative types. The fact is that Mr. Russell is the king of reporters. Whether it be a review, a battle, or a landscape, his report thereon is perfect as a description. To this calling he is faithful, and wisely so. His mind does not expand with his subject, however sublime. He photographs the spectacle. Why should we exact from him to reason upon it as well.

We have endeavoured to judge this book in no partizan spirit, and in such a manner as a close acquaintance with many of the men and things it treats of compelled us to do. As the warm friends of the South, we should have many reasons to praise it; for Mr. Russell, while he evidently has no love for either the countrymen of Mr. Lincoln or those of Mr. Davis, has a lurking kindness for the South, and no doubt wishes it success. On the subject of slavery he shares the views of most Englishmen, and if he cannot rise above the hacknied cant which in certain quarters is received instead of a manly sound philanthropy, at least his observations and inferences are not glaringly unjust or absurd. In this respect the Diary is a remarkable indirect testimony that this subject was not uppermost in men's minds, either North or South, at the outbreak of the war, and that fears of a servile insurrection never entered into the calculations of the Southern leaders. And as we have felt called upon to say severe things about Mr. Russell's book, it is but common justice to recognize in it the one great redeeming virtue—that however faulty be his judgment, the author never pretends to describe what he has not seen, and even where he draws a caricature it is from an actual sitting.

A RETROSPECT.*

(Continued from our last.)

The fate of the war in the West depended mainly on the part to be played by Missouri and Kentucky. In both States the people were much divided in feeling. Northern Missouri is to a great extent German and Abolitionist, though even there the Southern party were strong; Southern Missouri, a country of considerable estates, and suited for slave labour, was always attached to the South. Governor Jackson and the State Legislature were in favour of Secession, and the Confederates had counted on Missouri. But the action of the Federalists was too prompt and decisive to allow time for the execution of any Secessionist plans. The German soldiery of General Lyon and other Northern officers established a reign of terror at St. Louis, dispersed the State militia at Camp Jackson, near that place, and forced the Governor to quit the State capital, and betake himself to Boonville, whence he issued orders for the organization of a State army, appointing General Price to the chief command. That officer, a man of experience in war, and of great influence among his fellow-citizens, was unfortunately taken ill soon after his appointment, and the first engagement near Boonville took place in his absence. It ended in the orderly retreat of 800 ill-armed Missourians before 7000 Federals under command of General Lyon. This was on the 20th of June. On the same day the Governor, with a portion of these troops, quitted Boonville, and moved towards the south-west. Being joined by Colonel O'Kane, who had just dispersed a Federal detachment, and inflicted on it a very heavy loss, and by other reinforcements, he approached Carthage on the 5th of July, with 3600 men, of whom some 600 were unarmed, and the rest armed only with hunting rifles or fowling pieces; the only proper weapons being about 350 muskets taken from the enemy. At Carthage they were met by General Sigel with 3000 men. After a sharp encounter, the Federals were driven back on Carthage, whence they were compelled to withdraw by night, losing some 500 or 600 men, and several hundred muskets. The Missourians were next day joined by General Price, with General McCulloch (who, as a Confederate officer, soon afterwards took the command) and 2000 Arkansans. Marching on Springfield, they encountered the enemy under Generals Lyon and Sigel, on the 10th of August, at Oak Hill, where, after an obstinate resistance, the Federals were routed, losing 2000 men, among them

General Lyon, six guns, several hundred muskets, and several standards. Soon after this, the Missourians and Confederates fell back to the frontier of Arkansas. Thence, towards the end of August, General Price and the Missourians again marched northwards, and after one or two minor successes, on the 13th of September he reached Lexington, and drove the Federal troops there within their entrenchments. On the 18th he attacked the town, and on the 20th, after two days' hard fighting, the enemy surrendered. General Price took 3500 prisoners, 5 guns, 3900 muskets, and a quantity of other trophies. But Fremont was approaching with an overwhelming force, and General McCulloch declined to send reinforcements or supplies, which were likely to fall into the enemy's hands, so that General Price had no choice but to fall back towards the south. At Neosho he joined McCulloch; and here the State Legislature, convened by the Governor, passed an ordinance of secession. Again he was compelled to withdraw, and at Pineville he awaited the approach of the enemy. The removal of Fremont, however, paralyzed the movements of his army, which was withdrawn towards the north, pursued by Price, who occupied Springfield. It was not till the 12th of February that the enemy were able to resume the offensive against him; but their approach then compelled him to fall back into Arkansas, where he joined McCulloch. General Van Dorn took the command of the combined forces; and on the 7th of March gave battle to General Sigel. This encounter, called by the Confederates the battle of Elk Horn, had no decisive results; but it cost McCulloch his life, and Price a severe wound. The first year of the war closed, leaving Missouri in the hands of the Federalists.

Kentucky professed a determination to remain neutral. Her people were divided in sentiment, and she was anxious, if possible, not to become the battle-field of the West. And the Confederates were fully disposed to recognize her neutrality, which would have been to them at least as valuable as her alliance, covering, as it would have done, the northern frontier of Tennessee and a part of the western frontier of Virginia. But the Federalists were not disposed to tolerate the pretension of any State to such a degree of independence as would be implied in neutrality during a war for the maintenance of the Union. Nor could it well be expected that they should do so; for if this principle had once been admitted, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri might, by proclaiming themselves neutral, have made the invasion of the South almost impossible, and reduced the war to an absurdity. It is probable, therefore, that the purpose of the Northern party in Kentucky, in accepting the proposal of State neutrality, was simply to further the ends of the Federal Government, and prevent the State from declaring itself for the South before a Federal force could be collected to overawe it. At all events, this was the actual result. Several arrests of prominent Southern sympathizers were made or attempted in September 1861; recruiting for the Confederate armies was as far as possible prevented, and camps were formed in which levies from Ohio and Illinois, as well as Kentuckians of the Northern party, were drilled, armed, and organized for the invasion of Tennessee. Meantime, finding that the enemy were about to occupy Columbus, General Polk resolved to anticipate them; and he occupied that town at the beginning of September, and refused to withdraw on the demand of the State authorities, unless the Federals abandoned their menacing positions. On similar grounds General Zollicoffer entered Kentucky on the 14th of September, and some encounters took place, in which the Federals were disgracefully worsted; making, on one occasion, a "stampede" more scandalous than that of Manassas. On the 7th of November the forces of General Grant, from Cairo, assailed Belmont, near Columbus, on the Missouri side of the river. General Pillow was sent across with his division, and succeeded in beating them back after a desperate struggle, in which both sides sustained heavy loss. On the 20th of November a Convention of Secessionists assembled at Russellville, in Southern Kentucky, declared the State connection with the Federal Government dissolved, and negotiated its admission into the Confederacy. On the 17th of January, finding themselves in danger of being starved, and perhaps of being surrounded by the enemy, Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer gave battle to a considerable Federal force near Mill Springs. At the critical moment the latter general fell; and his fall dismayed his troops, and caused the loss of the battle. This is called by the Federals the Battle of Somerset. Abandoning his camp, artillery, and baggage, General Crittenden retreated into Tennessee.

Bowling Green, in Kentucky, had been made the headquarters of the Southern army in the West, commanded by General A. S. Johnston. The enemy had collected large forces in that quarter, while General Johnston

had not 25,000 men of all arms. He was unable, therefore, to prevent the capture of Fort Henry, which opened the Tennessee River, and was obliged to weaken his force most perilously in order to strengthen Fort Donelson, where on the 13th of February Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner, with 13,000 men, were assailed by about 30,000 Federals, with gunboats and heavy artillery, commanded by General Grant. For the first two days the advantage rested with the garrison. But the great superiority of the enemy, and the hopelessness of reinforcement, made it appear impossible long to hold their position, and they resolved to make an attack on the enemy, with a view of opening a retreat. They were beaten back, after nine hours' fighting, with frightful loss. Generals Floyd and Pillow, with a part of the force, escaped in the night; General Buckner surrendered the place the next day, with 5000 men. President Davis evinced his displeasure at the conduct of the two former by relieving them from command; a course not at all approved by the historian of the "First Year of the War," but which appears just in the eyes of most who consider the effect which their conduct was likely to have on the discipline of a half-organized army. In the meantime General Johnston had fallen back on Nashville, which the fall of Fort Donelson forced him to abandon, to the great distress and terror of the inhabitants. Partizan bands continued to harass the invaders after they had occupied the city, while General Johnston retired on Murfreesboro' and organized a line of defence for the protection of the Valley of the Mississippi and the railroad system of the South-west. Of this position the key was Island No. 10 on the Mississippi. That island was defended by General Beauregard for above a fortnight, under a terrific bombardment, which effected scarcely any mischief. But on the 5th of April his presence was required elsewhere; on the same night the enemy succeeded in getting in the rear of the island, and on the 7th it was abandoned with a disgraceful and disastrous haste. Generals Johnston and Beauregard had fallen back, and concentrated all their troops on the junction of two of the principal Southern railroads, where they received large reinforcements. General Grant followed, and established himself with about 45,000 men, the flower of the Federal armies, at Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the Tennessee. General Buell was hastening, by forced marches from Nashville, to join him. On Sunday, the 6th of April, the Confederates attacked the enemy's camp at Shiloh, taking him completely by surprise. While he was forming line the assailants, about 38,000 in number, were coming up in all directions, and drove the Federals from one position to another by a series of desperate charges. Leading on one of these, General Johnston received a wound which severed a small artery in the thigh. He took no notice, but went on giving orders till, exhausted by loss of blood, he fell from his horse and died. But by that time the victory was secured, and gradually the enemy was pushed back until his dispirited and demoralized forces were crowded within a circle of half or three quarters of a mile around the landing, expecting the final charge which should drive them into the river. But General Beauregard, unaware of their condition, and apparently believing that they had fortified this position, drew off his troops, which were weary with long marches and twelve hours' fighting. In the night Buell's forces crossed the river; and at six next morning the battle was resumed by them. At one General Beauregard resolved to withdraw, and retired in excellent order to Corinth. His loss in killed and wounded was about 9600; in missing nearly 1000—proportions which testify to the skilful generalship of the commander, and the excellent discipline maintained by the troops on the retreat.

By land, the Federals had not won a single important victory; their only successes in the West had been achieved by the overwhelming numbers which had prevented the Confederates from keeping the field in Kentucky and Tennessee, and the gunboats which had reduced their fortresses on the rivers. The latter arm had been doing terrible execution elsewhere. On the 29th of August the Federals had taken the forts at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, with 600 prisoners; on the 7th of November they seized Port Royal, in South Carolina. A more important disaster occurred in the beginning of February. Roanoke Island, North Carolina, was attacked on the 7th, by an expedition under General Burnside, and compelled to surrender the next day. The disaster was so serious as to provoke inquiry in Congress; and a Committee reported in a sense which conveyed a severe censure on the Secretary for War; a censure which, however, President Davis thought it his duty to disregard. The inculpatated Minister was shortly afterwards appointed to the higher but perhaps less important office of Secretary of State. General Burnside's expedition captured Newbern, North

*The First Year of the War. By Edward A. Pollard, Author of "Black Diamonds," &c. (Richmond, Virginia: West and Johnston, 1862.)

Carolina, on the 4th of March; Fort Pulaski, the defence of the Savannah River, Ga., surrendered on the 11th of April; and on the 25th Fort Macon, North Carolina, commanding the entrance to Beaufort Harbour, yielded after a twelve hours' bombardment. But a greater disaster—the greatest of the war—was the next consequence of the enemy's naval superiority. On the 24th of April a powerful Federal squadron engaged Forts Jackson and St. Philip, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and in a few hours succeeded in passing them. The rafts and other obstructions which were to have detained the assailants under the guns of the forts had been washed away by a sudden and unusual rise in the river; and by the same cause the rifle pits established along the shore were submerged. The water defences of New Orleans—gunboats, steam rams, and floating batteries—were either unfinished or insufficient, and the Crescent City was pronounced indefensible. General Lovell withdrew the garrison to save the town from bombardment; and on the 25th, when the hostile fleet appeared in sight, cotton, ships, and other property were committed to the flames; the first article alone being worth over £300,000. The enemy appeared before the city, and demanded its surrender. A correspondence went on for several days, during which the citizens began to fancy that there was yet a gleam of hope. But the news that the forts had surrendered dispelled all such delusions; and on the 1st of May the infamous General Butler entered and took military possession of the unhappy city. The Mississippi Valley was now at the mercy of the Federal flotilla; and the greater part of Louisiana was practically, for the time being, lost to the Confederacy.

We return to the operations in Virginia, which had not been of much importance during the latter months of 1861, and the beginning of 1862. An indecisive campaign resulted in the abandonment of North-Western Virginia and the Kanawha Valley in the beginning of the winter. One event only disturbed the autumn rest of the two armies that watched one another along the Potomac. On the 20th of October General Stone crossed the river about six miles from Leesburg, with some 7000 or 8000 men; the advance being led by Colonel Baker, Senator from Oregon. The Confederates under General Evans, about 1800 in number, attacked them soon after their landing, before the whole of their force had crossed, and after a good deal of hard fighting, drove them back upon the bluffs that rise from the river, and there routed them completely. In such a position, driven down steep heights into a broad river, the losses of the Federals were, of course, terrible. Colonel Baker had fallen earlier in the engagement; and 1300 men were killed or wounded, and above 700 taken prisoners, with 1500 muskets and three guns. The Confederates lost 150.

On the 22nd of February the permanent Government of the Confederate States was organized. On the 8th of March, the Virginia iron-clad ram left Norfolk to attack the blockading fleet in Hampton Roads. We need not tell over again in detail the story of that memorable engagement, so familiar and so startling to all the world; the sinking of the Cumberland, the burning of the Congress, the disabling of the Minnesota, and the retreat of the Monitor. No event of the war created half so much excitement in the North or in Europe. The merchants of New York, in their terror, prepared to block up their harbour in order to save the city; and the politicians of all European countries were full of questions, doubts, and discussions concerning the comparative efficiency of different forms of iron-clad vessels, and the effect which the lesson of Hampton Roads might have in revolutionizing naval warfare.

Soon afterwards the line of the Potomac was abandoned by General J. E. Johnston; and General Jackson, after a brilliant but not successful dash at General Banks's force near Kernstown, retired towards Richmond. It was on this occasion that General Ashby (then Colonel) signalized for the first time his brilliant qualifications as a cavalry officer. The enemy did not follow either retreating force. McClellan had made up his mind; and before long his army was landed on the Yorktown Peninsula. With his arrival there ends the history of the "First Year of the War." To his record of that history, however, Mr. Pollard has appended a sketch of the Seven Days' Battle on the Chickahominy, which is not the least interesting portion of his book.

For that book, as a whole, we cannot say much. It is written in bad style and bad temper; it is censorious without knowledge, and clumsy beyond endurance; diffuse about trifles, and concise where fulness is most desirable; careless, hurried, and puzzling; altogether as unreadable a book as prejudice, self-confidence, and reckless haste can enable a man to write on so interesting a subject.

SHORT NOTICES.

Marion Leslie: a Story. By the Rev. P. BEATON, M.A. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)

This will be considered a very good story by those who understand the art of skipping, that is, who can pass over the pages devoted to description and reflections, without missing any incidents of the tale. Mr. Beaton is undeniably tedious, but he has not written for the purpose of filling up space. It is evident he thoroughly understands the scenes he describes; and his pictures, though too full of details to be effective, are, nevertheless, taken from life. Marion Leslie is brought up with "Stormy Jack," a boatman, residing in a Scotch fishing village. The son of this worthy is enamoured with her, and the course of his true love is interrupted by the death of the son of a Laird, her uncle, which event makes Marion an heiress. She is removed to the Castle, and sent to Paris for her education. Nimian, her lover, in order to render his condition more suitable, proceeds to a Scotch University for the purpose of studying for the ministry. The young couple correspond, but in a style very different from that which we are accustomed to see when love letters are read in "breach of promise" cases. Marion is not faithful, but marries a Laird Nairn, who makes a terribly bad husband, and dies, leaving his widow in poverty, for in the meantime the Laird has lost his fortune. After a series of exciting adventures, Marion marries her first love, who comes into an ample fortune. This is a mere outline of the plot, of which the interest is well sustained.

The Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson. By the Author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." (London: Strahan and Co.)

This is a volume of essays, not sermons; but preachers might adopt the style with advantage. Sermons are generally dull, which is much better than the comic compilations which have lately been somewhat popular; but of all sermons, that is best which is interesting without being humorous. A "Country Parson" has the happy faculty of making common things pleasant, and of giving expression to thoughts and feelings in which his readers thoroughly sympathize. The charm of his essays consists in that conversational mannerism which, though sometimes prolix, is never wearisome. He also has the art of being egotistical without being offensive. His essays are always fresh and vigorous; and even when they are paradoxical they are instructive as well as amusing. We know no author who identifies himself so thoroughly with the thoughts and feelings of his readers as does a "Country Parson."

Bacon's Guide to American Politics. (London: Sampson Low and Co., and Bacon and Co.)

This is a useful compilation, containing many official documents and statements which will enable those who are not quite *au fait* with American politics to understand and follow the present course of events. The Constitutions of the Confederate States and the United States are given at length, as well as the ratifications of the latter, which are exceedingly important in properly appreciating the articles of the Constitution. Amongst the differences between the two Constitutions, it is noted that in the Confederate Constitution,

The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country, other than the slave-holding States or territories of the United States, is forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

According to the census of 1860, the population of the nineteen free States was 18,907,753, and of the fifteen slave States 12,243,293. In the former, the assessed value of real estate and personal property was \$6,541,027,619, and in the latter, \$5,465,808,957; that is, having only a population equal to two-thirds of the former, its worth is only one-sixth less. The number of live stock in the free States was 39,873,263, and in the slave States 40,506,730. We may learn from these returns why the North is so anxious for reunion.

THE POSITION OF MARYLAND.

A citizen of Maryland writes to the *Columbia* (South Carolina) *Guardian* as follows, defending his State against the suspicions cast upon her that her people had wantonly neglected the opportunity to rise and join the Southern cause:—

(To the Editor of the *Columbia Guardian*.)

COLUMBIA, October 10, 1862.

A sense of duty to my native State induces me to make an effort to controvert the false impressions produced by the recent movements of our army into Maryland.

I regret very much that many persons seem to have lost confidence in the State because her people failed to flock to our standard during the few hours it waved over her territory. I have been provoked to a painful extent by the unjust and unreasonable remarks from the lips of intelligent men, who

have so readily and hastily made up their judgments in the case.

I propose to prove that Maryland is as much entitled to their confidence now as at any previous time; that she is devoted to the Southern cause, and anxious to assist in the accomplishment of Southern independence.

I profess to know the sentiments of the people, and I unhesitatingly say that seven-tenths of them are anxious to dissolve the connection between their State and the Federal Government, and unite with the people of the South.

Maryland has not been allowed to exercise the rights of a free and sovereign State since the Federal Government has taken military control of her soil.

For the purpose of arriving at the true and legitimate position of the people, we should go back to the period when they were free to express their views and sentiments, and before the State was occupied by Federal troops; when they exercised the rights of freemen, and were not subject to the control of military law, and kept down by the power of an armed and brutal soldiery.

The people of Maryland believed that the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States would result in the destruction of the Union, and they regarded that act as sufficient to justify the Southern States in withdrawing from the Federal compact, and they not only cast the full vote of the State against the candidate of the Republican party, but elected by a large majority a Legislature composed almost entirely of Secessionists. And when Mr. Lincoln assumed the duties of the high office to which he had been called by the sectional party of the North, he found the State of Maryland in the hands of a people hostile to his Administration.

The city of Baltimore, embracing nearly one-half of the population of the State, was in the hands of the Southern Rights party—the Mayor, Police Commissioners, and members of the municipal Government being all Secessionists, and were elected by majorities, ranging from 8000 to 10,000, and their State and city officials represented the sentiments and reflected the opinions of the people, having been *properly, legally, and constitutionally* elected for that purpose. By their acts in behalf of the Southern cause, and their sufferings on that account, let the State be judged.

As soon as it was known that South Carolina had withdrawn from the Union, and the great question of dissolution was, by this act, presented to the people of the States, petitions from all sections of Maryland were sent to the Governor, T. Holliday Hicks, urging him to convene the Legislature for the purpose of enabling that body to meet the great issue thus presented.

This he refused to do for several months, although a large majority of the people had joined in the petitions referred to, and it was not until the Massachusetts troops on their way to the Federal capital, were attacked in the streets of Baltimore, and the blood of our people had been shed, that he consented to do so, fearing the indignation and wrath of an outraged populace would visit him with the punishment he deserved, if he longer refused to grant their prayers.

On the same day that the fight took place with the Massachusetts regiment, two Pennsylvania regiments were driven back to the city of Philadelphia, and it was the determination of the people to prevent the passage of troops at all hazards; and the fact was exhibited in the destruction of the bridges, cutting off the communication between Baltimore and the North, and for many days the Federal Government was prevented from marching a single armed soldier to the protection of the national capital, through the city of Baltimore.

The troops from the North were forced to reach Washington by the way of the Potomac River and the Annapolis Railroad, during which time the citizens of Baltimore, aided by large numbers from the counties, were standing in an attitude of defiance to the Government.

To show with what pertinacity and determination they maintained the bold position thus assumed, it is only necessary to point to the fact, that 10,000 Pennsylvania troops, under General Wynecop, having reached Ashland Furnace, fifteen miles from Baltimore, on their way to Washington, were compelled to return to Harrisburg; 20,000 citizens of our State being in arms to dispute their passage; and it was not until Lincoln had assembled 50,000 troops in Washington, by the indirect route mentioned, and covered the Potomac River with his "gunboats," thereby cutting off the communication between Maryland and the South, and all hopes of assistance from our Southern friends, and when longer resistance under such circumstances would have been madness, that he undertook to march his troops through Baltimore, and commenced to perpetrate the outrages upon the people of Maryland which he has continued to practice up to the present hour. He now claims that Maryland is a Union State. He has converted her to the cause of the Union, and under the protection of Federal bayonets she now votes the Union ticket.

There are a certain number of men in Maryland, as elsewhere, sufficiently degraded to vote under such circumstances, and from these only has there come an approval of Mr. Lincoln's policy—an approval given not by the respectability and intelligence of the State; that is to be sought in Forts McHenry, Lafayette, and Warren, or in homes turned into prisons, or at best, in disgusted abstinence from elections, which have become mockeries.

By such outrages has the State been placed in the hands of Union men. The Administration now in power is not the one elevated by the people; its principles are not those which they sustain, and its members were never honoured with their confidence, and this once proud State no longer stands erect and free at the altar of constitutional liberty, but lies bleeding and suffering at the footstool of tyranny. She no longer enjoys the rights and privileges bequeathed to her by our fathers, purchased by the blood of her children, and guaranteed by the Constitution of her adoption; but, chained and fettered, breathes out her miserable existence.

Her voice is no longer heard in communion and harmony with her sisters of the South, pleading for justice and equality, but is hushed to silence by the boasted advocates of free speech quartered upon her soil in opposition to the wishes of her people.

Sad is her fate, and pitiful indeed the condition of her gallant but oppressed children. The harp has fallen from their trembling fingers and lies shattered and broken around decayed and ruined altars, dedicated to a freedom and independence they no longer enjoy.

How long she must continue to suffer beneath this yoke of a military despot, God alone can tell. But we pray that the day of her redemption is at hand, and that ere long, clothed in her robes of purity, stained though they may be with the blood of her brave sons, she will rejoin her sisters of the South, and with them swell the anthem of deliverance.

I respectfully call attention to the following facts, representing the sentiments of the people of Maryland as exhibited by the action of the Legislature of their choice:—

On the 9th day of May, 1861, and after the Federal troops had been quartered on our soil, the Mayor of the city, the Police Commissioners, and many other prominent citizens arrested and sent to prison on the charge of treason, and our own city and State under the control of Federal bayonets, a report from the committee on Federal relations was presented, "declaring that the war waged by the United States upon the people of the Confederate States was unconstitutional, repugnant to civilization and sound policy, and subversive of free institutions, and protesting against the military occupancy of the State as unconstitutional, oppressive, and illegal." Said report was adopted by a vote of 49 ayes to 11 nays in the House of Delegates, and a vote of 16 ayes to 5 nays in the State Senate.

And on the 5th day of August, 1861, the following Act condemnatory of the Lincoln Administration, for incarcerating the Police Commissioners, &c., was passed by both Houses, and by a vote equally as decisive:—

"Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That we solemnly protest in the name of the State and her people against the proceedings aforesaid in all their parts, pronouncing the same, as far as they affect individuals, a gross and unconstitutional abuse of power which nothing can palliate or excuse, and in their bearing upon the authority and constitutional powers and privileges of the State herself, a revolutionary supervision of the Federal compact.

Resolved, That we appeal in the most earnest manner to the whole people of the country, of all parties, sections, and opinions, to take warning by the usurpations aforesaid, and to come to the rescue of the free institutions of the country; so that whatever may be the issue of the melancholy conflict which is now covering the land with sacrifice and sorrow, and threatens to overwhelm it with debt and ruin, there may at least survive to us when it is over, the republican form of Government bequeathed to us by our fathers."

For such action in defence of the constitutional rights of the State, and in opposition to the outrages of the Federal Administration, a large majority of the members were arrested without process of law, and by a hired soldiery from other States, and sent to prison, where many of them still remain.

The principal object I have in view, and I must here crave your pardon for the length of this communication, is to place my State right on the record, and as I have no means to accomplish it without the assistance of the press, I beg you to bear with me.

In answer to the gentlemen who are under the impression that the people of Maryland failed to embrace the opportunity to redeem their State, I deny that such an opportunity has been presented, and assert that it has not been as yet in the power of her people to flock to the Southern banner, in consequence of the insurmountable difficulties and obstacles by which they are surrounded, and to which I shall hereafter particularly refer.

I am aware of the great pains that has been taken to make it appear that the State of Maryland is still for the Union. This has been done for effect in the Northern market, and to create the impression at home and abroad that Secessionism is fading away before the brilliancy of the Republican Administration. I know that Mr. Lincoln made the claim, and I shall show that it is not only groundless, but false. I shall, therefore, introduce some very important testimony, and shall leave my readers to judge of its reliability. I shall present the testimony without further comment than may be necessary to point out discrepancies, firmly believing that it will be sufficient to prove every point I have in view, and result in the complete vindication of my gallant, but much abused and misrepresented State, from the calumnies of her unprincipled traducers.

In Mr. Lincoln's Message of December 1861 I find the following remarkable passage. Speaking of Maryland, he says:—"She already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy, and her people at a regular election (God save the mark!) have sustained the Union by a large majority."

So much for Mr. Lincoln's opinion, but let us hear "T. Holliday Hicks" upon the same subject. He was Governor of the State at that time, and his testimony should have some weight, for he has tried to outdo the President in his futile efforts to drive the people to the cause of the Union. In his Message, bearing the same date as the President's Message—December 1, 1861—to the General Assembly of Maryland, he says:—

"It is undoubtedly a strict duty, and also due to the pride and honour of the State, that you make immediate provision for raising and equipping Maryland's quota of the 500,000 volunteers called for by the President under the Act of Congress authorizing him so to do. I believe that quota can be raised without difficulty so soon as you shall advance the money to pay the expense of recruiting and equipping the troops."

President Lincoln says seven regiments have been furnished, &c.; Governor Hicks believes they can be raised.

In what manner the Honourable President and the worthy Governor will be able to reconcile the wide difference between them, which is at once so glaring and so palpable, I certainly am at a loss to know; but as one has the aid of the wily magician "Seward," and the other the services of the political juggler and renegade Virginian, "Henry Winter Davis," I presume they will devise a mode satisfactory to themselves, at least.

I also introduce as pertinent the testimony of Mr. Stephens, member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Shortly after the President's Message had been presented to the House, a debate took place on the bill authorizing the raising of a volunteer force for the better defence of Kentucky and the Border States, and Mr. Stephens used the following language:—

"I believe that the Secessionists would rise again to-morrow in Maryland if we withdrew our troops from there. I do not believe in the semblance of loyalty there, or that even that semblance would continue a day in the absence of the army. I do not know how Maryland can have seven regiments in our service, and none in that of the Confederates. I don't know how the President gets his facts, but I don't believe it myself. I believe the President is misled in the matter. I believe he is labouring under a fatal hallucination—unwillingly, no doubt—but as grievous as that under which Samson laboured with regard to the Philistines, when he was under the manipulation of Delilah."

In answer to Mr. Lincoln's assertion that "the people of Maryland at a regular election has sustained the Union by a large majority," I deem it necessary to say that there has not been a regular or proper election in the State since the Presidential election, at which time the vote in the city of Baltimore was over 32,000. At one of President Lincoln's regular elections, held in the city of Baltimore a few weeks ago, the vote polled was 4700, made up of the Germans, the contractors, the

office holders, and the Yankee squatters. The General commanding in the State always gives orders just before an election for the arrest of all voters "suspected of sympathy with the Confederate States," that is, of every one likely to vote against the Union ticket; apart from which our people have no desire to participate in such farces as "regular elections" in Maryland are known to be under Republican military rule.

It is due to my State that I should say that she has not furnished the troops claimed by Mr. Lincoln, and I am satisfied she will never furnish one-fourth of her quota.

I take pleasure in stating that in December 1861 it was a matter of record in Richmond that she had 8000 young men beneath the Confederate flag. I have heard lately the number is at this time much greater, estimated at about 12,000, embracing four splendid field batteries and a number of excellent cavalry companies.

In this connection I submit the following from the Washington despatches in the New York papers, dated 5th instant.

"Another evidence of the sturdy treason of Lower Maryland is found in the fact that a large exodus of male population there is taking place into Virginia. The lower counties of the State will not be able to furnish more than a fourth part of their quota under the draft. If every male individual of Charles and St. Mary's counties were to be impressed, still the quotas of these two counties would remain unfilled. Most of the young men of this region are now serving in the rebel army."

The portion of the State visited by our army is the Union section. By reference to the map, it will be discovered that Frederick and Washington counties are embraced in the narrow neck of land lying between Pennsylvania and the disaffected portion of Virginia, and it is worthy of remark in this connection, that Governor Hicks, when he feared longer to resist the appeals of the people to convene the Legislature after the April riots, summoned them to meet in Frederick City, instead of Annapolis, the capital of the State, and the proper place, assigning as a reason, in his Message already referred to, that "he assembled them in the midst of a loyal population."

It is extremely unfortunate that our army crossed the Potomac into this portion of the State. It has not relieved the people, but has undoubtedly resulted in their being more closely watched and cruelly oppressed.

T. Holliday Hicks is no longer Governor of Maryland, nor the master of the people. I have not heard of him since he so magnanimously refused the commission of Brigadier-General in the Federal army, and so patriotically signified his determination to "take the musket instead of the sword."

I know, however, that he has retired to the shades of private life, and I must confess that I am convinced that this will result in "public good."

I rejoice that he has left on record the evidence of the disposition of our people to withdraw from the Union, and the despotic and outrageous manner by which he prevented them from so doing. To prove this it is not necessary to frame sentences for him. His own words are the best evidences of his despotism and treachery, and I propose to let him speak for himself. In his last Message to the Union Legislature, he says:—

"It was urged with great zeal, that the people of Maryland should have an opportunity of saying whether they would remain loyal to the Government framed by our fathers, or join the seceded States in their mad crusade against the continuance of the Union."

"It was alleged that if the Legislature should be convened, it would either call a Sovereign Convention, or submit to a vote of the people the grave question whether they desired such a Convention to assemble."

"I believed that I was thoroughly acquainted with the proclivities of a majority of the members of that Legislature. I was perfectly convinced that they desired Maryland to leap, no matter how blindly, into the vortex of secession. I believe the same to be true of the most of those citizens who so persistently urged the assembling of the Legislature. I was, therefore, unwilling to allow that body an opportunity so to misuse its great power, not doubting that, in imitation of the Legislatures of the then seceded States, it would exert that power to the great detriment of the people of Maryland."

"I was sure that through some juggle Maryland would be forced to secede. I need not speculate here in regard to the mode by which this would have been accomplished—whether by the bayonet or by some equally cogent or persuasive process. I merely assert that I believe the plans of the Secessionists would have been accomplished, if they had had the great power of the Legislature to aid them."

If the above extracts are insufficient to prove that the people of Maryland were favourable to secession, and anxious to unite with their sisters of the South, in their great and glorious struggle for freedom, then I respectfully invite attention to the following extract from the inaugural Message of his successor, Augustus Bradford, the present Governor. He is an old line Whig—Henry Clay was his political god. He worshipped him while living, and no doubt considers he is following his teachings and obeying his injunctions now that the great Union advocate and compromiser is no more. The Secessionists did not participate in the election, and Mr. Bradford was, of course, elected. His opinion of the State, and the sentiments of her people are not only interesting, but prove their Southern character and tendency.

"I trust that no consideration of the repose that we enjoy, nor any apparent acquiescence of the Secessionists in the result of our election, will prevent you from providing by every proper means against any contrivance they may be expected to adopt."

A CURIOUS STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES.

The *New York Times*, the most temperate of the Republican organs, thus editorially delivers itself of a statement of "Our Real Complaint against England," the cause of that "detestation and disgust" which it admits to exist generally throughout the loyal States.

(From the *New York Times*, December 9.)

Now that it is settled that magnificent contributions of food will soon be sent from our shores toward the relief of the British operatives, Englishmen can afford to make a little effort to understand the real state of American feeling toward them and their Government. There is a great deal of misapprehension on the other side of the water in regard to this; and it has had the effect of causing multitudes of well-meaning men to think us extravagantly exacting and unreasonable.

What, then, is the real American complaint?

It is not, as Englishmen generally assume, against the official action of the British Government. With that action, thus far, we have no very great fault to find. It has been confined to four procedures:—First, the acknowledgment of

belligerent rights; second, the proclamation of neutrality; third, the demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell; and, fourth, the refusal to join France in intervention.

As to the first of these, it is true that we believe the raising of the rebellion to the level of a belligerent Power was improperly hasty—taking place as it did within a fortnight after the intelligence of the fall of Sumter. At least common courtesy, it would seem, should have dictated a postponement until the arrival of the new American Minister, Mr. Adams, which occurred immediately afterward. Yet, whatever we may think of the time chosen, the recognition in itself was proper. It relieved both England and our own Government from many embarrassments; particularly in giving unquestionable validity to our blockade, which, it is held, is a right that can exist only between belligerents, and in ridding our Government of all responsibility for the depredations of rebel privateers. To get free from other embarrassments, we have ourselves been obliged since to make substantially the same recognition of belligerent rights to the rebels.

The second procedure, the proclamation of neutrality, was commendable. No loyal American either expected or desired the British Government to be anything but neutral. True, the proclamation has not been faithfully carried out. It prohibited the supply of arms and ammunition to either belligerent, and yet they have been supplied to both in great quantities. We have perhaps derived as great an advantage, relatively, from this as the rebels, and do not complain on this score. In respect to the Alabama built, equipped, owned, and manned by British hands, to prey upon our commerce, we do not as yet understand that the vessel sailed with the actual consent of the British Government. It is said, on the other hand, that the Admiralty undertook to prevent that sailing, and failed only through mistake; and that effectual measures have been taken to avert a similar misfortune hereafter. We trust this is so. The wrong is undeniable. The counsel of the Crown has already decided this case of the Alabama to be a violation of international law. It is certainly contrary to what has always been our own construction of that law. When, during the Crimean war, the British Government complained that Americans built and sold vessels for Russia, our Government replied that, while it was allowable to sell and transport munitions of war, it was not allowable "to fit out, within the limits of the United States, a vessel to commit hostilities against any State with which the United States are at peace, or to increase the force of any foreign armed vessel intended for such hostilities against a friendly State."

In regard to the surrender of Mason and Slidell, Americans are content. Their own Government decided that international law, strictly construed, required it. That is enough. Whatever displeasure may have been occasioned by England's insisting upon the *summius jus*, under the peculiar circumstances, is more than balanced by our satisfaction that she has thereby committed herself irrevocably to the high American doctrine of the rights of neutrals, in denial of which she fought her last war with us.

The fourth act of the British Government—its recent refusal to unite with France in an attempt to press upon us an armistice—of course is well liked. Whatever may have been the motives of the Ministry in separating themselves from the French Emperor in this matter, the act itself is welcome; and it shall go, as it ought to go, to their credit.

If, then, the official action of the British Government thus far has done us no great injustice or harm, what have we to complain of? How happens it that there is all through the loyal section of the United States, such an intense hardness of feeling towards England? The answer is easy. It comes from the fact that the great body of the upper and middle classes of England have, from the outset, through almost every organ of their opinion, not ceased to defame, malign, and damage the sacred cause to which we have pledged our lives and fortunes. The Foreign Secretary, Earl Russell, took early occasion, in a public speech, to stigmatize the conflict on our part as a struggle for "empire," while the rebels fought only for "independence;" and, in his seat in Parliament, he did not hesitate to express his "trust that the North will at last consent to a peaceable separation." Other members of the Ministry have, time and again, used similar language. Nine out of ten of the members of Parliament, and other public men of England, have sided with the rebels in their public addresses. Ninety-nine out of a hundred of the publications of the kingdom—reviews, magazines, and newspapers—have unceasingly directed against us their sophisms, their sneers, and their invectives. From that source there has been from the start but one constant stream of misrepresentation and abuse. Because we have felt such abuse we have been only the more taunted. We should have been despicable if we had not felt it. No man worthy of the name will quietly endure a vilification of the cause he deems sacred. There never was a holier object than that which has moved the loyal twenty millions of these United States to maintain this struggle. They cannot composedly see it belied and maligned. It is impossible not to consider this protracted abuse but as an exponent of the feeling which animates the hearts of the ruling classes of England. It is so taken, and it will be so remembered. The insults and the injuries that are dealt in the day of misfortune are precisely those which rankle longest in the memory.

It is not the official action of the Government that has offended us; for that action has as yet done us no material injury. Nor is it the official inaction of the Government; for we would not have accepted its aid in any form had it been offered. Nor is it the withholding of business accommodations, even though Russia could borrow money in London to help her in the work of crushing Hungary, while loans were refused the United States that would have helped to save its free institutions. Every man, the world over, has a right to manage his business as he chooses. Nor is it the withholding of moral sympathy, even though it might have been expected that a nation so closely allied to our own in blood, language, literature, law, and religion—a nation which originally forced slavery upon us, and which afterwards made peculiar professions of hatred to slavery. Nor is it the contraband traffic which has been kept up with the rebels from the start, though Frenchmen and Belgians and Prussians and all other people have abstained from all such operations; remembering that Englishmen manufacture idols for the heathen, and tinge the Chinese for the privilege of selling opium, we know how to make great allowance for English greed. It is none of those things that disturb us. It is the studied, systematic, persistent reviling of our cause, which is to us as grand as liberty, as sacred as the memory of our fathers, as priceless as the national life itself—it is this chiefly which has filled us with detestation and disgust. Among the labouring classes of England there has been little or nothing of this. They have instinctively appreciated the real merits of our struggle, and under great trials have acted nobly. They are remembered. The other portion of England will also be remembered.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

On the 11th of December, twenty days after he had demanded the surrender of Fredericksburg under the penalty of being bombarded in sixteen hours, General Burnside ordered his forces to cross the Rappahannock. The Federals placed their batteries, mounting 176 guns, in position to command the passage of the river opposite the city, and at 5 o'clock in the morning the construction of the bridges opposite Fredericksburg was commenced, and at the same time, about three miles below the city, General Franklin proceeded to lay the bridges for the passage of his division. The works near the city were interrupted by the fire of the Confederates, and the pontoons had to be withdrawn. A second attempt was not more successful, owing to the deadly fire of the Confederate sharpshooters. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Federal batteries opened upon Fredericksburg, the Confederate pickets were withdrawn, a detachment of the Federals crossed in boats, and the bridges were completed. Forthwith, General Burnside transported the whole of his forces to the south side of the river, those under General Franklin having crossed a few hours' earlier. The Federal commander was pleased with the success of his movement, and does not seem to have been suspicious of the slight opposition that had been offered to the passage of his troops. The rejoicings in the North were very great, and newspaper correspondents gave glowing accounts of the clever manner in which Burnside had deceived the Southern commander. The *New York Times'* correspondent remarks: "There seems to be good ground to claim that General Burnside has succeeded in out-generalling and outwitting them. His decoys to make them believe that we were about to cross our main force at Port Conway, seem to have succeeded admirably. Completely deceived by these feints," &c. The unopposed crossing of the Rappahannock was evidently looked upon as a considerable triumph.

When General Burnside had obtained possession of Fredericksburg he found his further progress stopped by the Confederate army strongly posted and fortified on the south side of the city. It was now evident that if Burnside determined to cross the Rappahannock it had not been the intention of the Confederates to oppose him, or to prevent him occupying Fredericksburg, but to confront him when his large force would have to operate in a confined

space, and when he would have a river in his rear and fortifications in his front. To remain inactive where he was would have been fatal to Burnside, and all that remained was to force the Confederate position, and compel the Southern army to retreat. The movements attempted on the 13th of December brought about the bloody battle of Fredericksburg, which a Northern writer describes as a "black day for the United States," and which the *New York World* says was the "frightfullest disaster of the war." At present we have no detailed accounts of the battle, except the Northern, which are, as usual, manifestly and utterly unreliable. Before the engagement we were told over and over again that the Federal forces were vastly superior to "the disorganized and beaten forces of the South," and that Burnside had an army scarcely inferior in numbers to the old Army of the Potomac. After the battle it is coolly stated that Burnside had only 40,000 men in action to oppose 200,000 Confederates strongly posted and commanded by the best generals of the South. If there were a particle of truth in this statement, which appears in the *New York Herald*, Burnside must have been mad, or a traitor, to fight against such odds. This estimate of numbers is, however, only an extraordinary specimen of Yankee misrepresentation. Burnside had more than 100,000 men under his command. What the Confederate force was we do not know, but there is no reason for supposing it exceeded 40,000 men, and some estimate it at much less. After the official declaration that the Federal force amounted to 800,000 men, it is supremely ridiculous to be told that the advance to Richmond was undertaken with 40,000 men. We direct special attention to this as a warning that not the slightest reliance is to be placed on the Northern narratives of the battle.

The fight commenced at daybreak; before noon the entire line was engaged, and the contest was maintained till dark. General Franklin's division, on the left, is reported to have advanced nearly a mile, but towards the close of the day it had to retreat. The main part of the Federal army was engaged in endeavouring to take the Confederate position on the heights commanding Fredericksburg. To approach the Confederate entrenchments the Federals had to cross a plateau, and, according to the *Richmond Examiner*, "our artillery had been brought into a position covering and completely commanding the open space upon which the enemy's troops would deploy in crossing." The Federals were mowed down by the artillery, and those that survived to charge, and who never got to within eighty paces of the entrenchments, were decimated with the deadly fire of the Confederate small arms. Several such charges were made in the course of the day with the like disastrous result. The Federals were repulsed at every point.

The loss of the Confederates is reported to be 1800 killed and wounded. The official report of the Federal loss gives 1100 killed, including two generals and a large number of officers, and 8000 wounded, including five generals. The Federal loss is unofficially estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000 killed and wounded, and the events subsequent to the battle show that the official report is understated. So frightfully had Burnside's army been cut up that on the 15th of December the Federal general issued orders to recross the Rappahannock, and this movement was effected in darkness and amid a shower of wind and rain. As soon as the army was on the north of the river the bridges were removed, and great satisfaction was expressed that the waters were rising so as to insure it against an attack from the Confederates. In another column we give General Lee's official report of the battle, dated the 17th of December, addressed to the Confederate Secretary of War.

The defeat at Fredericksburg produced great indignation in the North. Burnside is blamed for acting contrary to his judgment, and Mr. Lincoln is called upon to dismiss General Halleck and Mr. Stanton. It was rumoured that General McClellan had been sent for, and later, that General Burnside had offered to resign his command, and his resignation was refused. Washington and New York were panic stricken by the news of the defeat, and gold advanced to 33 premium. It seems probable that Mr. Lincoln will have to dismiss his Cabinet, but it is not likely that a change of Ministers will do more for the North than has been done by the frequent change of generals. A public meeting was called in New York, at which the leading merchants were announced as speakers, "to inform the Administration in regard to the people's sense of their misconduct of the war." The meeting has been postponed until the report of the Committee of Inquiry of the Senate has been published. Mr. Lincoln himself does not escape severe censure, and if he could be dismissed constitutionally, his term of office would be short. The defeat at Fredericksburg is the severest blow the Lincolnites have had. The failure of Burnside greatly encourages the Democrats, who have prophesied evil consequences from the removal of McClellan. The resignation of Mr. Seward has been spoken of in Washington.

Misfortunes seldom come alone. On the 14th of December the Federals, with 15,000 men and nine gunboats, attacked Kingston, North Carolina, and after some hours' fighting were beaten and driven back to their gunboats. This news is taken from Southern sources, and is not the less true because "it is semi-officially announced that the Federal Government has no news to warrant a belief in this report."

On the 9th of December the Confederates drove the Federals out of Plymouth, North Carolina, and damaged a Federal gunboat which was lying off the town.

The Confederates have also sunk the Federal gunboat Cairo, with torpedoes, on the Yazoo River.

It is now generally supposed in New York that Banks' expedition had gone to the Gulf, and will rendezvous at Ship Island. One transport has been wrecked, and two disabled vessels were found to be totally unseaworthy, and five vessels had put into Port Royal for repairs and supplies. This is not a very promising beginning. An inquiry is to be made into the contracts of these unseaworthy vessels, and if the inquiry is published, the public may have another proof of the official corruption in the United States.

President Davis has visited the army in Tennessee, and has made a speech at Knoxville, in which he spoke with the utmost confidence of the pending movements in Virginia. The President left Tennessee on the 16th of December to visit Mobile and the Army of the Mississippi.

On the 12th of December a troop of General Stuart's cavalry dashed into Dumfries, Virginia, captured some prisoners, and cut down the telegraph wires. What makes this affair somewhat significant is that Dumfries is between Burnside's headquarters and Washington.

Another brilliant cavalry exploit took place on the 14th of December. A body of Major White's cavalry went to Poolesville, Maryland, and captured some Federal soldiers.

In the Federal House of Representatives Mr. Conway (representative of Kansas) proposed a series of resolutions against the reconstruction of the

Union upon the former basis, and further, that if the "rebellion" were not put down within a reasonable time, the "best interests of the country and humanity will require a cessation of hostilities." On the motion of Mr. Maynard, who correctly described the resolutions as "the first formal propositions asserting the dissolution of the Union and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy," the resolutions were tabled by 132 yeas to 1 nay, Mr. Conway being the only member who voted in the negative.

The Federal Senate has passed the Army Appropriation Bill, amounting to \$731,000,000, for the support of the army until June 1864. This power of voting supplies a year and a-half in advance makes the Cabinet to some extent independent of the new Congress, and is a dangerous system.

Mr. Seward announces that he has enough diplomatic correspondence to fill another large volume, and if the unpublished volume is as comic as the published volume, it will, if given to the world, be highly amusing. Among the last extracts printed in the American papers, is a communication in which Mr. Seward deprecates the idea of England expecting to conquer the United States.

But what warrant have the British Government for expecting to conquer the United States, and to subjugate and desolate them, or to dictate to them terms of peace? A war waged against us by Great Britain could not fail to reunite our people. Every sacrifice that their independence could require would be cheerfully and instantly made, and every force and every resource which has hitherto been held in reserve in a civil war, because the necessity for immediately using it has not been felt, would be brought into requisition. I shall not willingly believe that Great Britain deliberately desires such a war, as I am sure that every honourable and generous effort will be made by the United States to avoid it.

On another occasion he indulges in a blasphemous observation about the scepticism in England with regard to the restoration of the Union.—

The account of public opinion and public feeling in England concerning our affairs which it contains harmonizes in all respects with Mr. Dayton's report that the statesmen of France, including the Emperor, are no less sceptical about the restoration of the Union since the capture of New Orleans than they were before. You tell me that in England they still point to the delays at Richmond and Corinth, and they enlarge upon the absence of displays of Union feeling in New Orleans and Norfolk. Ah, well! scepticism must be expected in this world in regard to new political systems, inasmuch as even Divine revelation needs the aid of miracles to make converts to a new religious faith.

ENGLAND.

There is very little news of importance in England or on the Continent this week. The distress in Lancashire does not increase; there has been a diminution of about 2600 in the number of paupers; and several of the Relief Committees also report a withdrawal of some hundreds from the list of those dependent on them. The poor-law return is a follows:—

(a). Eight unions have more:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Chorlton ..	720	Saddleworth ..	90
Liverpool ..	390	Warrington ..	40
Macclesfield ..	110	Wigan ..	150
Manchester ..	340		
Preston ..	90	Total ..	1,930

(b). One union is in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Bolton.

(c). Twelve unions have less:—

Paupers.		Paupers.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	1290	Oldham ..	660
Blackburn ..	530	Rochdale ..	210
Burnley ..	160	Salford ..	80
Bury ..	110	Stockport ..	740
Chorley ..	150	Todmorden ..	80
Glossop ..	30		
Haslingden ..	470	Total ..	4,510

FREDERICK PURDY,
Statistical Department.

Poor Law Board, December 26.

It will be observed that again the chief increase is in the Manchester unions, while in some of the places which have suffered most severely, and notably in Ashton, Blackburn, and Stockport, trade seems to have undergone a faint revival. Well-informed men, however, affirm that the resuscitation is only galvanic, and will not last for many weeks; and the *Economist* seems disposed to retract its sanguine anticipations of coming plenty.

Lord Derby is still prevented by ill-health from taking the chair at the meetings of the Central Executive Committee. The last was held on Monday, when the following report was read:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my tabular report for the week ended Saturday, the 20th inst., will show you that there is a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 5163. This decrease of 5163 is explained as follows.—There is a decrease at Ashton-under-Lyne of 1265; Blackburn, 525; Burnley, 172; Bury, 452; Garstang, 17; Glossop, 33; Haslingden, 466; Leigh, 7; Oldham, 1357; Rochdale, 206; Saddleworth, 113; Salford, 81; Stockport, 1732; total, 5714. There is an increase at Barton-upon-Irwell of 7; Bolton, 20; Chorlton, 760; The Fylde, 51; Lancaster, 12; Macclesfield, 110; Manchester, 336; Preston, 88; Prestwich, 49; Warrington, 36; Wigan, 143; total, 1551; making a net decrease of 5163. I have received no returns from the clerks of the Unions of Chorley, Clitheroe, and Todmorden for the week ended the 20th inst., and I have

therefore inserted in my tabular report their figures for the week ended the 13th inst., and I am unable to state whether there has been an increase or a decrease in either of those places. The figures entered for Oldham represent a decrease of pauperism as compared with the week ended the 6th inst., and those for Stockport are also compared with the same week. There were on the 20th inst., 264,417 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to. In the corresponding week of last year, 61,264 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 203,153 persons in receipt of parochial relief, or 331.6 per cent. The weekly cost of out-door relief on the 20th inst. was £18,745 8s. 7d. In the corresponding week of last year it was £3035 16s. 8d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £15,709 11s. 11d., or 517.4 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism in the population of these unions on the 20th inst. was 13.3; in the corresponding week of last year it was 3.1. The average amount of out-door relief per head per week, both in money and kind, in these unions on the 30th inst. was 1s. 5d.; the lowest was 1s. 0d., and the highest 2s. 7d. (at Burnley). Of the 264,417 persons receiving parochial relief on the 20th inst., 12,163 were in-door paupers. The amount of money in the hands of the treasurer of the above unions on the 20th inst. was £78,417 9s. 4d.; in the previous week the amount was £891,631 1s. 3d.

I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

H. B. FARNALL, Special Commissioner.

P.S.—The decrease of 1782 paupers at Stockport is for a fortnight, there having been a decrease of 1040 for the week ended the 13th inst. as compared with the week ended the 6th inst. (and this decrease I alluded to in a postscript to my last report), and a further decrease of 742 for the week ended the 20th inst. as compared with the week ended the 13th inst. I have just received the return for the week ended the 20th inst. from the clerk of the Todmorden Union, but it came too late to be enclosed in my report. I may, however, state that a decrease of pauperism has taken place there during the week ended the 20th inst. as compared with the week ended the 13th inst.

We fear that all danger of sickness, in some of those epidemic forms which usually follow seasons of severe distress has not been averted by the recent increase in the scale of relief. Dr. Buchanan, sent down as Medical Inspector by the Privy Council, has just visited Bolton. He laid before the General Purposes Committee of the Board of Guardians a report, in which he states that during the last month or two, but especially in the last fortnight, cases of typhoid or gastric fever have been scattered through the town of Bolton in greater number than usual. He had notes of nineteen such cases in seven different houses since the beginning of December. In one house in Slater's-field six persons had been attacked with a very bad form of the disease, and the attacks had been at intervals, and appeared to show contagion. One of the six had died, a second was beyond hope of recovery, and two others were in a most critical state. Most of these persons had been treated at their own houses, and he had to submit to the Guardians that most of these cases should be removed from their homes into properly constructed wards. In so far as the fever was contagious, there was risk to other persons in treating it in the small and often crowded cottages of the poor; and in so far as it depended on any local condition there was far less chance of the patient himself if he remained at home. It was also material to observe that in some of the cases he had seen the peculiar severity of the fever seemed due to the low health of the person before his attack. It was of the utmost importance, in order to avoid epidemic fever, that the poor should be maintained at a good standard of health and strength. In compliance with the recommendations contained in this report the Guardians have opened fever wards in the work-house for the treatment of these cases.

The want of occupation for the operatives out of work is still a subject of general complaint, though a large number of the girls and young women have been provided for in sewing schools, and attempts are being made to open adult schools and reading rooms for the men.

Rumours have been afloat that some operatives have been offered work and refused it, preferring the alms received from the committees. We can conceive this to be true of the Irish and other hangers-on of the industry of Lancashire, but not of the regular factory hands. Those who have investigated the matter, on the part of the Leeds subscribers and of the Central Committee, discredit these stories altogether.

The provision of winter clothing and blankets does not go on quite so smoothly and rapidly as the *Times*' correspondent thinks it ought, and he is severe upon the shortcomings of the Committees. Their task is not an an easy one, and we believe, judging even from the statements of their critic, that they are getting on with business-like dispatch.

Christmas dinner tickets of 8d. each have been distributed to large numbers of the operatives at the expense of the Mansion-house fund. In some districts the amount was raised by the local committees to 1s. per head. Time was when such a Christmas dinner would have seemed as meagre to the operatives as to their employers.

Mr. Gladstone made on Saturday, at Chester, a speech, chiefly statistical, on the effects of the cotton famine. He stated the number of persons

employed in the cotton manufacture throughout the country at 400,000. Of these he believed that one-eighth were in full work, three-eighths working short time, and one-half unemployed. There were of the unemployed and their families 250,000 paupers and 190,000 dependents of the Relief Committees; the whole 440,000 being relieved at a cost of about £44,000 weekly, or 2s. a head. There were, he thought no complaints from the recipients that this relief was insufficient, though at first, before the machinery for the collection and distribution of the national subscriptions was properly organized, the poor were very sorely pressed indeed. He mentioned that the loss to the revenue entailed by the cotton famine was at the rate of of £1,500,000 a year, that of wages reached £8,000,000 a year; the total loss to the country, he thought, must be estimated to exceed £12,000,000. The public subscriptions had already reached one-tenth of this amount, and might be expected to reach £1,500,000; whereas the sum hitherto expended must fall short of one-half the amount actually raised, so that they might look forward in cheerfulness to the absence of any new and great calamity to the remainder of the winter. Should the dreadful and sanguinary war which desolated America and threw the surplus of its curses upon Europe be brought to a close, a great and early relief might be expected; but, in any case, the administrators of public bounty would, it might be trusted, meet the spring with some considerable funds in hand. After paying an encomium to the suffering operatives for the manner in which they had borne their affliction, he said that as they had begun and continued, he hoped they would so persevere to the end. They had new forms of trial before them. They had passed from the condition of highly-paid labourers to that of receivers of relief, and thus they had done with no diminution but with an increase of respect and honour. They would, he hoped, soon pass back again from the condition of receivers of relief to that of highly-paid labourers. But this they could not do at once. A state of things was pretty certain to arise in which the range of prices, on which wages must depend, would be such as to enable their employers, or such of them as only bent but did not break before the storm, to offer low wages, but not such as to enable them to offer high ones. To accept these low wages, to commence again the workmen's career on a reduced and contracted footing, would be a new form of trial. Might they meet it as duty and not as pride would prompt them, and might it be their last.

We think that Mr. Gladstone may prove mistaken on this last point. If peace should be made in America before the planting season of this year, we believe that the supply of cotton and the demand for calico will be such as to ensure to the operatives full employment at full wages. Until peace is made we fear that there can be very little hope of any material improvement in the condition of Lancashire. We do not think that the manufacturers are disposed to put that trust in India and Egypt which is recommended by gentlemen who look at everything commercial and political through Abolitionist spectacles.

Mr. Charles Buxton has written a letter to the *Times*, vindicating his consistency as an Abolitionist in not sympathizing with the Federalists, and in desiring the termination of the war by the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. His arguments are just enough, only they are not new. Everybody knows that the North cares nothing for the negro, and it was hardly worth while to prove over again that the humanitarian pretences of Mr. Lincoln are sheer hypocrisy. Mr. Buxton proceeds:—

Two remarks more, and I will have done. First, it is said that the war must go forward because nature has drawn no line between North and South. Why, if the North offered peace on the basis of the *status quo*, then the two Powers would be divided between Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas, on one side, and Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, on the other.

Now, these States already stand clearly apart. For example, the Carolinian is in every way a Carolinian, though no river or mountain chain separates him from Virginia. He pays taxes in Carolina. He votes in Carolina. He makes and obeys or breaks the laws of Carolina. The rowdy, say of Roxborough, fights his duel, lynches his Abolitionist, commits his murder, and then is tried (unless he is not tried) by a Carolina Court, under Carolina law, and is hung (that is to say, is not hung), as he ought to be, by a Carolina Jack Ketch. The boundary is practically efficient.

We think these sentences prove that Mr. Buxton is still in the darkness of Abolitionist fanaticism. Virginia is Southern by military occupation as well as by character; admitting for a moment that Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri are perhaps debatable ground, no fair or honest mind can pretend, on any ground whatever, that the Old Dominion belongs to the North. Again, Mr. Buxton's remarks on the efficiency of State boundaries are just. But he is absurdly wrong in supposing that lynching an Abolitionist is an ordinary Carolinian sport. Game of that kind is too shy to be often found south of Mason and Dixon's

line; a colder climate is more congenial to its temperament and its courage. Rowdies, too, are peculiar to the North and West; New York, Philadelphia, and New England swarm with them; you may meet them—but they are of Northern importation—in Baltimore, but hardly in the Carolinas. The only indigenous species of Southern rowdy inhabits the steamboats of the Mississippi and the towns on its bank, now in Federal keeping. And finally, when rowdies do commit a murder, Southern justice is only too glad to have an opportunity of hanging the offenders out of the way. The manly philanthropy which breeds garotters does not flourish in the Confederate States.

Sir W. Crofton, late Director of Convict Prisons in Ireland, has delivered a very important speech, calculated to direct into a right channel the agitation which is now going on for a reform of our system of secondary punishments. He points out the important fact that the system which is abused—that of granting tickets-of-leave to criminals, allowing them to be at large before the expiration of their sentence, on condition of good behaviour—has never been carried into effect in England. The truth is even worse than Sir Walter makes it. General Jebb, whom the Government has petted and favoured, while it snubbed and thwarted Sir W. Crofton, has contrived so to conduct our English convict prisons, that criminals are utterly unmanageable during their captivity, do no work, become more brutal and ferocious than before, undergo no deterrent suffering, and are released after two-thirds of their time has expired, unconditionally. They are not even obliged to work out the remainder of their old sentence when convicted of a new crime; and in some cases men sentenced to a long term of penal servitude for a felony have been released and re-convicted several times before the expiration of that term.

The system, of course, has proved a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. In Ireland the same law has been worked by rational and honest officials; the culprit undergoes a real punishment and a real probation, and his release is really conditional, and subjects him to police supervision, of which Sir J. Jebb will not hear in this country, but which is found to answer admirably in Ireland. Sir W. Crofton said, in the first place, to bring about a better state of things, they must, in the treatment of criminals, be more mindful of the deterring effects of punishment, and less careful to maintain the convict in high condition by food. They must, by exercising a discrimination in their system of training, endeavour to reconcile the public to employ the well-intentioned. Secondly, they must have a more minute classification of convicts, detaining the more grave offenders and those under long sentences in a special prison under more rigid discipline. This class was one which at this moment the public were desirous of sending from our shores; but as no colony would receive them, and no new settlement would take them off their hands, it would be best, he argued, to detain them until the expiration of the long sentences passed upon them. Thirdly, they must no longer allow twelve years' penal servitude to be considered a substitute for penal servitude for life. Fourthly, the public should have a safeguard against the conduct of the convict during the period of his sentence, which was now lost, by the enforcing of the conditions of the licence by the police. Fifthly, they must use the necessary appliances to have a system of records of former convictions produced in all cases against old offenders, thus entailing long sentences upon them, and thereby increasing the hazard of a criminal avocation. Sixthly, they must not only so arrange their system of deportation to Western Australia as to send the limited number she could now receive, but they must conduct it so as to increase the absorbing power of the colony.

A memorial in this sense, recommending the honest enforcement of the conditions attached to the ticket-of-leave, and the adoption of the Irish system of prison discipline, has been signed by some eminent authorities at Bristol, and forwarded to Sir G. Grey.

Several of the Bishops have addressed a formal protest to the railway companies against Sunday excursion trains—a proceeding which will not tend to increase the popularity of the Church among the working-class. The dissenters, however, are so much worse than the most bigoted Churchmen in this respect that they can hardly use this incident as a weapon of offence.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The Archbishop of Paris, an Ultramontanist, died on Monday last.

M. Fould's report on the financial condition of France has been printed in the *Moniteur*. There will be a financial deficit for the present year of 35,000,000*f.*, which is caused by the expenses attendant on the Mexican expedition, which is estimated at 83,000,000*f.* for 1862. Alluding to 1863, M. Fould calculates on a surplus of 110,000,000*f.*,

which he estimates will meet the expenses for that year of the Mexican expedition, as well as any unforeseen expenses. The Budget of 1864 will be presented with a diminution of 4,000,000, and M. Fould states that were it not for the extraordinary expenses which weigh upon 1862 and 1863 it would have been possible to re-enter on a normal situation at the beginning of 1864, but which desirable result was only adjourned.

There are reports in Paris of an expected Congress or Conference of the protecting Powers to deliberate on the affairs of Greece.

ITALY.—General Garibaldi has returned to Caprera, still in a weak state, the suppuration from the wound in the ankle still continuing, and reducing his strength. His protracted convalescence may give him time to see clearly and judge calmly the terrible error which has ended so disastrously for himself and so disadvantageously for his country.

The new Ministry promise to make vigorous efforts to put down brigandage in Naples. It is said that transportation on a large scale is to be tried, its deterrent effects being found greater than in this country. The Neapolitans have always been averse to public executions, and fusillades have been already too freely employed.

The appeal of Mr. Bishop has been heard and dismissed. The man has behaved wrongly and foolishly, but he has been badly used, the legality of his condemnation is not quite clear, and M. Farini would do well to pardon him.

The Pope has begun to speak of reforms. This is progress; not long ago the very idea of improvement was pronounced not only damnable, but impracticable. Those who live long enough may possibly see the Roman Government a little ameliorated, but it must always be bad.

GERMANY.—The Prussian Chambers are to meet on the 14th. We shall see whether any change has taken place in their temper. If not, their reassembling bodes no comfort to the King, and no peace to the Ministry.

GREECE.—It appears certain that the popular vote for Prince Alfred has been all but unanimous. The disappointment will be severely felt, nor is it certain that the bribe of the Ionian Islands—even if realized—will be held to make amends. The Greeks have certainly a right to complain that Lord Russell has treated them unfairly.

THE EAST.

JAPAN.—There has been a revolution of some kind in this mysterious empire; but its nature and extent are as yet unknown. The most connected account represents it as a *coup d'état* on the part of the Mikado, or spiritual Prince and nominal Emperor, against the Tycoon, or hereditary Prime Minister and real Sovereign. Another statement says:—

The Government of His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan issued a notification at Jeddo, on the 19th October, to the effect that all Daimios or Princes (excepting only those of the blood Royal, and also those intrusted with the direction of affairs) should respectively withdraw to their Principalities.

Henceforth the Government make it no longer compulsory on them to reside at Jeddo; they will be called up once in three years to the metropolis for the space of 100 days.

The Princes Awarri, Mito, and Kishii, being of the blood Royal, they will reside at Jeddo by turns of one year each, one remaining while the other two are permitted to withdraw to their ancestral territories.

A further notification has been issued imposing sumptuary restrictions, and recommending economy both in clothing and living to the people of Japan, high and low.

A brother of the late Tycoon has been appointed Prince Regent since the demise of the late Emperor up to the present crisis. He belonged to the priesthood, but owing to his high consanguinity, coupled with his great talents, he has been summoned to this important post.

N.B. It is impossible to assign the true motives for such sudden and radical changes, but it does appear as though the Government of the Tycoon was much stronger than has hitherto been conceded. It is thought possible that greater liberality to foreigners may follow these events, and that a variety of restrictions hitherto imposed upon native traders may be gradually removed.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 31. 1862.

Our market closed for the Christmas holidays with an upward tendency. Fair Dhollerahs being worth 17½, and Middling Orleans 25d.

On Friday and Saturday, although the market was reported closed, a business of a few thousand bales was done at firm prices.

On Monday we opened with a very strong feeling; the trade and speculators both bought freely, and the sales reached 20,000 bales at ¼ to ½ advance and Fair Dhollerahs touched 18d.

On Tuesday the tone was more subdued, and a general indisposition was shown to operate until the declaration of the actual stock on hand to be made on the following day; the sales fell to 5000 bales at slightly easier prices.

To-day our market has received a shock from the result of stock-taking; the amount on hand turns out to be 100,000 bales over the estimate, of which 50,000 are American, this

great excess arising, no doubt, chiefly from resales of spinners' cotton.

The effect has been to reduce business to a very narrow compass, and prices are in some cases ½d. lower. We quote Middling Orleans 24½d., and Fair Dhollerahs 17½d. to 17¾d.

A heavy import during the past week has swelled our stock to a larger amount than it has attained since the month of April last; it verges on 400,000 bales, and has now reached its maximum; from this time it must continuously decline, until reduced to a very low ebb in May or June next, when the new East India crop begins to arrive.

In America, interest has lately centred around the battle-field of Fredericksburg, where the Federals have again sustained a disastrous defeat. Its effect will be likely to end the winter campaign in Virginia, and force the Army of the Potomac into winter-quarters. Northern people, meanwhile, will base their hopes upon Banks's expedition, which seems to be destined for Western waters; and the cry "On to Vicksburg" will, ere long, supplant the "on to Richmond" of the past twelve months.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday December 30.

The demand for yarn and cloth during the past week has, been comparatively good, at gradually hardening prices, induced by the firmness exhibited in the Liverpool market.

Yarns from No. 32s. to 60s. Twist and pincops suitable for the home trade, have been enquired for, and an advance of about 1d. per lb. has been obtained for them.

Export yarns have also been sought after, but the firmness displayed by holders has rather tended to check business, still a moderate amount of transactions has taken place in water twist, warps, and doubled yarns at extreme rates.

Cloth is in better request at higher prices, both for the home trade and for shipping. The home houses having taken largely of shirtings for dyeing purposes, also printers and domestics.

For export the demand is more healthy than formerly, as a greater range of sorts are being picked up by shippers.

To-day our market has been quiet, as far as amount of business effected is concerned.

In yarns the disposition shown by buyers to operate, was checked by spinners asking an advance of from 1d. to 3d. per lb. on Friday's rates, this with the small sales in Liverpool of 5,000 bales, brought things to a stop for the day.

Cloth has also been affected by the same causes, and very little business has transpired.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

By a schooner that has successfully run the blockade from Wilmington, North Carolina, with a cargo of cotton, turpentine, and resin, for one of the West India Islands, we have files of Southern papers to the 24th of November.

Hon. William Ballard Preston, senator from Virginia, in the Confederate Congress, and one of the most highly respected men of that State, died on the 16th of November, at his residence in Montgomery county, Virginia.

Severe frosts on the nights of the 22nd and 23rd of November, had effectually destroyed the last vestiges of yellow fever at Wilmington, and rendered the city safe for visitors from the country.

No fears of an attack seemed to be entertained at the date of our advices, and the forts on the Cape Fear River are reported to be in an effective state of defence against a formidable force. Brigadier-General W. H. C. Whiting had been appointed to the command of the Wilmington District.

The schooner Harkaway, Captain Sabistan, with 540 sacks of salt, had run the blockade into Wilmington on the night of the 23rd. The steamer Kate, on the 22nd, bound from Nassau to the same port, ran upon some obstructions near Smithville, and partially sank. A Confederate guard was placed on board, the cargo secured, and on the 24th the extent of the damage was not known, but not believed to be very serious. According to the *Charleston Courier* twelve blockading vessels, among them the frigate *Susquehanna*, were watching the entrances to Charleston harbour on the night of the 21st, more than usual activity and signalling being observable on that night.

A telegram from Richmond dated the 20th states:—

General Joseph E. Johnson has been assigned to the command of the Western Department, composed of East and Middle Tennessee and the army of the Mississippi, which have been consolidated. Johnson's health is now fully restored.

About the position of the armies in the West a telegram of the same date from Mobile reads as follows:—

Mobile, November 20.

A letter in the *Advertiser and Register*, dated Abbeville, 15th, says:—The army has been on the *qui vive* for a week past, anticipating an attack from the enemy. To-day information was received that the Federals have retired some distance. From their movements, it is difficult to conjecture whether they meditate an attack upon Pemberton's army or not. It is

certain they have advanced their forces from Jackson, Bolivar, and a portion from Corinth, to Lagrange and Grand Junction. At the latter place General Grant has established his headquarters. Our army occupy a position of great natural strength, are well fortified, and have been manifesting great impatience to advance upon the invading force. It is not thought probable that the enemy will hazard an engagement.

Despatches from Augusta, Georgia, give but little additional details of the repulse of the Federal gunboats, already announced through Northern sources, at Fort McAllister, near Genesis Point, on the Ogeechee River, near Savannah. The Southern accounts state that the fort sustained no injury, and that the loss of the Confederates was none killed, and only three slightly wounded.

The utmost confidence appeared to have prevailed at the date of our advices about the condition of affairs at Fredericksburg. Some doubt was entertained whether the enemy were really bent upon an attack at that point, but the preponderance of opinion inclined to the belief that the demonstration at Port Royal, eighteen miles below that city, was a mere feint. The army of General Lee was in excellent health and spirits and buoyant with confidence in a speedy and brilliant victory.

In regard to the supply of sugar, the *Mobile Register* obtains the most satisfactory assurances from its correspondents at Alexandria, Louisiana. It appears that the Federals are unable to cut off the communication with Western Louisiana, unless they succeed first in forcing the defences of the Red River; and this seems to have been the object of the gunboat expedition, of the complete failure and return of which we were last week informed by the telegraph. The *Register's* correspondent says:—

The steam-mills in Alexandria are in full blast, and turning out quantities of the best sugar that has been made for years. Port Hudson and Viessburg being securely held by the Confederate Government, it is believed that the Parish of Rapides can supply its armies with sugar, molasses, and a large quantity of corn, while Texas can furnish all the beef they require. In this connection the defences of Red River are of great importance. The planters are animated by the most patriotic spirit, and are ready to do all the work needed on fortifications without cost to the Government. Let the latter do its part with ordnance and the proper officers, and we will save that garden spot of the Southern Confederacy from the desolating clutches of the invader.

The next session of the Confederate Congress was to commence on the second Monday in January.

The *Richmond Examiner* of the 20th announces that an absence of vouchers for the sum of upwards of \$1,500,000 has been discovered in the Medical Purveyor's Department. An official investigation, now progressing, will, it is believed, not reveal any criminality but informality and looseness, in the administration of the affairs of the Medical Purveyor's Department.

The directors of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad have declared a dividend of 11 per cent. on its capital stock, payable on and after the 1st of January. The directors of the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad have declared a dividend of 10 per cent. payable on and after the 22nd of November.

The Senate of the House of Commons of North Carolina met on the 17th inst., at Raleigh. We give elsewhere *in extenso* the Message of the Governor, which, among other points of interest, affords much information on the means by which the South has succeeded to so great an extent in replacing the supplies cut off by the blockade. The Message, and also the general tone of our exchanges evince a bitter, and not perhaps, according to European ideas, altogether justifiable feeling against those who are charged with having speculated upon the wants and necessities of the people during the war. Indeed, a resolution has been passed in the "House of Commons," which is the style of the popular branch of the North Carolina Legislature, "instructing an inquiry by the Judiciary Committee into the expediency of fixing a scale of prices for articles of prime necessity." By far the most interesting items in our Southern exchanges are those relating to the progress of the manufacturing industry, and the ingenuity with which substitutes are discovered for those articles which cannot be supplied.

From the *Mobile Register* we learn that the salt works in Clark County, Alabama, under the direction of the State authorities, are now turning out 1,000 bushels per day.

The Rockfish Manufacturing Company, in North Carolina, commended by the Governor in his Message, announces through the *Wilmington Journal* that having decided to comply with the terms of the Exemption Act passed by the Congress of the Confederate States, will sell their goods to merchants in North Carolina on the same terms as they furnish the State, on condition that the parties purchasing will enter into obligation to sell the same by the piece to consumers at a profit not exceeding five cents per yard. It is intended to confine their sales to one firm in each town.

Cards for the carding of cotton and wool, indispensable to the thrifty housewives who ply their handlooms while father, husband, and son are off to the wars, had at one time risen to fabulous prices. Although of exceedingly simple manufacture, the deficiency in steel wire, which enters mainly into their construction, had raised the retail price of these homely utensils from a few shillings to £5. A Georgia paper informs us that "Messrs. Divine, Jones, and Lee, who have established the manufactory of cards at Cartersville, Georgia, and who make thirty pairs a day, give one pair for five hard tanned sheep skins. They want the skins for making the cards. Any one can tell what is meant by 'hard tanned' by looking at the leather in which the card teeth are set in any pair of cards."

Soap and candles of home manufacture can be procured by those who are able to pay the war prices. To those who are not a correspondent of the *Savannah Republican* addresses the following "Practical Hints:—

Our fathers used little artificial lights. They preferred the cheap light of day. For this reason they went early to bed, and were all the more healthy and more wealthy for their practice. The chief light of their houses, like that of the houses of the nobility of England a few centuries back was a ruddy glare from the hearthstone.

1. *Primitive Lights.*—The earliest artificial illuminators of which we have any record, were lamps. These, at first, consisted of nothing more than a cup of oil or grease, with a wick lying against its side. Its shape was soon improved in convenience and elegance.

2. *A Hastily Expedient Light.*—The writer was one of a family party who were belated in the mountains of Georgia, and compelled to seek shelter with a family who owned neither lamp nor candle. Our ingenious hostess, however, devised a light for the table. It was by means of a slice of fat bacon (do not laugh, reader, I tell the simple truth). This slice was spread in the bottom of a saucer, and on this was laid some candle wick, the burning end of which was kept elevated by being passed through a tailor's thimble.

3. *Rush Lights.*—Among the poor of Europe a very cheap and easily made light is constructed of the ordinary bulrush stripped of its skin, except enough to hold the internal path together, and then saturated with suet or wax.

4. *Confederate Candle.*—This rivals the rush light in simplicity, and far exceeds it in serviceableness. To make it, melt together a pound of beeswax and a quarter of a pound of resin, or of turpentine fresh from the tree. Prepare a wick thirty or forty yards long, made up of three threads of loosely spun cotton. Saturate this well with the mixture, and draw it through your fingers to press it closely together, and to keep the size even. Repeat the process until the candle attains the size of a straw or quill, then wrap around a bottle, or into a ball with a flat bottom. Six inches of this candle elevated above the rest will burn for fifteen or twenty minutes, and give a very pretty light, and forty yards have sufficed a small family a summer for all the usual purposes of the bedchamber.

5. *Lard Taper.*—Equal to our mountain friend's bacon light in cheapness, and yet more pleasantly available for the necessities of the sick room, is a light made up of a saucer half full of lard, and a little wisp of spongy paper. The paper, twisted so as to form a short pointed wick with a broad base—say two thirds of an inch high, an inch broad—is set in the midst of the lard, and by the heat it generates, aided by the shelving sides of the saucer, keeps itself supplied with fuel until the lard is all consumed. The paper can be shaped on the point of one's finger, and the burning end twisted quite small. It should rest on the bottom, and the vessel should be shallow—a saucer, not a cup.

6. *Lard Lamps.*—At the present prices of illuminating material, the most economical by far for those who live in the interior, and far from gas, is lard. This requires a lamp whose wick tubes are of thick metal, for the purpose of conveying the heat of the flame into the midst of the lard, and keeping it melted around the wick. The lard must be melted when the lamp is lighted, or it will not burn well. The wick should be of several thicknesses of spongy cloth.

7. *Lard Oil.*—When combined with one-fifth part spirits of turpentine, will burn in an ordinary lamp and afford a beautiful light. To obtain the oil, enclose lard in a strong, close, canvas bag, and subject to gradually increased pressure. The indurated mass left in the bag is not injured for culinary purposes.

8. *Candles of Tallow and Prickly Pear.*—Whoever can command tallow for candles will greatly improve them in firmness and in illuminating power, by combining with it a few leaves of the prickly pear, in the proportion of about one part by weight of the last, to four or five of the first. The leaves should be kept in the heated tallow until all commotion ceases, and until the tallow itself reaches the boiling point. Of course, the heated mixture will need straining. It is said by those who profess to know, that the longer tallow is boiled the whiter it becomes in case it is not burned; but to avoid burning, the vessel containing the tallow should be heated in a sand bath (another vessel partly filled with sand) and not set immediately on the fire.

9. *Wax Candles.*—Beeswax gives a light almost equal to sperm. It may be moulded like the tallow candles, or it may be rolled by enveloping the wick in a thin stratum of wax spread on a board, and afterwards smoothed evenly by rolling between two boards. The combination of wax and tallow need not be suggested.

10. *Wax and Resin.* mixed in equal proportions, affords an excellent light, though liable to smoke unless supplied with a suitable sized wick.

11. *Myrtle Wax.* is obtained by boiling the berries of the swamp myrtle, on which is to be seen a greenish-white cover. The myrtle is found abundantly in all our seaboard counties, and has been seen by the writer as far inland as Macon and Forsyth. Its favourite locality is swampy though not wet ground. The berries should be boiled in a bag, and the clarified wax, which is of a pretty green colour, mixed more or less largely with tallow.

12. The value of our ordinary pine tree as an illuminator remains yet to be developed. Camphine is nothing more than the highly volatile spirits of turpentine; it is that part of the spirit which rises from the still after heating the virgin gum. That which comes after is more or less mixed with the heavier resin. Burning fluid is made by mixing camphine (or even the purer varieties of spirits of turpentine) with four or more times its bulk of alcohol. The high price of alcohol has

arrested the manufacture of burning fluid; but the camphine remains as abundant as ever in the pine forests of the whole South, and awaits only the magic touch of some one who will devise a plan for rendering it explosive, to furnish the country with one of the best and cheapest lights. Will not somebody try? Rosin is the inspissated juice of the gum remaining in the still after the volatile part, or spirit, has been separated by heat. It has resisted all efforts hitherto made to mould it into candles or to use it in lamps being too hard for one and too soft for the other; and, moreover, it burns with a dense and unpleasant smoke. But the smoke may be consumed by attaching a glass chimney with a strong draught, when a flame is produced almost as brilliant as that of kerosene, and no doubt a suitable lamp for it can be constructed. I venture the prediction that it is yet to be used as an illuminator, in other ways than at the gas-works.

With one more characteristic extract we must conclude for this week our gleanings from the Southern press. One of our exchanges says:—

The old negro drummer, Jordan, of historic fame as a drummer at the battle of New Orleans, in conformity with the order of Beast Butler, handed in a complete list of his property for confiscation by the Lincoln Government, and declared himself "an enemy of the United States."

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, December 30.

In one of his most splendid orations Cicero drew with even more than his usual power, a forcible picture of the all absorbing power of war, and pointed out that arts, eloquence, and even the majesty of law, sank into insignificance amid the din of arms. What was true then is true now. How can I hope to interest your readers with a sketch of the empty gossip at Paris, with a description of toys, of etrennes and other falsities, at a time when their every thought carries them across the Atlantic—when that gloomy battle field on the banks of the Rappahannock, with its mounds of slain, and lugubrious heaps of wounded must be present to their mind—when the distracting thought that a friend, a brother, a son, a husband may be among the victims of that last fearful butchery. The touching lines of Tennyson will have occurred with painful force to more than one of your readers when the news first came of that battle on the 13th, and the recollection flitted across their mind of the gay scenes in which they may have been mixing at the very moment when one dear to them was sent to his last account,—

O father wheresoe'er thou be,
Who pledgedst now thy gallant son,
A shot ere half thy draught be done
Hath still'd the life that beat from thee.

Well wishers to the Southern cause, and deeply convinced of its justice, as are nine-tenths of Englishmen in and out of England, the satisfaction they must feel at this last Southern victory is diminished by the reflection that this last scene in the bloody tragedy might have been avoided, had our Government joined France in her late offer of mediation between the contending parties. But whatever may be the feeling in England, what must be that in the Federal States, when they acquire the conviction that the late battle was but the last desperate effort of the Republican faction, to regain by means of a battle, (which even had they gained, it would not have altered the relative position of North and South) the political influence and prestige of which the triumph of the Democratic party in the elections has deprived them. The political character of the late battle is very clearly pointed out by an excellent letter from New York, in the *Moniteur*, which shows that the Cabinet at Washington deliberately resolved to risk the destruction of their only army worthy of the name, in the hope of regaining popularity by means of a victory, and of silencing the growing aspirations for peace, by the resentment and mortification of a defeat. It is satisfactory to think that they have overshot the mark. Although you will have received, in all probability, a detailed account of the discomfiture of Burnside, nevertheless, I make no apology for transcribing *in extenso*, the able letter in the *Moniteur*, as besides its important political revelations, it sets forth with admirable lucidity, the utter incompetency of Northern generals. The letter is dated the 13th inst., and runs thus:—

Our provisions that in crossing the Rappahannock the Army of the Potomac was rushing to its destruction, have been realized; the river has been crossed, the battle has been fought, and is perhaps raging at the very time we are now writing. But with all its discretion, the telegraph is unable to conceal the whole truth—victory deserts the Federal arms. The extent of the disaster remains to be ascertained. Details are still wanting, and what is more, we cannot expect them for some time, as the telegraphic wire passes through the War Office at Washington. But there are some questions of the highest importance which suggest themselves even at the present stage of our information, and which are calculated to bring out some of the important features in the military drama which is just now being played out. These questions are in everybody's mouth at New York.

How comes it, then, that this disaster, foreseen from a distance by men who, reduced to follow the march of the army on the map in their study, have but random information and incomplete details, should not have been detected,

touching by the finger, avoided by generals and officers used to warfare, accustomed to the enemy's manœuvres, and who had but to turn their glasses in the direction of Fredericksburg and its heights to measure the difficulties they had to contend with? A great many people complain at New York and other cities of the Union of the inferiority of Northern generals when compared with their adversaries. It is certain that the events of the war have afforded grounds for those reprobations. The Southern general Lee has given proofs of his remarkable talents for manœuvring, of his being able to handle 100,000 men; he has shown himself a skilful strategist, possessing that rapid *coup d'œil* necessary to vary and dispose his resources so as to meet the requirements of the war. On the other hand, "Stonewell" Jackson has shown himself a bold and safe commander, well adapted to carry out the boldest undertaking, and able to execute at the head of large divisions perilous but decisive movements.

It would, however, be unfair to pretend that in the Federal staff they have not found adversaries occasionally (*parfois*) worthy of their steel. The Army of the Potomac in particular numbers in its ranks divisional commanders who have given unquestionable proof of talent in the battle-field. Hooker, Sigel, Franklin, Burnside himself, are officers who may score more than one successful action, and who, in partial engagements, have roughly taught the Southerners that they were not to be trifled with. How is it, once more, that so many experienced eyes should not have detected the insurmountable obstacle against which the Army of the Potomac was about to dash itself to pieces? How many warning signs there were that should have opened their eyes. The past was full of lessons of sanguinary eloquence. The Southern generals have seldom varied their tactics. To attract their enemies as far as possible from their basis of operations, to weary them by protracted watching, to exhaust them by broken up-roads, scanty provisions, and other difficulties, which, on the contrary, diminished for them as they fell back on their own roadways, and *places d'armes*, and then at the last moment to engage a battle with every chance in their favour, such has been the unvarying system of the Confederate leaders. That plan has been strictly adhered to in the present campaign from the day when McClellan, driven forward by importunities from Washington, assumed an offensive attitude. General Lee, whose bivouac stood almost at the gates of the capital, and had, throughout the latter part of the autumn, stationed his head-quarters, his depots, and his heavy guns at Winchester, in Virginia,—that is to say, barely twenty miles from the outskirts of Washington, General Lee suddenly vanished and slowly retired without offering any resistance before the enemy's advance. McClellan by no means concealed from himself that this retrograde movement was merely a repetition of the system which the Confederates had already found answer so well—to fight him only on their own ground. He, who had seen the smoke of Richmond fires from his tent, knew what deceptions such a retreat concealed. Therefore he only advanced step by step and reluctantly as it were, and that was the most serious charge against him when he was removed from his command.

On this side of the Atlantic, the week has passed off with the most provoking tranquillity. The Greek question continues unsettled, but does not seem to excite the slightest interest. The Greeks have voted for Prince Alfred with praiseworthy unanimity, and like the Irish lover will take no denial. The cession of the Ionian Islands continues one of the puzzles of the day. Under the same head is to be included M. Fould's financial report, the only clear feature of which is, that the accounts for 1862, show an excess of thirty-five millions of francs of expenditure over receipts, but which has been received with satisfaction in so much that it declares that no loan will be necessary.

The Ultramontane party has lost one of its champions (great, chiefly, by his *vis inertiae*) the Archbishop of Paris. He died full of honours but not of years, having only just completed his 67th year. The appointment of his successor will, it is thought, afford a clue to the Imperial policy. There are many candidates in the field, the chief being Cardinal de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, who is not only more Ultramontane than the Pope himself, but also a Legitimist, and M. Landriot, Bishop of La Rochelle, who supports the "liberties of the Gallican Church" against Papal encroachments. The late Monseigneur Morlat is the first Archbishop of Paris who has died a natural death since 1848. In that year Monseigneur Affie was killed by a chance shot at the barricades of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and his successor, Monseigneur Sibour, was murdered at the altar by a fanatical priest.

The whole of the Paris population is, however, just now absorbed by the *jour de l'an*, and giving and receiving *etrennes* is the order of the day. The custom is as old as the Romans, but the fashion is reversed. Then inferiors used to propitiate their patrons by presents, now employers and patrons are expected to make themselves agreeable to their subordinates, and however they may grudge it, inexorable custom leaves them no choice.

How many must envy Cardinal Dubois, who, before the levelling principles of '89, reduced France to an uniform standard of equality was able to reply to his butler, who applied for his New-Year's perquisites, "Monsieur, je vous donne tout ce que vous m'avez volé dans l'année." But even in these days those who had sufficient strength of mind to resist the tribute were not popular, as is shown by an epitaph on a notorious miser, under the reign of Louis XV.:—

Ci-git dessoussé marbre blanc
Le plus avare homme de Rennes
Qui trepassa le dernier jour de l'an
De peur de donner des etrennes.

There is no news from Italy—from Germany vague reports of a coolness between Prussia and Austria which displays itself in rather warm diplomatic notes—Denmark continues to be favoured with bullying despatches by England, and according to the latest accounts has been suffering from a similar infliction on the part of Russia.

The next great event anticipated is the speech which the Emperor may possibly make to the Corps Diplomatique on Thursday, and should all then pass off quietly, nothing startling is expected until the meeting of the French Chambers, when the Emperor will, as usual, deliver *urbis et orbi* a speech, the world will eagerly scan to discover, assurances that will satisfy the general craving for peace.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

The following is General Lee's report of the battle of Fredericksburg:—

Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia,
December 14.

The Honourable Secretary of War, Richmond, Va:—
Sir,—On the night of the 10th instant the enemy commenced to throw three bridges over the Rappahannock, two at Fredericksburg, and the third about a mile and a quarter below, near the mouth of the Deep Run. The plain on which Fredericksburg stands is so completely commanded by the hills of Stafford, in possession of the enemy, that no effectual opposition could be offered to the construction of the bridges or the passage of the river without exposing our troops to the destructive fire of his numerous batteries. Positions were therefore selected to oppose his advance after crossing. The narrowness of the Rappahannock, its winding course and deep bed, afforded opportunity for the construction of bridges at points beyond the reach of our artillery, and the banks had to be watched by skirmishers. The latter, sheltering themselves behind the houses, drove back the working parties of the enemy at the bridges opposite the city; but at the lowest point of crossing, where no shelter could be had, our sharpshooters were themselves driven off, and the completion of the bridge was effected about noon on the 11th.

In the afternoon of that day the enemy's batteries opened upon the city, and by dark had so demolished the houses on the river bank as to deprive our skirmishers of shelter, and, under cover of his guns, he effected a lodgment in the town. The troops which had so gallantly held their position in the city under the severe cannonade during the day, resisting the advance of the enemy at every step, were withdrawn during the night, as were also those who, with equal tenacity, had maintained their post at the lowest bridge.

Under cover of darkness and a dense fog, on the 12th, a large force passed the river and took position on the right bank, protected by their heavy guns on the left.

On the morning of the 13th, his arrangements for attack being completed about 9 o'clock, the movement veiled by a fog, he advanced boldly in large force against our right wing, General Jackson's corps occupied the right of our line, which rested on the railroad; General Longstreet's the left, extending along the heights to the Rappahannock, above Fredericksburg; General Stuart, with two brigades of cavalry, was posted in the extensive plain on our extreme right. As soon as the advance of the enemy was discovered through the fog, General Stuart, with his accustomed promptness, moved up a section of his horse artillery, which opened with effect upon his flank, and drew upon the gallant Pelham a heavy fire, which he sustained unflinchingly for about two hours.

In the meantime the enemy was fiercely encountered by General A. P. Hill's division, forming General Jackson's right, and after an obstinate combat repulsed. During this attack, which was protracted and hotly contested, two of General Hill's brigades were driven back upon our second line. General Early, with part of his division, being ordered to his support, drove the enemy back from the point of woods he had seized and pursued him into the plain until arrested by his artillery.

The right of the enemy's column, extending beyond Hill's front, encountered the right of General Hood, of Longstreet's corps. The enemy took possession of a small copse in front of Hood, but were quickly dispossessed and repulsed with loss.

During the attack on our right the enemy was crossing troops over his bridges at Fredericksburg, and massing them in front of Longstreet's line. Soon after his repulse on our right he commenced a series of attacks on our left, with a view of obtaining possession of the heights immediately overlooking the town. These repeated attacks were repulsed in gallant style by the Washington Artillery, under Colonel Walton and a portion of McLaws' division, which occupied these heights.

The last assault was made after dark, when Colonel Alexander's battalion had relieved the Washington Artillery, whose ammunition had been exhausted, and ended the contest for the day.

The enemy was supported in his attacks by the fire of strong batteries of artillery on the right bank of the river, as well as by the numerous heavy batteries on the Stafford heights.

Our loss during the operations, since the movements of the enemy began, amounts to about 1800 killed and wounded. Among the former I regret to report the death of a patriotic soldier and statesman, Brigadier General Thomas R. R. Cobb, who fell upon our left; and among the latter that brave soldier and accomplished gentleman, Brigadier General M. Gregg, who was very seriously, and, it is feared, mortally wounded during the attack on our right.

The enemy to-day has been apparently burying his dead. His troops are visible in their first position in line of battle, but, with the exception of some desultory cannonading and firing between skirmishers, he has not attempted to renew the attack.

About 550 prisoners were taken during the engagement, but the full extent of his loss is unknown.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General in Command.

MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR ZEBULON B. VANCE, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The Honourable, the General Assembly:—

Certainly, a Legislature has never been convened in the State of North Carolina to protect greater interests or meet greater responsibilities.

Eighteen months ago, when the State entered into the war which is now waging, all was life and buoyancy and excitement. The novelty of our undertaking, and the enthusiasm of our people in support of our cause, not only rendered the course of the Legislature and the Executive easy, but actually preceded and marked it out. But the long continuance of the contest, the slaughter of our soldiers, the occupation of our territory by the enemy, the destruction of our homes, and the blockaded condition of our coast, have reduced us to straits, and given rise to a class of evils, in the presence of which ephemeral patriotism must perish, and the tinsel enthusiasm of novelty give place to that stern and determined devotion to our cause which alone can sustain a revolution.

It now becomes the duty of you, the General Assembly, to set an example to your constituents of firmness, prudence, determination, and energy; to correct the errors of the past, to provide for the exigencies of the future, and to use well and wisely the power vested in your body by the Constitution, for the protection of our rights and liberties.

The subject of first importance is the prosecution of the war, and the means of defending our State against the invasion of the enemy. The Legislature, by several acts in 1861, provided that, in case the Confederate Government should fail or neglect to provide for the defence of North Carolina, the Governor should be authorized to raise a certain number of troops for that purpose, and made appropriations of money for their support. Impressed with the defenceless condition of our eastern counties when I came into office, I had fully determined to avail myself of this authority, and would have proceeded at once to do so, but for the intervention of insurmountable difficulties. The principal of these was the Conscrip Law passed by the Confederate Congress subsequent to the passage of the several acts referred to. By this law, as extended in its provisions a short time before the adjournment of Congress, all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years became liable to enrolment as soldiers of the Confederate States. To raise an adequate force for State defence from our citizens beyond the age of forty-five, and submit to this vast drain besides, I thought entirely impracticable. I hoped, too, that by aiding and assisting in the execution of the conscription law, I would be effectually providing for State defence. This reasonable hope has, I regret to say, been disappointed; and although North Carolina has a greater extent of sea-coast than any other State she has fewer troops given her for its defence.

It is not necessary, gentlemen, that I should call your attention to the abounding wealth of this threatened section of our State—filled with everything necessary for the comfort of our army and our people—or to the suffering and ruin of its loyal, patriotic inhabitants. You are sufficiently informed in regard thereto. It is for you, therefore, to say whether you will suffer our defences, as heretofore, to remain exclusively in the hands of the Confederate authorities, or take steps to carry out the will of the last Legislature, and raise troops enough on State authority to strengthen the weak hand of the general Government on our coast.

I unhesitatingly recommend the raising of at least ten regiments of reserves, to be accepted for three or four months, and dismissed in time to pitch their crops in the spring.

This force, auxiliary to the Confederate troops, would probably be able to prevent an advance of the enemy into the interior, and while subsisting on the abundant supplies in our eastern counties could benefit the whole State by aiding in withdrawing vast quantities of provisions from exposed points.

Inasmuch as it may become necessary for slave labour to be employed on State defences, and my authority to force such labour may be questioned by some, I would respectfully recommend the propriety of the passing of an act whereby such authority may be vested in me in case such urgent necessity shall arise as will justify it.

Next to the defence of the State from the enemy in importance, is the defence of our people against extortion and starvation. Notwithstanding the failure of the crops in the western part of the State, it is believed that there is within our borders an abundance of grain for the supply of our people, and a surplus for the use of the army. The lands heretofore devoted to cotton and tobacco have been planted in corn very generally, and the crop of this essential product is perhaps larger by many hundred thousand bushels than has ever been known. When this is considered, together with the immense crop of peas, potatoes, fruit, &c., there would seem to be little danger of any actual suffering among our people—nor would there be could it all be properly distributed and at reasonable prices. But the demon of speculation and extortion seems to have seized upon nearly all sorts and conditions of men, and all the necessities of life are fast getting beyond the reach of the poor.

Flour, which if properly left to the laws of supply and demand could not have risen to more than double peace rates, can now be used only by the rich.

Everything has a tendency upward in the same proportion—leather, woollen cloth, and cotton goods have been made the especial means of extortion. As if we were not sufficiently afflicted with the base and avaricious in our own midst, speculators from distant States swarm in the land, offering fabulous prices for everything they can buy. And in many instances, taking advantage of the patriotism of our people, they represent themselves as agents of the Government, purchasing for the army—thus obtaining what they could not otherwise do. The supply of salt will, I hope, be sufficient, but this subject too needs legislative action. Dr. Worth, the salt commissioner appointed by the Convention, has been industriously at work; but he has not produced a great quantity, owing to the difficulties which he has mentioned in his reports. His

I am also convinced that whilst the soldier in the field should have his property protected from seizure under execution, there exists no valid reason why, in the great plenteousness of money, and the high prices of property, any man should desire to be excused from paying his debts. I think it probable that it might also exert a favourable influence in prices if men were compelled to part with their surplus property to satisfy their creditors.

In this connection permit me to respectfully recommend that our present circuits be re-arranged, adding at least one additional circuit and another Judge thereof. The necessity for this change will be apparent from the following considerations:—

Some of the circuits embrace an extended area of territory with a large amount of business. The seventh circuit comprises eighteen counties, others more than twelve, and to some, two weeks are allotted. According to existing statutes, the Judges are allowed an annual salary of \$1950, with the proviso "that in all cases where a Circuit of the Superior Courts shall exceed twelve weeks the Judges holding the said courts at any regular term shall be entitled to a compensation of \$90 for the court of each county exceeding twelve held by them, to be paid by the public treasurer on the first days of January and July, in addition to their salary aforesaid, and each week in which a court shall be held shall be considered a term." Special terms of the Superior Courts are also held and for this service a compensation of \$90 given, to be paid by the county in which the court is held. Upon examination it will be found that the amounts thus paid for the additional and extra courts exceed the salary of a single Judge.

The fourth section of the 102nd chapter of the Revised Code provides that "every Judge shall produce a certificate of the Clerk of each county of his having held the court of the county according to law; and for every such certificate omitted to be produced, there shall be a deduction from his salary of \$100. Portions of certain circuits are occupied by the enemy, and it is impossible for the Judges to procure the required certificates. It may be necessary, therefore, to modify this provision to have effect only pending the war.

The Hon. Thomas Ruffin, jr., residing in the fourth judicial circuit, having resigned his place as one of the Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, my immediate predecessor with the advice of the Council of State, filled said vacancy by granting a temporary commission to the Hon. John Kerr, of Caswell, which will expire at the end of your present session. It is your duty to fill this vacancy permanently.

The office of Attorney-General has been also vacant by the former incumbent, Hon. W. A. Jenkins, entering the army and accepting an office under the Confederate States. There are also solicitors to be elected for the several of the circuits.

There are confined in Salisbury by the Confederate authorities a number of citizens of North Carolina, arrested for alleged political offences. How long they are to remain incarcerated no one can say but those who apprehended them. What their guilt really consists in I do not know, but this much it becomes both you and me to know, in view of the oaths we take upon entering into office, that they were not arrested by lawful process; as citizens of North Carolina, they are entitled under the Constitution to a speedy trial by a jury of their peers, and to be confronted with their accusers. I have laid their cases before his Excellency the President of the Confederate States, and when his reply is received you will be informed thereof. Should there exist any grave State reasons why they are denied a trial, it is due, at least, that we should be informed of them. I have not seen an official copy of the act, but learn from the newspapers that Congress has conferred upon the President the power to suspend the Writ of Habeas corpus in all cases of arrests made by Confederate authority. If this be once admitted, no man is safe from the power of one individual. He could at pleasure seize any citizen of the State with or without excuse, throw him into prison, and permit him to languish there without relief—a power that I am unwilling to see entrusted to any living man. To submit to its exercise would, in my opinion, be establishing a precedent dangerous and pernicious in the extreme. Among a people so united and faithful to their cause as ours, where disloyalty is the rare and solitary exception to the general rule, I can see but little good, but a vast tide of inflowing evil, from these inordinate stretches of military power which are fast disgracing us equally with our Northern enemies. A free Republic that must needs cast off its freedom in every time of trouble will soon cast it off for ever. Freedom cannot be embraced to-day and spurned to-morrow; a steadfast and constant worship can alone secure her countless blessings. Her chosen instruments—the Constitution and the laws—were made the sure covenant of her everlasting residence among us; our delight in time of peace and prosperity, and our guide and shield in the day of trouble and calamity. Now, if ever, is the time when we should abide strictly by their stern decrees, and walk uprightly in the narrow path they have marked out for our footsteps. We should least of all forsake the helm and the compass when the vessel is driven by the tempest, and clouds and darkness obscure the way.

Deeply impressed as I have been with the importance of this subject, I have been anxious at the same time to avoid any unnecessary conflict with the Confederate authorities. I have, therefore, waited patiently for your assembling, confident that you would take proper steps to maintain the laws and preserve the rights of our people.

It becomes my duty, also, to call your attention to the subject of officer of our troops in the field—some conflict of opinion existing in regard thereto.

The right of the State authorities to commission the officers of the regiments originally raised for the war is not doubted. It is conceded by the Act of Congress of April 16th, 1862, known as the Conscription Law. But the Confederate authorities claim the right to commission the regiments of twelve months' men, continued in service by this law, and also all regiments whatsoever raised since it went into operation. And in both cases they have claimed to commission and appoint all regimental staff officers, even when they conceded to the Executive of the State the appointment of the officers of the line. Again, while appointing and commissioning field officers, the Secretary of War has declined to appoint the company officers. To remedy, if possible, this confusion and to avoid conflict, I called in person to see the President, who promised to take the opinion of his Attorney-General on the subject at length. I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing that opinion, and now lay the matter before you, and recommend you to take such steps as will preserve the rights and honour of the State. It may well be doubted if the officer of the whole of our troops does not belong exclusively to State authority, as by strict reference to the Constitution they may be found to be in point of law, militia. It is mortifying to find entire brigades of North Carolina soldiers in the field commanded by strangers, and, in many cases, our own brave and war-worn colonels are made to give place to colonels from distant States, who are

promoted to the command of North Carolina troops over their heads to vacant Brigadierships. Some of these promotions are charged to North Carolina, which enables the authorities to say that we have had so many appointments, when in fact we have not, the appointees not being citizens of our State. This is fast breaking down the pride and patience of our officers, many of whom have reported to me their intention to resign, alleging that the road to honourable promotion is almost closed to our citizens. This is not right, and forms a just cause of complaint both in our army and with our people at home. We are willing that our soldiers should follow any general capable of leading them, but we contend that as a matter of sheer justice our soldiers are entitled to receive their fair proportion of the honours won by their gallantry and endurance.

I would also recommend that the existing prohibition against the distillation of spirits from all kinds of grain be continued during the war. There is no grain to spare for such purposes, and all the medical needs of the country and army can be abundantly supplied by the liquors made from the fruit crop. Should even the supply for the army fail, it cannot be doubted that it is much better for the soldier to go without spirits than that his wife and child should be without bread.

I also recommend that a law be passed providing for a rigid punishment of all persons who may be convicted of speculating in any of the necessities of life, under the false pretence of being Government agents.

In order to keep the highways of the country in better condition, they having since the commencement of the war been permitted to get in very bad repair, I recommend that the Revised Code be so amended that the age to be reached to entitle a man to exemption from working on the roads shall be fifty years instead of forty-five, as now.

The term of the Honourable George Davis, Confederate States' Senator from North Carolina, will expire before the next regular session of the General Assembly, and it will be your duty to provide for filling the vacancy.

I take great pleasure in informing you that the educational interests of the country have not been overlooked since the commencement of my Administration. Owing to the great drain upon the Treasury during the first year of the war, the Literary Board deemed it advisable to make only half the usual semi-annual distribution of the common school fund for the fall of 1861, and none at all for the spring of 1862. Feeling that this pressure had passed away, and that the matter was one of great importance to our people, the Board, at its recent meeting, ordered the usual distribution to be made, increased by \$10,000 from the sum due for the back distribution, and resolved to add that amount each spring and fall until the whole shall have been appropriated. There has been some disposition manifested to take this fund for war purposes. Should there really exist a serious design on the part of any one to do this, which I hardly think probable, I earnestly hope you will promptly defeat it. This small sum could add but little to the vast amount required to conduct the war, and its abstraction would be an absolute robbery of the poor children of the State. On the contrary, it should be your duty to carefully preserve and if possible increase this fund, make provision for its regular distribution, and do everything in your power to educate the rising youth of the country. While war is desolating our coast, and the tide of revolution is flowing all around us, let the young children of the State be still assembled in their log houses and primitive academies, in the mountains and on the plains, and let their first lesson be to read of our great struggle for civil and religious liberty—of the patriotism and sacrifices of our people, and the glorious bravery of their fathers and brothers upon the blood-stained fields of the South. It is of the very highest importance that the war should not carry away everything useful and civilized in the land and cause our children to grow up in ignorance and crime. The female schools of the State are generally as flourishing as in times of peace.

Both of the Asylums in this city are prospering under the present efficient management—a great charity to our people and a credit to the State.

Of our internal improvement system, I deem it unnecessary to make any mention. Since my introduction to office, I have received no official reports or information as to the condition or wants of any of the public works requiring legislative action. Should any thing of this nature be brought to my attention, I shall lay it before you in a special Message.

In addition to the matters herein brought to your attention, there are several of an important nature about which it is not deemed prudent to speak publicly, but which I will take pleasure in explaining, or discussing verbally with you when desired. Many others I have doubtless overlooked—for which, as well as for the hasty preparation and disconnected form of this instrument, I beg that my recent inauguration into office, and the many heavy drafts upon my time, may be considered an apology.

In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to urge upon you the vital importance of bringing forth all the powers and resources of the State for the common defence of our country and our cause. The two great dangers we have to meet will be found connected with our currency and supplies for our army. Men enough to protect us and drive back the invader we can always get, if we can properly clothe and feed them. Let us do this and preserve our paper from depreciation, and all will be well. In our intercourse with the authorities of our young Confederacy, having demanded firmly the rights which are due our State, let us yield them no grudging support, but in all things pertaining to the general weal sustain and strengthen them with our whole hearts. And in all our official acts let us remember that it is the spirit of the people which tyrants cannot subdue. On this depends all. So long as they continue harmonious, willing, self-sacrificing, the united armies of this continent may be hurled against us in vain; with such a country and such a people we might set them at defiance. Our heroic soldiers, shivering in their rags and plashing with their naked feet through the snows, have already, even through the chronicles of our foes, excited the wondering admiration of the world, and great generals and brave people beyond the distant waters of the sea stand aghast with astonishment at the feats of freemen struggling for their rights. Let us learn of them, and by zeal and discretion displayed for the general good, show the world that we are worthy to preside over these gallant and patriotic men.

Remember lastly, that you are labouring for the very salvation of our people. The bitter cup that our captured cities and districts have had to drink shows us, alas! too plainly, the mercy we are to expect if our abolition foes should overcome us. In the bitterness of their baffled rage they have even shown a determination to re-enact the horrors of St. Domingo, and to let loose the hellish passions of servile insurrection to revel in the desolation of our homes. The people of the next generation will bless the memory of those who, whether in the

field or the council, helped to rescue their country from these horrors. Let us labour to deserve their praise, and may the blessing of God attend our soldiers and our statesmen, who are struggling to defend a noble people and a noble cause.

Z. B. VANCE.

Executive Department, Nov. 17th, 1862.

SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—As the numbers of your paper for the period of the present war will hereafter form a part of the history of our young nationality, I desire to place on record an instance of patriotism, which, in my opinion, deserves to be mentioned with the more brilliant deeds achieved on the field of arms. A young lady, the daughter of a friend of mine, who has resided in Europe since the beginning of this war, had always read, with painful interest, the tales of suffering and self-sacrifice that came in letters from home. To live in ease and comfort while near and dear friends were undergoing the most severe privations seemed to the young enthusiast intolerable. Her father had always been a liberal contributor to every patriotic scheme for alleviating suffering or promoting the great cause of national independence; and had gladly permitted his daughter to become a party in these generous deeds. But this did not satisfy her; she wished to give something that was clearly her own, and to give which would be a real sacrifice and privation. Among her valuables was a costly diamond ring, a parent's gift, and the first article of jewellery she had ever worn. With this, the dearest of her worldly possessions, she resolved to part. Through the agency of a friend the ring was disposed of, and brought £60, and with this sum medicines were purchased and forwarded to the sick soldiers of the Confederacy, according to the wish of the patriotic young lady.

I would not, even were I at liberty to do so, take from the grace of the gift by naming the generous giver. I can only say that she is a native of Alabama, and a true type of the Southern maidens.

Respectfully yours,

A SOUTHERNER.

THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL VOTE.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—In your impression of the 18th ult., there was an error made in the figures given for the Presidential Vote of 1860, in consequence of allowing Messrs. Douglas and Bell too large a portion of the fusion tickets in New York and Pennsylvania. The following is a correct statement:—

Lincoln.....	1,857,610
Breckinridge....	1,195,600 (including South Carolina)
Douglas	1,076,556
Bell	535,504

Total vote in all the States } 4,715,270
estimating 53,100 for South Carolina.
The ballots cast in the Southern States were as follows:—

	Breckinridge.	Douglas.	Bell.	Lincoln.
Alabama.....	43,831	13,651	27,875	.....
Arkansas	28,732	5,227	20,094	.....
Delaware	7,337	1,023	3,874	3,815
Florida	8,543	367	5,437	.....
Georgia	51,889	11,590	42,886	.....
Kentucky	53,143	25,651	66,058	1,364
Louisiana	22,691	7,625	20,204	.....
Maryland	42,482	5,966	41,760	2,294
Mississippi.....	40,797	3,283	25,040	.....
Missouri.....	31,317	18,801	58,372	17,028
North Carolina	48,539	2,701	44,990	.....
South Carolina	53,100	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	64,709	11,350	69,274	.....
Texas	47,548	.....	15,438	.....
Virginia	74,323	16,290	74,681	1,929
	623,971	163,525	515,973	26,430

The slave representation, equivalent to 350,000 votes, should be credited to Breckinridge 250,000; Douglas 20,000; and Bell 80,000. It will be observed that ten States did not furnish a single vote for Mr. Lincoln, nor had Mr. Douglas any supporters in Texas. South Carolina appoints electors through her Legislature; that State was, however, almost unanimous in favour of Mr. Breckinridge.

Your obedient servant,
G. M.H.

London, December 29.

THE HON. J. M. MASON'S RESIDENCE IN VIRGINIA.—The Southern correspondent of the *Times* gives the following account of Northern vandalism:—

After the recent battles, which resulted in the headlong overthrow of General Pope's forces before Washington at the end of August, Winchester was held by a Federal general named White. Upon hearing of the Federal disasters he hastened to evacuate the town, blowing up a large magazine on its outskirts, by the explosion of which he shook the little town to its foundations, and applying the torch to a large quantity of commissariat stores, the bare, roofless walls of which give evidence to this day of the destroyer's presence. The town itself is as bitterly Secessionist as any spot in the Confederate States. Here once stood the home of Mr. Mason, for many months past the Southern Commissioner in England. The house was an unpretending country residence just on the outside of the town of Winchester, but the grounds were filled with beautiful trees, conspicuous among which was a picturesque row of sycamores, some fine locust trees, and a curious mulberry. It is hardly necessary to say that the house and grounds have not escaped the ruthless visitings of the invaders of Virginia. The house is roofless, the doors and windows torn out, the rats running about over heaps of rubbish, the kitchen and outhouses, which, according to the ordinary Southern fashion, were detached from the dwelling-house, levelled to the ground. It is said that Mr. Seward, visiting the house and grounds after they had undergone the manipulations of his soldiers, brutally exclaimed that he wondered that the rebel senator did not keep his grounds better. If anything can console Mr. Mason for the desecration of his favourite home, he will find it in the obvious affection and respect entertained for him among his neighbours.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOLZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOOKINS, 13, Bouvrie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1863.

America in 1862.

We do not propose to write a complete summary of those events which have convulsed the New World and fixed the attention of the Old World, but rather to notice a few of the incidents that have led to a state of affairs that few anticipated at the outset of the year that has just passed away. Hereafter when the historian of the second War of Independence deals with 1862 he will find the abundance of material exceedingly embarrassing. There are a multitude of minor occurrences which he cannot dwell on without impeding the course of his narrative, and yet which he cannot neglect without making the general results he chronicles unintelligible. Except that the records of the occurrences were so full, clear, and indisputable, we might reasonably imagine that posterity would refuse to believe that such great revolutions, such a crowd of great events, had taken place in the short space of twelve months. We who have watched the struggle from day to day are startled with the reflection of how much has happened in 1862, and even more by looking at the present condition of the Confederate States and the United States, and remembering their respective conditions at the beginning of the year.

In order to estimate the net result of the warlike operations of 1862, we have to consider their object, and how far that object has been attained. We suppose that the enemies as well as the friends of the South will admit that the Confederate States have been acting on the defensive. Whatever disputes there may be as to the right of secession, or as to the right of the North to attempt to conquer a reconstruction of the late Union, it is undeniable that at any moment during the past year the Confederate States would have sheathed the sword if the United States had chosen to give up the contest for empire.

The South has not wished for an inch of Northern territory, and she has fought only to be let alone. Her success has indeed been marvellous. Her capital is secure. With one exception, none of her great seaport towns, supposed to be so vulnerable on account of the naval superiority of her enemy, have fallen. The vast armies brought against her have been beaten, and have melted away. Such a series of triumphs have crowned her efforts that whilst we admire the heroism of her soldiers, who, suffering from unparalleled privations, have shown a discipline and bravery unsurpassed in the annals of warfare, and whilst we are fully impressed with the genius of Southern commanders and the wisdom of the Executive, we cannot explain the overflowing measure of Confederate victory, without assenting to the proposition of General "Stonewall" Jackson, and saying the South has thus triumphed because "it is the will of Providence." Who, a year ago, dreamt that the South would be able to gain any naval reputation, seeing that she was then without a navy? Yet the only purely naval triumphs of the war belong to the South. The Sumter and the Nashville played havoc with Northern ships and escaped capture. The Virginia gained a naval victory in

the Hampton Roads that induced the maritime Powers of Europe to set about the reconstruction of their navies. The Arkansas, single-handed, defeated and disgraced a numerous and well equipped Federal fleet. At present the little Alabama is the terror of the North, and as yet has gallantly defied the naval power of her adversary. It was to be expected that the blockade would prove partially ineffectual, but such achievements as these could not have been anticipated by the most sanguine Southerner.

The Confederate States are unconquered, and the object of the war, so far as they are concerned, has been accomplished. We know, and we have not the least desire to conceal, what great sacrifices these triumphs have entailed. The best and noblest blood of the country has been poured out like water. Property has been given up and destroyed with an alacrity that is without precedent. Homes have been desolated and prosperity has been changed into suffering and poverty. But the South has a present reward for her afflictions, as well as a future prospect which is in itself sufficient to infuse a spirit of cheerfulness in the hour of trial. The South has become, by reason of the blockade, truly self-dependent. She has discovered that in herself she has the means of defence and existence. Cotton may be King in Lancashire, but the South does not depend on cotton. A year ago there was a general impression that Europe would intervene, and, recognizing the Confederate States, put an end to the war, by convincing the people of the United States of the hopelessness of the struggle. Some persons in the South believed that England would, in her own interest and in the interest of humanity and justice, even intervene by force of arms, if recognition should not at once bring about a cessation of hostilities. All such expectations have been signally disappointed, and the Southerners have learnt not to trust to the favour of princes or peoples, but to their own right arm and the blessing of Heaven. We know, too, the reluctance with which the conservative and anti-revolutionary South withdrew from the Union; and perhaps even last January there were Confederates who, though fully determined to die rather than return to the Union, still felt a regret at the parting. Such a feeling is no longer possible. The Southerner now has too much cause to be proud of his nationality. To be a citizen of the Confederate States, who have so gloriously fought the battle of liberty, is a privilege and an honour that must satisfy the most exacting patriotism. And during the struggle with a foreign enemy, the Constitution of the Confederate States has not been in any degree violated; but, on the contrary, the fullest liberty of speech and publication has been enjoyed. Liberty in the South during the present year has been subjected to a fiery ordeal, and it comes forth unscathed.

Let us now glance at the other side. The object of the North is the conquest of the South, for even Mr. Seward no longer pretends that there is any "Union sentiment" in the Confederate States. What in 1862 have the Federals done towards the accomplishment of their design?

The Federal operations may be considered under three divisions—the attempts to capture Richmond, the movements in the West, and the gunboat expeditions. Prudent men placed most reliance on the last; and events have justified their judgment. It is quite true that in the only really naval engagements that have taken place, the Federal navy has been disgraced, and that Vicksburg has resisted a powerful fleet of gunboats, much to the disgust and chagrin of the North. It is true that Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah, so often threatened with destruction, have not shared the sad fate of New Orleans; and that a few of the only notable achievements of the Federal navy have been to bully the unarmed crews of merchantmen, and to grossly insult the British flag. But it must be conceded that the gunboats have been of great use to the Federals. After Shiloh, and after the Seven Days' Battle, they saved the remnants of the North-

ern armies from capture or destruction; and besides this service they have, in conjunction with land forces, obtained for the North the only successes it has gained. Indeed, the gunboat successes at the beginning of 1862 were so numerous that timid friends of the South in Europe began to despair. Early in February General Grant, with a combined force, took Fort Henry, and directly afterwards the important position of Fort Donnellson, together with 5000 prisoners. These captures involved the fall of Nashville, and, as a military necessity, the evacuation of Columbus. Meantime a combined expedition, under General Burnside, had taken Roanoke, with its garrison of about 2500; and, a few weeks later, Washington and Newbern—at the former place, a small town of 1500 inhabitants, there was no defence, but at Newbern a gallant resistance was made to the combined attack of gunboats and land forces by about 4000 Confederates. General Pope, with a large flotilla, captured the small fortification of Island No. 10. On the 1st of May Commodore Farragut captured New Orleans, and this was effected not by fighting, but by an accident that destroyed the river defences of the city. This capture has been worse than barren to the Federals. It has proved to the world that the fall of Southern cities and towns will not eventuate in the conquest of the South; and the conduct of General Butler has disgraced the Government of the United States, which has sanctioned it. We expect there are few men in the North who will not admit that New Orleans has been a source of weakness, and not of strength, to the Federals.

Warned by these casualties, the Confederates contracted their line of defence and concentrated their forces. General Sidney Johnson turned the tide of success by the battle of Shiloh, in which the Federals sustained a crushing defeat, and were only saved from surrender by the arrival of gunboats. From that disaster the Federal army of the West never recovered. What has it done since then? What has become of the large Federal army that invested Corinth? Since the evacuation of that city we have not heard much of it, and its fate would be a mystery, but for the revelations in the Federal Congress. It literally disappeared. It was enfeebled by disease before the Confederates left Corinth. General Beauregard conquered his enemy by enforced inactivity. We heard of Pope's captures and Halleck's advance, but we have long since learnt that the one was an audacious falsehood, and the other a mere pretence. The Federals still hold Nashville, but they are not strong enough to baffle the vigilance of General Morgan, and to prevent the Confederates drawing all the supplies they need from Kentucky, and from freely helping themselves to the war stores of the Northern depôts. The Federal hold on the Border States has relaxed, and in Tennessee the power of the invader has been crippled. The Federals were defeated in the fall at Perryville, and in the last month a whole brigade had to surrender to General Morgan at Hartsville.

But the most important operations of the war have taken place in Virginia. The North, for reasons we are unable to suggest, thought that the capture of Richmond would be the end of "the rebellion," and consequently the resources of the North were lavished on the Army of the Potomac, that was to do the work. We need not recapitulate the Federal disasters in Virginia in 1862. Before McClellan was ready for attack his enemy was fully prepared for defence. Having exhausted the patience of the Northerners by waiting before Manassas, McClellan changed the base of his operations. At that crisis General "Stonewall" Jackson achieved the successes which have rendered his name famous. He defeated General Banks, out-generalled Fremont and Shields, and so alarmed the Washington Government that General McDowell was peremptorily ordered to look to the defence of the Federal capital, instead of going to the assistance of McClellan. After the evacuation of Yorktown there was universal jubilation in New York and Washington. Richmond was as good as captured. The "Young Napoleon" was lauded even by the Republi-

can organs, and in excess of patriotic fervour his wife was serenaded for the prospective taking of Richmond. Battle after battle was fought, and in every engagement the Federals were defeated. At length came the Seven Days' Battle, and the Army of the Potomac was utterly beaten, and after resting a few weeks on the banks of the James River, where it was further prostrated by disease, the remnant of it withdrew from the peninsula. Pope then took the lead in Virginia, but so far from redeeming the Federal fortunes, he was disgracefully beaten on the old battle-field of Bull Run. The brief Maryland campaign resulted in a severe reverse to the Northern army, and the capture of Harper's Ferry with an immense quantity of stores; and McClellan, who was perfectly conscious of the exigencies of his troops and of the Federal position, enraged the Abolition fanatics by slow and cautious movements, of which the brilliant exploits of Generals Jackson and Stuart showed the necessity. Once more he was displaced, and Burnside took the command. Again the tone in New York was less despondent and the Republicans boasted of Richmond being taken before Christmas. But ere the year closed it was destined that the Federal arms should meet with a disaster too palpable to be concealed, and one that almost defies modification in its recital. On the 13th of December was fought the battle of Fredericksburg, and the Federal troops were so beaten that retreat, we might almost say flight, became necessary. We read in the telegram that the waters of the Rappahannock were rising rapidly, and that General Burnside and the people of the North were rejoicing that the rise of the river would afford some protection for their shattered army. That observation about the rise of the Rappahannock proclaims as plainly as words can do the total failure of the Federal arms in Virginia. The invading force is driven back—is crouching within an easy distance of the fortifications of Washington, and is thankful that between it and its enemy there is the obstacle of a swollen river. In short, the invader is glad that it is not easy for the forces of the invaded country to attack him. So far from having done anything towards conquering the South, the North is weakened and prostrated by repeated disasters. Last January the Federal armies were lavishly supplied with the *matériel* of war, whilst the Confederates were in want of artillery, small arms, and ammunition. At present, so far as these things are concerned, the South is amply supplied, and the North has not sufficient to equip its new levies.

The political failure of the North is not less remarkable. During the past year the people of the United States have submitted to a despotism such as no people in Europe ever patiently endured. The world has seen with astonishment how readily a nation boasting of its freedom has become the tool of a fanatical and imbecile faction. Not less surprising is the way in which the North has sanctioned the brutality of Butler, condoned the offences of Turchin and McNeil, and permitted the Government to proclaim the savage expedient of a servile war in the South.

Amongst the wonders of the year the revival of the Democratic party is worthy of notice; but whether that political revolution will bring about a peace in 1863 is a problem that time alone can solve. As yet and for many months to come Mr. Lincoln, the tool of the Abolition fanatics, who are not yet gorged with slaughter, and who from pulpit and platform clamour for the extermination of the people of the South, will be master of the situation. Disregarding the fearful load of debt already incurred, and caring still less for the host of men that have been killed and maimed in this unholy war; disregarding the afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit the once prosperous United States, Mr. Lincoln and his advisers—defying justice, policy, and the most sacred obligations—declare they will not let the Southern people go. If the war continues during 1863, the bloodshed it involves will be the guilt of the North. If the Federals will give up their lust for empire, if they will cease to covet the riches of the South, peace may be immediately

brought about. Whether or not Europe in times past could have put an end to the strife we will not discuss; but we must avow that we cannot conceive how our Government, after duly considering the events of 1862, can say that the independence of the Confederate States is not firmly established; and this being so, we cannot altogether plead guiltless to the charge of encouraging the North to carry on the war if we refuse to recognize the fact of Southern independence, since recognition will do more towards convincing the people of the United States of the hopelessness of the struggle than the ruin of their finances and the defeat of their armies.

The Political History of the Year.

At the commencement, as at the close of 1862, the one topic of absorbing interest was the news from America. Then it was the surrender of the gentlemen kidnapped by Captain Wilkes on board the Trent which occupied all minds and filled the columns of all the newspapers; now, the tidings of a defeat which is said to be the heaviest yet sustained by Captain Wilkes' countrymen are received with a general feeling of satisfaction, which is due in no small measure to the impression made on the public mind in England by the conduct of the Federal Government and the Northern people when they were informed of the insult offered under their auspices to the British flag. The effect of the surrender might have been favourable to the Northern cause, if it had not been so obviously the result of fear; a simple yielding to necessity, in the most ungracious and offensive manner. The people had received Captain Wilkes in triumph; his victory over the unarmed Trent was hailed with applause as loud as that which greeted General Butler's loathsome insults to the defenceless women of New Orleans; the Secretary of the Navy had commended him; the House of Representatives had thanked him; and only when forced to choose between submission and war did Mr. Seward, who had so loudly threatened war on former occasions, find irresistible reasons for acceding to the demand of England. Even then he could not refrain from insolence and defiance. The whole affair did great good to the Southern cause. It also did good, incidentally, to the Liberal Ministry, and enabled it to meet Parliament more boldly than it could otherwise have done.

It had been expected, towards the close of 1861, that the Session of 1862 would certainly witness the overthrow of the Administration. The Conservatives had been steadily gaining ground since 1859; the Radicals were discontented; and reports were rife of concerted plans for attacks on the Government which could hardly fail of success. One sudden calamity plunged the nation into mourning, and incidentally respite the Ministry. The death of the Prince Consort made it obvious to all parties that it would be impossible to intrude upon the widowed Queen the cares and anxieties inseparable from a Ministerial crisis; and the thoughts of a parliamentary pitched battle were by common consent laid aside.

Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council and virtual Minister of Education, did his best to break the enforced truce by a desperate onslaught on the established system of national primary instruction. Parliament, as our readers know, votes certain sums annually for the furtherance of education, which the Committee of Council distributed according to a code drawn up several years ago by the founders of the present system. Under that code, grants were made to schools established by private individuals for certain specified purposes—to augment the salary of the schoolmaster, if in possession of a Government certificate, according to the class in which his qualifications had placed him at the Government examination—to pay apprentice or pupil teachers on a fixed scale, and to provide for a few objects of minor importance. These grants were limited by the amount of voluntary contribution for the support of the school; and were liable to be diminished or withdrawn altogether if the condition of the buildings, the conduct of the school, or the pro-

gress of the children, were not deemed satisfactory by the official inspector. By what was called the Revised Code, Mr. Lowe proposed to do away with the whole of this system, and to substitute a uniform capitation grant for all children who, after completing a certain number of attendances, should satisfy the inspector, on a personal examination, of their competence in reading, writing, and arithmetic, according to a standard varying with the age of the pupil. From all parts of the country, from every one acquainted with the working of a primary school, came indignant protests against the proposed alteration. It was shown that it would destroy discipline, deteriorate the quality of instruction given to the poor, undo the chief work of the last twenty years—the creation of a class of competent teachers—impose a cruel burden of expense and anxiety on the patrons or managers of schools, and especially on the parochial clergy, and generally operate unfavourably to the spread of knowledge among the people, unfairly in the apportionment of grants between different schools, and oppressively as affecting the vested interests of the existing class of teachers and pupil teachers. Mr. Lowe was obstinate, and contrived to make the worst of a bad case. He insulted the clergy; he sneered at the school managers; he abused the certificated teachers, and alienated everybody except the extreme political Dissenters, whose support did him no good and not a little harm. At last, after Mr. Walpole had taken up the cause of education, and when defeat was impending, the higher Powers interfered. After vowing that he would concede nothing, Mr. Lowe came down to the House on the decisive night, and conceded nearly everything. The warm friends of the old system were dissatisfied with his concessions, and felt that there could be no security for the educational system of the country so long as he remained in office. But the majority of the Opposition, seeing that the Minister was obliged in point of fact to surrender at discretion, generously granted him a capitulation, and left him in possession of his office and the fragments of his scheme.

Though there was no great battle, there were several party skirmishes, in which the leader of the Opposition was generally left to contend, almost unaided, against the ablest of his adversaries. Few more telling speeches have ever been delivered than the first, in which Mr. Disraeli reviewed the financial history of the last three years, and wound up by a brilliant diatribe against Mr. Gladstone, as the professor of a code of political ethics too high for the practice of ordinary men, and an offender of the worst kind against the accepted principles of political conduct, and the plainest dictates of public duty. It was, as the orator himself said many years ago of another famous speech, "the vengeance of a lifetime concentrated into an hour," and it was appreciated as such by the House, and felt as such by the statesman assailed. Taken by surprise, and evidently goaded to an unusual degree of irritation, Mr. Gladstone defended himself feebly, though his retorts upon his antagonist were only less pungent and severe than the invective which had called them forth. But for the fact that Mr. Gladstone speaks with the weight that attaches to high personal character, and acknowledged statesmanship, the result of the encounter would have been pronounced to be decidedly in Mr. Disraeli's favour. Some people objected, indeed, to so strong a leaven of personal malice as was displayed in his attack, but unfairly; for Mr. Gladstone has given the Conservative leader good right to regard him as a personal enemy, and good cause to treat him with all the severity of which the bitterest of living orators is capable. In a subsequent collision with Lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli was less fortunate. And Mr. Stansfield's motion gave the Chancellor of the Exchequer as complete a revenge as the most vindictive spirit could desire. The Radicals had mustered their forces to press a demand for retrenchment, the Conservatives, refusing to accept their motion, had prepared an amendment of their own, on which they were not unlikely to obtain a majority, and entrusted it to Mr. Walpole. The Premier anticipated this

attack by rising and declaring at once that if defeated the Government would either resign or dissolve. Mr. Walpole took fright, gave way, and left his leader and his party in the lurch. Mr. Disraeli made the best of a very painful and ridiculous position, but it was evident that he was bitterly hurt, and that the Ministry had gained a great moral advantage. The scene has been described, not inaptly, as the "Conservative Bull Run." But fortune had consolation in store for the defeated party. The civil conflict which had arisen in the Liberal camp had completed the disorganization of the Ministerialists; and Mr. Cobden openly declared his hostility to Lord Palmerston, winding up the session with a speech in which he described the Liberal party as likely "to rot out of existence under a load of infamy." The defeat of Sir John Trelawney's Church-rates Abolition Bill by a majority of 17, and the passage of a bill for the better prevention of poaching (a crime especially patronized by the Radicals), also served to indicate the growing strength of the Opposition; and Parliament was prorogued amid a general feeling that the Ministry would have hard work to survive the next session.

Before its prorogation one practical measure had been passed. Mr. Villiers, the President of the Poor Law Board, introduced a bill to allow parishes or unions in Lancashire and in one or two other counties, when the expenditure on the relief of the poor should reach 5s. in the pound, to obtain a rate in aid from the other parishes of the union, or from the county. Great fault was found with this measure; and, as finally passed, it included a power to borrow on the security of the rates whenever the expenditure on the relief of the poor should exceed the ratio of 3s. in the pound per annum. It need hardly be observed that in times of severe distress an expenditure of 3s. in the pound involves a levy of a very much greater amount. But it was made quite evident in the course of the debate that the Government did not at all appreciate the actual condition of Lancashire. The distress had been gaining ground for twelve months, and yet Mr. Villiers did not believe that his Bill was likely even to be brought into operation before next March. And Lord Palmerston made himself obnoxious to severe rebukes from Mr. Cobden by uttering some hasty and very unfounded strictures on the conduct of the Lancashire manufacturers. No one who has read THE INDEX can be ignorant of the extent of the suffering which Lancashire has endured, or of the heroism with which that suffering has been borne. Since September 1861 the mills have been gradually closing; the operatives have sunk from prosperity to want, from want to pauperism, struggling desperately to maintain their independence, sacrificing their savings, their furniture, their clothing, every comfort that the industry and thrift of years had accumulated around them, and finally, often reaching the verge of actual starvation—literally in their own phrase "Welly clemming to death"—before they consented to ask relief from the parish, or even from the Relief Committees which in every town have been organized to assist them. These Committees, directed and advised by the Central Executive at Manchester, have done wonders; but the task before them was herculean. Nearly half a million of mouths formerly well-fed by honest industry are now to be fed by charity, besides those who are provided for by the liberality of their employers. Under the auspices of Lord Derby, whose services to Lancashire have been worthy of his position as the chief of her aristocracy, this gigantic feat has actually been accomplished. All classes, all parts of the empire have done their duty; Lancashire, and the Lancashire manufacturers, have done theirs especially well. Nearly a million sterling has been collected, half of which has been contributed by Lancashire, while her property is deteriorating in value every day, and her manufactures produce no income whatever. And beside this, there are firms which are giving privately from £50 to £500 a week, to maintain the people whom they can no longer employ. The Committees are distributing, we believe, about £30,000 a week; the parish authori-

ties about £17,000 or £18,000. And as yet scarcely a ray of hope breaks through the darkness of this terrible calamity.

The paramount object of the foreign policy of Lord Russell during the year has been to keep peace with the Government of the United States. He has quietly endured the impertinences of Mr. Seward, and the flagrant insults of Captain Wilkes. He has allowed British ports to be blockaded by Federal cruisers, and British vessels, pursuing a lawful voyage between Liverpool and the colonies, to be stopped, fired into, and on some occasions actually seized and confiscated. When the mercantile interest has remonstrated, he has coolly recommended them to abstain from a trade which excites the displeasure of Mr. Lincoln. The Government has resisted all efforts made to induce it to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. Towards the latter end of the session Mr. Lindsay made a motion tending to recognition; and Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald and Mr. Whiteside gave to it the support of their arguments, and of their authority as representatives of the Conservative party; but Mr. Lindsay did not deem it expedient to press his motion to a division. During the recess Mr. Gladstone publicly spoke of the Confederate Government as having "made an army, a navy, and what is more, a nation"; and for some time afterwards his private Secretary was constantly employed in explaining away his language. Mr. Adams obtained assurances from Lord Russell that the rest of the Cabinet regretted the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir G. C. Lewis took the first opportunity of making amends by a strong speech against the recognition of the Confederacy, in which he was understood to say that we were bound to wait until the United States were utterly exhausted, or desisted from the war, or themselves recognized the independence of the seceded States—a doctrine which was indignantly scouted by a considerable section of the press, and afterwards explained in a more admissible sense by some of the organs of the Government. Another opportunity of proving still more signally his attachment to the Federal cause was soon given to the Foreign Minister of England. The Emperor of the French proposed that England, France, and Russia should jointly recommend to the belligerents a suspension of hostilities preparatory to negotiations for peace. Lord Russell refused, on the ground that an unfavourable reply was likely to be returned by the Government at Washington; but his refusal has gained him little credit in America. Altogether the feeling which prevails towards us in the North is no less hostile than at this time last year, after we have made one constant sacrifice of our interests and our dignity to the vain dream of conciliation.

For some inscrutable reason, Lord Russell has suddenly taken up the cause of Prussian aggression and Holstein treason against the Danish Crown, and done his best to further the designs of certain German Powers, who bear no good-will to England or to freedom, to subvert the throne of the family from which our future King has chosen his bride, and break up one of the happiest and best governed of minor kingdoms. This reversal of the traditional policy of England has excited great indignation both at home and abroad; but hitherto has been fortunately without any other effect.

The last great event of the year has been the Greek Revolution. King Otho was dismissed without a struggle; and Prince Alfred of England fixed on by the Greeks as their future Sovereign. After a tedious and somewhat treacherous silence, Lord Russell pronounces that the protecting Powers consider themselves bound by the Protocol of 1830, excluding members of their royal houses from the throne of Greece, and that Prince Alfred is therefore unable to accept the proffered honour. He offers to make amends by ceding the Ionian Islands to the new Sovereign; but to this some of the Powers interested object, and it remains to be seen whether Parliament will permit a first step to be thus taken towards the dismemberment of the British Empire.

Europe in 1862.

It is with years as with men. Your *annus mirabilis* and your illustrious captain usually owe a large part of their reputation to the insignificance of the circle in which they are placed. Triton counts for a vast deal more amongst the minnows than in the company of the demi-gods. If we could translate some of the men who at the present day play a distinguished part in politics and literature to the groups of statesmen and writers which have flourished in past generations, they would look small indeed; and if a year marked by events on the Continent of Europe like those which have illustrated 1862 had presented itself in those dull but happy years of peace which ran their round from Waterloo to 1848, it would have been buried with a very high sounding epitaph. But Europe is now traversing a cycle in which revolution is an annual, and war has lost all its strangeness; and 1862, although it has kept up to the level of interest, perhaps, of its predecessors, and will assuredly be a landmark in the history of at least three nations, cannot be accounted anything extraordinary. We speak only of the European Continent. The mighty struggle of which America has been the scene gives the year, perhaps, an interest which attaches to none other in modern history.

The New Year's Speech of the Emperor of the French presaged a peace which, although often threatened, has never been broken. But the year has not seen the settlement of any of the questions the agitation of which furnishes food for continual apprehension, and the relations of the great Governments of Europe have become more distant, rather than more friendly. When the year commenced the friendly support given by France to the demands made by England for satisfaction in the Trent affair had given a renewed cordiality to the alliance between the two countries. England and France were, moreover, engaged with Spain in a joint expedition for the redress of grievances sustained at the hands of the Mexican Government. The divergence of views upon the question of intervention in the American contest, the withdrawal of England from the Mexican expedition on the ground that the French commanders were pursuing other objects than those specified in the convention of London, and the speeches and despatches of the English Ministers on the subject of the Roman occupation, have generated a coolness between the two Governments, the consequences of which may, ere long, prove disastrous to both nations. The withdrawal from Mexico of the Spanish forces at the same time with the English has also occasioned no little disagreement between France and Spain, and the latest discussions in the Spanish Cortes have disclosed the existence of considerable irritation in both Courts. Russia has shown, upon several occasions, her desire to be upon very cordial terms with France; and although the story of an alliance for the partition of Europe is only a very stale *canard*, periodically set afloat, there can be no doubt that a very good understanding exists between the two Powers—the only good understanding which Europe has to show. Austria and Prussia lead their usual eat-and-dog life, and both are threatening Denmark with war. Italy has got over the first transports of her gratitude to France, and her statesmen bid for power by assuming an independent attitude.

The French Legislative Assembly met in January to exercise the new powers of financial control with which the Emperor, upon the suggestion of M. Fould, had endowed it. Its influence in this direction has yet been but small, but M. Fould has himself taken care that a stop should be put to the system of balancing each year's account with an enormous deficit. By the conversion of the 4½ per cent. Rentes, he obtained a sufficient sum to defray the deficit of 1861, and he is enabled to close his accounts for 1862 with but a small balance against him, in spite of the heavy charges occasioned by the Mexican expedition. Beyond the debates in both Houses on the Address—debates in which the cause of the Pope was eloquently attacked and defended—

the principal event of the session was the sagacious withdrawal by the Emperor—in deference to the opposition of the Legislative Chamber of the project of law for conferring a pension on General Montauban. The failure of General Lorencez, who, upon the retirement of the English and French contingents, marched on Mexico to carry out, single-handed, the French interpretation of the convention, gave to the war in Mexico far larger proportions than the Emperor had anticipated. The honour and *prestige* of France at once became engaged in the struggle, and although the nation may not have had much sympathy with some of the objects which rumour assigned to the expedition, no one could say a word against the despatch of those reinforcements, thanks to which, General Forey is now marching upon Mexico with an army which the Mexican Government is quite unable to resist. The policy of the Emperor towards Italy is a subject which, during the year, has much occupied the attention as well of his own people as of foreign nations. It has been, as his own letters, and the despatches of his Ministers, published by the *Moniteur*, show, consistently directed to the reconciliation of the Church and Italy. The zeal with which he has urged upon the Papal Government administrative reforms, and the dissatisfaction which the rejection of his propositions has occasioned amongst his Ministers, gave probably some encouragement to the Italian delusion that he was prepared to abandon the Pope; but the attempt of Garibaldi, and the circular of General Durando—claiming Rome as the reward of the repression of that attempt—have dispelled it for ever. M. Thouvenel, who had suffered himself to lend an encouragement to the claims of the Italians which his Imperial master had never authorized, was dismissed, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, a statesman of great experience and high character, developed in October, in his famous despatch to the French Minister at Turin, the policy which France intended to pursue—a policy which, based upon a regard, in the first place, for the interests of France, and the wishes of the bulk of her people, shuts out against the Italians all hope of obtaining Rome, except by some arrangement with the Holy See; and the Holy See, its Minister announces, can make no arrangement with its “despoilers.” In the last days of the year the controversy with Switzerland as to the ownership of the Valley of the Dappes, which, since the Peace of Vienna, has been continually rising up to interfere with the good understanding between the two nations, was amicably settled.

In the beginning of March, Baron Ricasoli resigned the Premiership, which, on the death of Cavour, had been assigned him by acclamation. His fall has been publicly ascribed to the personal dislike of the King, with whose *menus plaisirs* he is said to have interfered; but the King would have kept his Minister, however unwillingly, if the Baron had possessed a strong Parliamentary following. This support, however, he did not enjoy, although he was pretty secure against a directly hostile vote. The Italians thought of nothing but Rome; they had been encouraged to expect its immediate attainment by their leaders. Ricasoli talked very much of Rome, but he did not get it, and his countrymen began to turn to Signor Ratazzi, who was known to enjoy the good-will of the Emperor of the French. Ratazzi became Minister, and trying to lean at the same time upon the party of action, and his assumed French influence, only succeeded in provoking the disastrous Sicilian crusade of Garibaldi. The nation approved the repression of that attempt, but it could not pardon the man who effected it. Ratazzi resigned, his only real achievement having been the recognition of Italy by Russia and Prussia, and has been succeeded by a Ministry whose programme is the suspension of agitation for Rome; the restoration of internal order, and the reorganization of the country. The friends of Italy can only hope that Signor Farini will honestly try to carry out this programme, and be supported by the people. The condition of Italy is extremely serious. Its budgets are more than Austrian in their deficits; and with 90,000 soldiers in Naples, the richest provinces of the

kingdom are entirely in the hands of men who are called brigands by the partisans of Victor Emmanuel, and patriot soldiers by those of Francis II. A convocation of the Bishops at Rome, for the professed purpose of assisting in the canonization of some Japanese converts made martyrs 200 years ago, furnished the occasion for a consecration before the world, by the Church, of the doctrine of the *non possumus*.

The King of Prussia opened in January the session of a new Parliament, in a speech the references of which to the rights of the Crown were ominous of the crisis which now exists. The Chamber of Deputies, in which an overwhelming Liberal majority sat, was not dismayed by the Royal menace. A resolution asking a full specification of the items in the Budget led to a Ministerial crisis, which resulted in the retirement of the Liberal members of the Ministry, and the elevation to the Premiership of Herr Von der Heydt, who supplied the places of his retiring colleagues with members of the Junker or absolutist party. The House was dissolved, but the election, in spite of all the efforts of the Ministry to cajole by promises of reduction of taxation, and failing that, to intimidate the electors, returned a House in which the Ministers had not a dozen adherents. The Ministers at once laid the Budget before the House, and the Committee appointed to examine it recommended the rejection of all the items appertaining to the reorganization of the army. The Minister would offer no compromise, and the House adopted the resolution of the Committee by an immense majority. Herr Von der Heydt then recommended concession to the King, but his Majesty would have none, and called to his councils Herr Von Bismarck Schönhausem, at that time his Ambassador at Paris. The new Minister, relying upon the rejection of the amended Budget by the Upper House, governs without one. The Chambers meet in January; meanwhile every day adds to the estrangement between the King and his people. Austria, on the other hand, has happily developed her constitutional life. The institutions with which the Emperor has endowed his people have had the success which his good faith merited. The Council of the Empire, yet incomplete in number, has established its constitutional position and proved its parliamentary aptitude. When the Emperor a few days since closed the session, he was able to congratulate it upon having effected important retrenchments, and passed valuable laws guaranteeing individual liberty. The successful working of the new institution will not fail to have a beneficial influence in Hungary. The Hungarians are beginning to see that the Emperor offers them every franchise consistent with their continuance in the empire. The never-ending, never-flagging rivalry of Austria and Prussia has had ample scope in Germany in the past year. The commercial treaty which Prussia, in the name of the Zollverein, concluded with France, has been cordially accepted by the whole north of Germany. It is viewed, however, with great alarm by Austria, who sees in it the ruin of her industry, and she has offered, on condition of its revision, to enter the Zollverein on terms which a short time since she would have repudiated with scorn. Prussia, however, has no desire that Austria should enter the Zollverein, and insists upon the treaty, which, however, cannot come into operation for some years, that is to say, until the expiration of the term for which the Zollverein is constituted, unless Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which have refused to ratify it, should change their determination. Germany has been agitated by Governmental projects for the reform of the Confederation, to none of which Prussia accedes. She conceives them all directed against that hegemony which she requires, and which a large part of Northern Germany is anxious she should possess, and she has declared that in the event of the acceptance of one of these propositions for reform, of a very mild character, now under consideration, she will consider the Confederation at an end. The Prussian Government has tried to make up for its unpopular proceedings at home by a “vigorous foreign policy.” It has forced, in the name of the Bund, the Elector of Hesse

Cassel, to restore the Constitution of which, in the name of the Bund, he in 1852 robbed his people, and it has taken up strongly the Sleswig-Holstein question.

The Emperor of Russia continues his reforms, but too slowly for some of his subjects. The students of the different Universities have attempted to play a political part. Tremendous fires, causing immense losses in St. Petersburg and Moscow, have been lit with a constitutional purpose, and the nobles of several provinces have asked constitutional privileges. In Greece a King has been expelled for crimes most of which were not his own, and the choice of his successor is the question which agitates Greece and busies the diplomatists and *quidnuncs* of Europe. The authority of the Sultan has been vindicated by the complete subjection of the Montenegrins, and shaken again by the concessions which, in the negotiations consequent upon the ill-judged bombardment of Belgrade by the Pasha in command of the fortress, he was compelled to make. The insurrection in Greece prepares fresh dangers for him, and his Ministers are with reason alarmed at the proposed gift to that country of the Ionian Islands.

The shadow of the great American calamity has fallen upon the whole of Europe. In France, in Prussia, in Austria, and in Belgium, work has been scarce, and the people are suffering. For him who can read the signs of the times the New Year must open on the Continent of Europe with mournful forebodings; 1862 leaves it a *damnum hereditas* of many pretexts for war, and much desire on the part of crowned heads and Ministers to use them, and try to escape from embarrassments at home by carrying fire and slaughter abroad.

The Battle of Fredericksburg.

The defeat of Burnside has produced a deeper impression in Europe than any other event of the American War, if we except the first battle of Manassas, which revealed to the world the strength and heroism of the South, and the unfounded nature of Northern boasting. But the present surprise is not brought about by any miscalculation of the ultimate issue of the contest in Virginia. No one supposed that Burnside would capture Richmond, or that his march towards the Confederate capital would be signalized by victories. It is not the defeat of Burnside, but the time, place, and manner of it, that has made the news so startling. We doubt not if the true version of the affair had been given, the Northern disaster would appear still more extraordinary to those who do not make sufficient allowance for the political exigencies of Federal commanders; and who forget that Burnside is the servant of the tool of the New England fanatics, who care not for national disgrace and the slaughter of their fellow-citizens, so long as they themselves are screened from danger—of the men who breathe out slaughter and extermination, but who, like skulking cowards, refuse to share the danger of the strife they provoke. It is said that Burnside has fallen into a trap, but the statement is untrue. Burnside knew that the Confederates were fortifying themselves on the south side of Fredericksburg while he was waiting for artillery and pontoons, and he could not have been ignorant of the danger of attacking an enemy so prepared. Urged on by the clamour of his supporters, he resolved to give battle at all hazards, not, however, without the hope of having deceived the Confederates by his rumoured removal to the peninsula, which rumour was further confirmed by the ostentatious appearance of a crowd of transports on the river; and forgetting that even if the Southern commanders were deceived by this device, they would not move until he had evacuated Aquia Creek; for after the departure of the Federals the Southerners, by means of their railroads, could transport troops to the peninsula, so as to be ready to receive the Northern army. There is no doubt the Federals greatly outnumbered the Confederates, and possibly the estimate that Burnside had at least 100,000 troops, and

General Lee not more than 40,000, is tolerably accurate; but the superiority of numbers could make little impression upon strong and well-manned fortifications, and only added to the loss of the Federals.

When General Burnside was at Aquia Creek he had three courses open to him. He could have gone into winterquarters, which, in a military point of view, would have been a prudent proceeding; but McClellan had been dismissed for comparative inactivity, and his successor was pledged to go on to Richmond; and Mr. Lincoln could not have retained a general in power who refused to risk the loss of the army in obedience to the demands of the Republican faction. The second course open to the Federal commander was to remove his army to the peninsula; and this, probably, was at one time intended; but there was the fatal objection that if the peninsula was made the base of operations, Washington would be without adequate protection, Maryland would probably throw off the Federal yoke, and Pennsylvania would be opened to the invasion of the Confederates. Under these circumstances, and as a last resource, General Burnside, in obedience to the orders of the Federal Government, determined to proceed by way of Fredericksburg.

Why the Federal army was kept for twenty days in a state of inactivity it is difficult to conjecture. If when General Burnside on the 21st of November threatened to shell Fredericksburg the advance by that route had been decided on, it seems incredible that so much time should have been allowed to the Confederates for preparing to dispute the Federal advance, unless we conclude that the delay was inevitable, or that Burnside imagined he could deceive the Southern generals by the poor device of a rumoured intention of going to the peninsula. We are inclined to think that the delay is ascribable to several causes. At first there were divided counsels, Burnside being reluctant to undertake the movement prescribed by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. When the movement was decided upon, the Federal commander had to wait for artillery and pontoons, and when these things were forthcoming we think it highly probable that Burnside indulged the vain hope that he was about to outgeneral and surprise his enemy. He evidently wanted General Lee to believe that the idea of an advance by Fredericksburg was abandoned, for he gave formal notice that he would not attack that place unless first attacked from it. He made demonstrations at various points, and a large fleet of transports was paraded on the Potomac, which was currently reported to be destined for the conveyance of the Federal army to the peninsula. The stratagem could not succeed, even if General Lee had believed in the pretended change of base, for the Confederates, after seeing the Federal army embarked, could, by means of their railroad communication, have reached the peninsula long before Burnside could have disembarked his forces. We are, however, under the impression that Burnside, when at length he ordered the advance, thought he had effectually divided the Southern army, and was about to take his enemy at a disadvantage. This opinion was confirmed by the passage of the Rappahannock, which, though at the commencement hotly disputed by sharpshooters, was ultimately effected with comparative ease.

Arrived on the south side of the Rappahannock, Burnside found himself in a situation which every raw recruit must have seen was critical. In his rear was a river, and before him an enemy posted on heights and strongly fortified; and we can imagine that even at the eleventh hour Burnside might have turned back if it had not been for a fatal miscalculation, yet a miscalculation based upon accurate information of the strength of the two armies. Burnside had at his disposal at least 100,000 men, and it is supposed that the Confederate force did not exceed 40,000, and it might have been much less. The Federal commander seems to have forgotten that a large force is not a source of strength in a narrow field of battle, and that a small force, strongly fortified and having the command of splendid artillery, is a match for an attacking force

treble its number. So Burnside, on the 13th of December, fought the battle of Fredericksburg, which was to the Federals the most bloody and calamitous engagement of the war.

The plan of battle was necessarily simple. There was the enemy's position, and that had to be taken. No generalship was required, for no manœuvring was possible; it was essentially a soldiers' battle. All Burnside could do was to bring up his men as rapidly as possible. Between the Federal lines and the Confederate fortifications was an open plateau. As the Northern troops crossed this space they were mowed down by artillery, and when those who had escaped came near to the Confederate lines they were met with the still more deadly fire of the Confederate rifles. So raged the battle from morning till night. Burnside had plenty of food for powder, and he used it lavishly. He ordered fresh troops to charge over the ground strewn with his dead and wounded soldiers, and his orders were gallantly obeyed. When the battle was over Burnside learnt the extent of his disaster; his losses in killed and wounded were terrible; the lowest estimate was 10,000 men lying dead on that fatal field, and mingled with the dead were the wounded, who were too numerous to be immediately removed and succoured. Two Federal generals had been killed, and the casualties among officers were out of proportion to the great loss among the men. At present we can only surmise the extent of the slaughter. We are told that one Federal officer led 6000 men into action and at night could only muster 1500; but we know how heavy must have been the loss by the subsequent movements of Burnside. Two days were spent in burying the dead, and then, in the darkness of night and in the midst of a howling storm, the broken army retreated across the Rappahannock, and even then the Federal commander hardly felt safe until the waters of the river rose, and the bridges he had built were destroyed. Never did a general more frankly confess that he was crushed and beaten than did Burnside when he fled by night, and expressed his gratitude that the river which he had so vauntingly crossed was now between him and his foe. Perhaps he did not feel even then so secure as he pretended. He had only fought a portion of the Southern army. Where was the rest of it?

It may be asked why General Lee permitted his beaten enemy to escape? But without knowing the number of troops immediately at General Lee's command, or his plan of campaign, it would be ridiculous to attempt to answer this question, though we may observe that it seems to us the Confederate commander would have wasted precious lives if he had attacked his beaten enemy, and we may be sure that in the hurried retreat by night the Federals left behind them a considerable booty. We repeat it is useless to speculate on this point. Time will reveal the reason why the astute and farseeing Confederate general permitted Burnside to withdraw to the north of the Rappahannock.

In the North the disaster has created a profound sensation, but the Federal Government does not show any sign of relenting. McDowell, Pope, McClellan, and Burnside, have all failed—signally failed—yet it seems likely that if the men and money can be found the war will be tried over again. It is reported that McClellan, so lately and shamefully disgraced by the Lincolnites, has been sent for, and that he will once more assume the command. His Fabian policy is better than the rashness of Pope and Burnside, and the military quackery of Messrs. Halleck and Stanton; but McClellan has failed in the past; and why is he likely to succeed in the future? He will not have such a large and admirably equipped force at his command, and he will have to fight under the demoralizing influence of continued defeats. Why should McClellan, the unfortunate, do better in 1863 with less means than he did in 1862 with greater means? Well, he can lead his troops to slaughter. He can gratify the cravings of the New England clergy for blood. He can fight another "Seven Days' Battle," or, for the matter of that, for a third time make the plains of Manassas the scene of conflict. If Mr. Lincoln can

get the men and the money, or credit, there may be another year of bloody battles unless Europe should strengthen the hands of the peace party in the North by the recognition of Southern independence.

A "GUBERNATORIAL MESSAGE."—English readers are familiar with Presidents' Messages, those curious and peculiarly American State Papers, preposterously voluminous, and in which anything, from the highest lessons of political sagacity to the homeliest truisms of proverbial philosophy, is thought to have an appropriate place. There is, however, a variety of this same species of document, frequently of far greater practical importance than the Presidential Addresses, though not usually of the same interest to Europe, which is almost wholly unknown and unnoticed on this side of the Atlantic. We refer to the Messages of the Chief Executives of the several States to their Legislatures. One of this class we publish elsewhere, *in extenso*—the annual Message of the Governor of North Carolina to the General Assembly of that State.

Regarded simply as a study of the political institutions to which both of the great American Federations profess themselves equally attached, but which in the South alone have survived the onslaught of Democracy and the shocks of a great revolution, this Message, despite its great length, will well repay perusal. It is impossible to read it carefully and not obtain from it clearer ideas of the relations of the State to the central Government or common agency of all the States, the very point which forms the complex problem of American politics, and presents the greatest difficulties to the European student. The Message is not an essay on this subject, but it is all the more instructive for not being an essay. It is the language of the Chief Magistrate of an independent, self-governing Sovereignty, which has indeed delegated, for specific purposes, certain of its attributes, but retains all the others as perfectly unimpaired as if it were a separate nationality treating as such with the other nations of the world. This Sovereignty is complete in every branch of its Governmental machinery, legislative, executive, and judiciary; it is the paramount lord over the domain included within its boundaries, and it claims the undivided allegiance of its citizens. Such is, by the Southern theory, the position of each member of the Confederation, the Confederate Government representing only the alliance of the States for purposes common to all, and assuming none of the functions of local Government.

The reader should be cautioned against erroneous inferences from the manner in which the State Executive alleges the grievances of the State against the Confederate Government. Grumbling is a peculiar Anglo-Saxon privilege, which the Southerners are not likely to surrender, and which they exercise much after the fashion of their progenitors. It would be truly wonderful, amid the enormous difficulties the central authority has had to encounter, and the fearful tasks imposed upon it, if each State did not feel itself entitled to its own special grievance and pet complaint. It is only natural, also, that each State should be most anxious for the defence of its own territory; and the necessities of the Confederate Government have frequently obliged it to apparently neglect the defence of one position in order to concentrate its strength upon another. That grievances of this nature, and minor ones, are freely and openly canvassed proves, not the looseness of the bond which unites these States in a common destiny, but, on the contrary, how firm and indissoluble it is held to be in the minds of all. The people of the South look upon the war of independence as a foreign war, and as such they discuss everything connected with it in their counsels, whether State or Confederate. With many faults, and many things in it that might be severely criticised, we are yet of opinion that this "Gubernatorial Message" is calculated to raise the character of Southern State Government in English estimation. At all events, it throws much light upon the internal working of the Confederate politi-

cal system, and it proves, moreover, beyond all doubt, that the Federal telegraphist was quite right, when he briefly described the Message as "containing no trace of Union sentiment."

Boxing-Day.

Christmas-day, as observed in England, is peculiarly an English institution. Our decorations of the holly and mistletoe are a perpetual remembrance of the remote period when the Druids performed their religious ceremonies in the primeval forests of Britain. Our feasting dates back to a time anterior to that era in our history beyond which, the sages of the law tell us, the memory of man runneth not. But the feature of the festival, which for a time makes our country truly "Merrie England," and which is so nationally characteristic, is that on that occasion all classes of the community evince their respect for family life. Christmas day is not celebrated by out-door amusements or by public entertainments, but by family gatherings. It is pre-eminently the festival of Home, and a stranger passing through our streets on Thursday last might have supposed the nation was observing a fast, and not a feast.

Boxing-day is a holiday kept in a very different manner. We expect that with many of Her Majesty's lieges the day after Christmas-day is a sore trial of patience. John Bull, though very patient of taxation, does not like being generous on compulsion; and Christmas-boxes are gratuities that are nearly as compulsory as Queen's taxes. The householder may grumble as much as he likes, but unless he is content to be put down as mean, and suffer a score of inconveniences, he must pay. The postman claims his annual gratuity; and how can we refuse it, knowing that the Government chuses to consider our free gifts as a part of the remuneration of the ill-paid men who deliver our letters? The postman, like the rest of the claimants on our bounty, proceeds in a very business-like manner and comes with book in hand, to enter the donation. The turncock gives dark hints about deserting us in case of need if the customary half-crown is not forthcoming. The dustman, though bound by Act of Parliament to punctually discharge his duty, is sure to be a little remiss if we do not supply him with the means of drinking to our health, to the detriment of his own. The lamplighter simply appeals to our generosity, and we understand that he meets with many refusals on the ground that "Master says he pays a lighting-rate." The waits, who have broken our rest on two or three occasions with horrid discord, and the bell-ringers, who are parochial nuisances, succeed in getting a trifle by pertinaciously refusing to take no for an answer. The news-boy asks for his Christmas-box confidently, for if he is refused it is highly probable that now and then the paper will come too late for breakfast, and with many persons the paper is the best part of the morning meal. The policeman does not make a formal collection, but no doubt cook kindly bestows on him a goodly portion of our Christmas fare. Besides the numerous claimants out of doors, our servants expect a remembrance of the season. The cook is paid by the tradespeople, and the housemaid is remembered by the visitors; but the nurse looks to "master" for her Christmas gift. Let there be a little grumbling about paying wages, and the wife of one's bosom reminds us of the care bestowed upon our children, and the appeal is of course irresistible; and the attendant of children from morning to night, and from month to month, has, we confess, an unanswerable claim upon paternal generosity.

After all, Christmas comes but once a year, and Christmas-boxes are not heavy enough to deprive us of any of the luxuries or comforts we enjoy; and as to the compulsion, we may observe that if the recipients of our gifts did not think they could claim them as a right they would neither ask for nor receive them.

The motley crowds of pleasure-seekers that fill the streets of the metropolis on Boxing-day give to the scene in those thoroughfares where the shops are partially closed an appearance somewhat like a Sunday in Paris, except that the young women are prettier and much worse dressed. The beauty may be, we admit, a prejudice, but the inferiority of dress, so far as style is concerned, there is no gainsaying. We may be told that this arises from want of means, and that our ladies who have long purses are dressed with the most excellent taste; but this proves that our assertion is right, for all ladies who can afford to dress well resort to French fashions, and patronize French milliners. But we have no desire to be critical about the appearance of the holiday folk who plainly make a business and toil of pleasure; they look eagerly at everything that is to be seen in the streets; they visit the few institutions that are provided gratuitously for the recreation of the masses; and they go to the Zoological Gardens, which about Christmas-time are peculiarly uninviting, and when the Polar bears look more than usually miserable. Besides the Zoological Gardens the Wax-Work Exhibition in Baker-street is a popular place of resort, and Tussaud's Exhibition is certainly worthy of the patronage it receives, though we wish there were not quite so many gallows' celebrities.

Those who are of a scientific turn wend their way to the Polytechnic, where amusement is happily blended with instruction. Thousands flock to the Crystal Palace, at which place, erected to afford the multitude a high-toned and instructive entertainment, M. Blondin, who has been well described

as a clever acrobat with the nerves of a bricklayer, performs sundry gymnastics upon a rope sufficiently high to ensure his being smashed if for one instant his nerves should give way.

Nothing daunted by the labours of the day, the pleasure-seekers fill the theatres to overflowing in the evening. It is the fashion to sneer at pantomimes as foolish and childish, but we notice the adults, who are only present to take care of the children, keenly enjoy the fun, and that the Clown is as much liked in the boxes as in the gallery. There is always a spice of genuine humour mixed up with the fun of the harlequinade, and the leading topics of the day are noticed in a manner that amuses all parties and displeases none. It will be observed that year after year the police are ridiculed to the intense gratification of the audience. Why? It is not that the force is unpopular, or that we are a lawless people, but the police force was for party purposes made unpopular at the time it was established, and in this country, once a butt always a butt, and so the "Bobby" continues to be tripped up by Pantaloon, beaten by the Clown, and terribly puzzled by the mystic wand with which Harlequin and Columbine are always performing feats of magic, such as no spirit-rapper has yet been able to manage. Another peculiarity of the pantomime is the advertising. The spectators see certain set scenes representing large London shops, or a board advertising cheap publications, and for these advertisements enormous prices are paid, and the price is still higher if the Clown makes some allusion to the advertisement. The most curious specimen of this system of puffing we remember, was a scene covered with placards of a quack pill. A man came on the stage walking on crutches, with his face painted, or rather chalked, a ghastly white. He was seized by Clown and Pantaloon, and asked if he had had "so and so's" pills; and several large pills were then taken from a box and thrust down what was supposed to be his throat. In the scuffle the Clown removed the chalk from his face, and unbound the bandages about his legs, and the cripple suddenly appeared before the audience with a flaming red complexion, and able to enjoy a very active dance. Even Barnum might admire the genius of such a puff.

It is to be regretted that all the holiday folk do not spend their evenings at a theatre; for then the highway would not present such a sorry sight of drunken men—and we must add, drunken women. Boxing-day is, however, generally a well-spent day; and we are glad to see that every effort is made to extend the holiday. We do not believe the political economists who look upon men as mere machines, and tell us that every holiday or half-holiday is so much loss of material wealth. He who works always will not work much. The Jews are notoriously rich, and they have a number of holidays more than Christians. We think our holidays are too few, and that if they were multiplied we should gain instead of lose. No bow carries so far as that which is frequently unobeyed—and this maxim applies to physical as well as to mental labour.

Reviews.

AMERICAN SKETCHES.*

Mr. Mitchell is not a brilliant writer, a close observer, or a deep thinker; yet he has managed to produce a readable, lively, and sensible book. He has not much that is new to tell us about American affairs; but what is quite as acceptable—he can give us clear and truthful sketches of some phases of American life, and assist us to realize what manner of men these are who are now waging an internecine war on the one side for empire, and on the other for independence. We should not look to him for any secret information as to the causes of the disruption, or any profound insight into the mysteries of American politics. We should not choose him as our guide on the question of slavery, or expect from him any solution of problems which have perplexed the calmest and wisest statesmen, and baffled the most earnest and singlehearted enthusiasts. He simply sees what is before his eyes, and describes it with tolerable lucidity in very respectable English. He has neither the ambition to be weighty nor the conceit to be tunny; he never becomes tediously didactic, and never makes silly jokes, or disgusts us with an ineptitude which is mistaken by authors, but never by readers, for humour. In a word, he writes like a man of ordinary capacity who is not ashamed of sometimes recording trifles, and does not often aspire to be instructive; and the consequence is that his book deserves to be read, is likely to be commended, and in a few months will be totally forgotten. Men who have a leisure evening, and who are interested in American affairs, will find it worth while to look into this unpretending volume; and may chance to learn from it more than the writer intended to teach.

Mr. Mitchell's first acquaintance with American soil was made in 1848, when the vessel in which he was grounded on a bar in the James River. After some negotiation he persuaded a fishing-boat to put him on

shore; lost his way under the guidance of a small negro, whose landmark was an old horse's skull, which had unluckily disappeared from its usual place; and finally reached the house of a Virginian farmer, by whom he was received with frank and cordial hospitality.

I had merely noticed that the house I was entering was large, not very new, mostly of brick, with a plain whitened portico of wood in front, around the corners of which clustered some climbing plant. From the wide hall or passage, in which were an old-fashioned mahogany table, two rush-bottomed chairs, a gun, and some hats and coats, I was ushered into the family sitting-room, and courteously and pleasantly invited to take a seat in a large leather-covered arm-chair. The first feeling I experienced was one of surprise at finding myself in such a homely old-fashioned, pleasant, English-looking room. The members of the family were two grown young women, one pale, one rosy, both plainly but neatly and comfortably dressed; both rather good looking, and having that ease and self-possession which Americans rarely want; a slender, growing girl; a boy, brown and bold; and a fine young man of some five-and-twenty. The household had less of strangeness to me than I had experienced in my own country, under more favourable and usual circumstances.

I at once explained my situation, and narrated my journey, and I happened to mention that my guide had dated his misguidance to the time of finding the horse's skull. Upon this, a little negro, who was sitting in one corner listening demurely, showed signs of interest, looking askance at his young master, who laughingly informed me that he and that young black rascal had passed that way yesterday with the cart, and that coming back the boy had tied a string round the old skull, which had long lain at that spot, and attached it to the cart, so that it was dragged some distance, and finally left where we found it. This little incident set us all laughing, and seemed to make us acquainted with each other better than the best of regular introductions could have done. The father of the family—a widower, some fifty years of age, a stout, hearty, cheerful, thoughtful-looking man—declared that if I was not particularly sorry, he was very glad of the accident. This led to stories of being lost and "turned round" in the woods. All took part in the lively and unaffected conversation, except the youngest girl and the negro boy, who lounged on the floor in one corner, and a negro girl some ten years old, who sat on a hassock in another corner, with eyes and mouth open, looking and listening, laughing and grinning, attending very little to the occupation they had in hand—seeding cotton.

Some tea, boiled bacon, and chicken, eggs, wheaten bread, and corn cakes—in America, "corn" means Indian corn—were set in one corner of the large old mahogany table for my benefit, the family having supped before my arrival. To these viands without the least hesitation, I did full justice; there was such a feeling of ease and security, and goodwill in the people and the place, that I went on eating, drinking, and talking as if quite at home. It was the finest of hospitality, which I afterwards found not uncommon in the South. Had Prince Albert walked in, incognito, he would have been received much as I was; with as little constraint, pretension, or formality, and with scarcely more attention or ceremony. And very sorry I am that, during his visit to America, the Prince of Wales fell into the hands of Yankees, who contrived to prevent his seeing the Southerners at home, rendering even his hurried visit to Richmond almost an affront.

Here he spent the night, and availed himself of a visit from a party of neighbours to make his first remarks on American characteristics. Many such remarks are scattered throughout the volume, and are generally fair, shrewd, and not altogether hackneyed. The American women, even in Virginia, are said to have the look of convalescents; robust health, at least in the fair sex, being very rarely met with in the United States. Other observers have said the same thing; our author suggests that if the Americans were as scantily fed and fared as hardly as do the labouring population of European countries, their constitutional degeneracy would be still more obvious. Two facts, however, must be set against criticisms of this kind: in the first place, it is undeniable that the Southern and Western men—the Kentuckians for example—are physically a fine race, with stature, throws, and strength that would do no discredit to the sons of an English fox-hunter; and secondly, that the Southern soldiers, with insufficient food and very defective clothing, ill-sheltered, shoeless, and overworked, appear to suffer less than any European army in similar circumstances. We have heard before of the "indelicate delicacy" enforced in American conversation when ladies are present; we are not surprised to note Mr. Mitchell's observation that both men and women in the United States are quick to detect an objectionable sense in a word used with perfectly innocent meaning, which would pass unnoticed in English society; but we are rather startled to learn that it would be a mortal sin to ask for a rump-steak at an American *table d'hôte*. In return for these social restraints, and as if to compensate the women for the ill-health inflicted on them by the climate or the customs of the country, they enjoy an amount of personal freedom, an unchecked liberty in going anywhere they please in any company they choose, of which Mr. Mitchell gives some curious instances; and very young ladies are certainly allowed to take a place in society and at home which would hardly be thought due to them in England. *De gustibus non disputandum*. The women of the South have proved that their education has not spoiled them. And it must be admitted that far less mischief results from this want of supervision than English matrons would expect. American girls rarely go astray; society exacts so terrible a penalty from any man who takes advantage of feminine weakness that few there venture on sins which

* Ten Years in the United States. Being an Englishman's views of men and things in the North and South. By D. W. Mitchell, formerly resident in Richmond, Virginia. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1862.)

no vigilance can prevent where they are so leniently treated as in Europe. What other undesirable consequences the system may have we forbear to inquire. There is another remark made by our author which is perfectly true, though not often made by English observers—that a greater degree of courtesy and affability towards men of all ranks is exacted by public opinion in America than in England, and that “unpopular manners” are sure to draw down upon a man a degree of disfavour which would not be excited by many more serious faults. In the United States—and especially in those which still remain united—the people is sovereign, and every individual is more or less a courtier, and obliged to observe something of a courtier’s manner towards each individual atom that goes to make up the aggregate monarch. In the South, the punctilious temper of the people, and the certainty that any approach to an insult would be promptly resented by the meanest citizen, go far to improve manners that might otherwise, amid the roughness of life in a half-cultivated country, become exceedingly brusque and off-hand. Another observation will certainly surprise some English readers. In Mr. Mitchell’s opinion, Americans of respectable station are more thoughtful and cautious in political conversation than Englishmen; think more before they speak, and speak with more reserve, as men to whose words some weight is to be attached.

He found no one disposed at that time to admit the probability of a disruption of the Union. The national idolatry of size, which was constantly identified with grandeur, made every one disposed to regard with indignation the idea of any division of the vast thinly-peopled territory over which the thirty millions that were one day to be three hundred are spread. As to the possibility that the fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists might one day drive the South to secession, it was never recognized. The Abolitionists were far too insignificant, too much despised even at the North, ever to become formidable to the people or dangerous to the institutions of the South. So men spoke and thought in 1848.

From the house where he had first been so kindly received, the traveller went on to Richmond. His account of that city, then a quiet State capital, much like an English county town, now the centre of a nation on whose struggle the eyes of the world are fixed, is not flattering, but is, perhaps, worth quotation:—

Richmond, the capital of the State of Virginia, is one of the oldest places on the North American continent settled by people speaking English; for it claims about equal antiquity with Boston, New York, Baltimore, Raleigh, and Charleston. It is situated at the head of tide water, on the winding, unbusiness-like James, which rolls carelessly and pleasantly through the country, as if choosing to be as long and see as much as possible before dying in the vast Atlantic. The principal thoroughfare is Main-street, which commences in the lower regions of the town, among warehouses, and waste places, and docks, and old dilapidated buildings. The neighbourhood (called Rocketts) is enlivened by mules and waggons, sailors, negro drivers, and laborers, merchants and their assistants; negroes, mules, and waggons especially. Thence the street runs nearly parallel with the river up hill, in a straight line. “Stores” of all kinds are on each side; provisions and such things at the lower end; “dry goods,” confectioners, hotels, bakers, druggists, &c., &c., higher up, for about a mile; then private dwellings, mostly of brick, some of wood; a storehouse here and there; business gradually going up town. The outskirts consist of fields, some fenced in, some open; here a respectable dwelling, there a shanty; there a fresh building going up, and so on. Beyond is the ample ground for agricultural fairs, surrounded by whitewashed shedding and stabling; and further on to the left is the beautiful cemetery of Hollywood.

The city is laid out at right angles, the cross streets commencing up town, with four or five named after once distinguished men; then “first,” “second,” and so on down to “thirty-first,” which runs at the foot of a hill, Chimborazo, 200 feet above tide water. At the time I first saw it, in 1848, the city contained some 35,000 people, of these about half were black, or inclining to that colour, and slaves, so that there would be about 3500 adult white males. A large portion of the outskirts of the city consisted of poor, mean, low, neighbourhoods. Probably there were not many more than 3500 white men in the whole population who would mutually call each other “respectable;” though the term would be applied to the well-conducted journeyman mechanic working for weekly wages as well as to the millionaire—if there were one, but I believe there was not.

It was curious, in walking along the streets, to observe that the dealers in old clothes and cheap slop-clothing, were Jews—Cohens, Moseses, Isaacs, Abrahams, and so on. There they were, with their sharp eyes and hooky noses, sitting, standing, or walking about their stores, ready to sell you a bargain, just as in the Old World. The dealers in fruit and confectionery were Italian, so cleverly keeping the business in their hands, that even a Yankee had a poor chance. Most of the few bakers were Scotch. The best butcher in the market, I was proud to hear, was an Englishman, “a jolly good fellow,” and related, I was surprised to find, to an old acquaintance of mine. Few people have any adequate idea of the number of surviving and ascertainable relationships between the people of England and those of the various States.

The “Dutch”—that is, the Germans—form a considerable portion of the population of this, and of most American cities. New York and other places were in early times settled by the true Dutch, and the Germans and others were classed with them, in the popular mind and language; all being called “Dutch,” or, not unfrequently, “the damned Dutch.” For the native American is exclusive in his ideas, he allows, indeed, English and Scotch, and the better sort of Irish to associate with him on terms of social equality, but no others; although he rather likes the French, partly out of national

gratitude, partly because the French met with out of France, unless in numbers too great to be regarded as pleasant visitors, are of a class above the mere labourer.

Having the advantage of taking my first surveys of the city with a shrewd old resident, I saw many things which escape the traveller who has to trust to his own hasty and superficial observation. The foreigners, I found, formed social circles of their own—Irish with the Irish, Dutch with the Dutch, and to some extent, English with their fellow-country people—so that it is quite rare, considering the great proportion of Europeans in the United States, to encounter one as a friend or visitor in an American family. The men meet and talk together in the streets, or at their places of business, and that is all.

A portion of this city at the west end is, to English taste, very pleasing. The streets are wide and quiet and clean; the foot-pavement is mostly shaded with horse-chestnuts, *Otaheitan* mulberry, silver-leaved maple, and other trees. Many of the houses are detached; some of them are of red brick, in modern styles, others stuccoed, others of wood, and of various sizes. They are surrounded with well-kept gardens or with trees, and there is a little green space in front; the neighbourhood having an airy, comfortable, cultivated, home-like look, which one seldom meets with in American towns. About a tithe of the space built on is of this character, while in other quarters on the extensive outskirts—Rocketts, Shed Town, Horse Heaven, Butcher Town, Gully Nation, Scramersville—expressive names—one is wearied and disgusted with old wooden shanties, waste fields, patched, tumbling stables and dwellings, dusty or muddy roads, and all the appearances of a slovenly don’t-care population, out of the pale of respectability, and not ambitious even to get in. I am sorry to say that more than a tenth—more than two-tenths—of the city is of this inferior character.

It was in Richmond that the author fixed his residence, but during the ten years he spent in America he visited various parts of the country, and came into contact with men of all classes and of all opinions, both in the North and in the South. He is a tolerant and rational man, and not disposed to condemn as unpardonable vices the disagreeable peculiarities of those among whom he may be thrown; and thus he saw the Americans to greater advantage, and judged them more favourably, than do the majority of English travellers. He admits the existence of spitting and whittling, but condones these bad habits in consideration of the courtesy with which women are almost invariably treated; of bowie-knives and revolvers, which, as we all know, are habitually displayed and incessantly brought into use in every Southern bar-room, he takes no notice whatever. *En revanche*, he does notice the appalling frequency of murders in New York, and the frightful insecurity of life and property which distinguishes the Empire City. But from his book we should never learn that Virginian gentlemen were in the habit of shooting one another at the *table d’hotes*, and that the streets were rendered unsafe by the hourly encounters in which fire-arms are discharged with terrible rapidity and astonishing indifference to the lives of passers-by. We should gather from his pages—if we did not know better from the unimpeachable narratives of Mr. Russell and Mrs. Beecher Stowe—that the Southerners were, on the whole, a peaceful and law-abiding people, as little likely as Englishmen to shoot down their neighbours on trifling provocation, or roast their slaves alive by way of amusement. It is strange that Mr. Mitchell never saw, or, if he saw, failed to make a note of, any of those brutal murders, those diabolical outrages, which we know, on unquestionable Abolitionist authority, are characteristic of the daily life of a slaveholding community. It can hardly be that he became so used to them as to think them not worth recording; and we are driven to the conclusion that either Mr. Mitchell, fair and observant on other points, is uncandid or careless beyond measure in this respect, or some of his predecessors have drawn liberally on their imagination for their facts.

The restlessness of the Yankees, as contrasted with the more English character and staid demeanour of the Virginians, seems to have struck the traveller very forcibly. He assists us to understand it by the remark that Southerners, even more than Englishmen, love a country life; while the youth of New England, if possessed of any talents or actuated by a spark of ambition, gravitate towards the great cities as Frenchmen towards Paris. But there is, perhaps, a common cause both for the restlessness and the townward gravitation of the New Englanders in their Puritan origin. Puritanism deprives men of that geniality of temper and cheerfulness of spirit which alone can make contentment possible and the quiet of rural life agreeable; fanaticism is incompatible with the sober Conservatism which distinguishes the Englishman and the Southerner; and naturally breeds that uneasy, unsettled disposition which, while it has stimulated the energy and furthered the material progress of New England, has made her people one of the most disagreeable and most unhappy in the world.

There are two topics on which Mr. Mitchell touches lightly, which are especially misapprehended by many of his countrymen, and on which he has something that is new and much that is true to say. He does something to correct the ideas commonly prevalent here concerning the condition of the immigrant labour-

ing population of the North. He shows that the foreigners do all the hardest physical work of Northern cities; people back streets and alleys in New York as unwholesome as the dens inhabited by the lowest class of the population in London and Liverpool, are looked down upon and disregarded by those for whom they work; fare badly and enjoy certainly no greater freedom than in the countries they have quitted. He bears witness, on the other hand—with an evident dread of the storm of abuse which he may expect from some parties to whom nothing is so offensive as evidence that does not bear out their preconceived judgment—to the good condition and kind treatment of negroes by their Southern masters. The Yankees, he remarks, like all men not used to the negro character, make bad slave-masters, and are greatly disliked by the subject race; but the planter, brought up among slaves, is patient and lenient; does not exact too much work, is tolerant of shortcomings, and displays tact in the management of servants, in which a stranger is inevitably deficient. The slaves are well-fed, of course—for they are valuable and food is cheap, so that the stories of their being undernourished are obviously absurd as well as notoriously false—and for the most part well clothed. Capacity and good service may bring them into a very comfortable position; and if their upward progress is more restricted than it ought to be, this is due chiefly to what Mr. Mitchell aptly calls “the state of siege” in which the South has been kept by Northern Abolitionism. There is no country in the Old World in which the mass of the labouring people are physically as well off as the slaves of the Confederate States.

We pass over without remark the political chapters of this book. They are sound, sensible, and mostly accurate; but they contain little or nothing that has not been better said by former writers. Mr. Mitchell is not a politician, and the merit of his book lies in its pictures of private life, and in the light it throws incidentally on some of the social relations of America, not in its political disquisitions. Nor is that merit small. We think that few who may read the volume will regret the time bestowed upon it.

THE TYRANNY OF GENERAL BUTLER.

LETTER FROM ONE OF HIS VICTIMS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

A copy of the subjoined letter to President Davis from one of the victims of the brutal rule of General Butler, at New Orleans, has been forwarded to us through an officer of the Confederate Government from Richmond:—

SHIP ISLAND, State of Mississippi,
September 13, 1862.

His Excellency Jefferson Davis,
President of the Confederate States.

Sir,—A close prisoner on this desolate island, with some fifty or more of my fellow-citizens, I have thought it my duty, at every risk, to communicate to you some at least of the incidents of the administration of the brutal tyrant who has been sent by the United States’ Government to oppress, rob, insult, and trample upon our people in every manner which the most fiendish ingenuity and most wanton cruelty could devise, and in gross violation of all the laws and usages of the most remorseless wars between civilized and even savage nations and tribes.

I was consigned to Ship Island as a close prisoner, with seven other respectable citizens, to a small hut 15 feet by 20—exposed to rain and sun—without permission to leave, except for a bathe in the sea, once or twice a week.

A description of the causes and circumstances of the imprisonment of our citizens, who are now held on this island, will afford some of the mildest illustrations of Butler’s brutality.

There are about sixty prisoners here, all of whom are closely confined in portable houses, and furnished with the most wretched and unwholesome condemned soldiers’ rations. Some are kept at hard labour on the fort—several in addition to labour are compelled to wear a ball and chain which are never removed. Among these is Mr. Shepherd, a respectable, elderly, and weakly citizen, who is charged with secreting certain papers belonging to the naval officer of the Confederate States,—which the latter left in his charge when he departed from New Orleans. Mr. Shepherd had the proof that the officer who had deposited these documents afterwards returned and took them, and that they had been carried into the Confederate States. This testimony Butler would not receive, and declared that if it existed, it would make no difference in his case. Dr. Moore, a dealer in drugs, is also at hard labour with ball and chain, on the

charge of having sent a few ounces of quinine into the Confederate States. There are five prisoners condemned, and employed at hard labour, on the charge of *intending* to break their parole as prisoners of war captured at Fort Jackson. There is also a delicate youth from the country who is subjected to the same treatment, on the charge of being a "guerilla," the term which Butler applies to the Partizan Rangers, organized under the Act of Congress of the Confederate States.

Alderman Beggs, on the charge of denouncing those who having taken the oath to the Confederate States afterwards swore allegiance to the United States, and Mr. Keller, a vendor of books, stationery, and scientific apparatus, on the charge of permitting a clerk to placard the word "Chickahominy" on a skeleton which was suspended in his show-window for sale, for the use of students of anatomy, are condemned also to close imprisonment and hard labour for two years. The others mentioned above are condemned for a longer period. A like condemnation and punishment were imposed upon Judge John W. Andrews, a most respectable citizen, recently a member of the Judiciary of the State, of the Legislature, and of the City Council, and a prominent merchant. This gentleman is advanced in years and in very delicate health. There is little hope that his health can long sustain his present burdens and hardships.

The circumstances of Mrs. Phillips's imprisonment are probably known to you. As, however, I desire this to be an authentic and studiously accurate statement of facts, I will here relate them. In the raid of the United States troops near Warrenton, Mississippi, a young officer named Dekay was mortally wounded. He died in New Orleans, and an attempt was made by the Federal authorities to get up a pompous funeral ceremony and procession in honour of so "gallant and heroic a young officer," who had fallen in an expedition which had no other purpose or object but the pillage of defenceless farms and villages. The effort to excite the sympathies of our people on this occasion proved a ridiculous failure, and the funeral ceremony had no aspect of solemnity or even propriety—a long line of carriages composing the *cortege*, designed for the Union citizens, being all empty. As this procession passed the residence of P. Phillips, Esq., Mrs. Phillips, standing on the balcony with several lady friends, was observed by some Federal officers to smile; so it was charged. She was immediately arrested and taken before Butler, who in the most brutal and violent manner sought to terrify the heroic lady. In this he did not succeed. Whilst denying that her gaiety had any reference whatever to the funeral ceremony, Mrs. Phillips refused to make any apologies or concessions to the vulgar tyrant. Thereupon she was condemned to close imprisonment in a filthy guard-room, thence to be transported to Ship Island, where she was to be held in close confinement for two years, with no other fare but soldiers' rations, no intercourse or correspondence with any person except through General Butler. This sentence was published in the newspapers, accompanied by words of the grossest insult and most vulgar ribaldry, in which Mrs. Phillips was denounced as "not a common, but an uncommon bad woman," referring to his proclamation denounced by Lord Palmerston and the whole civilized world as "so infamous," in which his soldiers are authorized to treat as "common women plying their profession" all who may manifest any contempt or discourtesy towards them. To add further insult, in the order condemning Mr. Keller, it was made a part of his sentence to permit him to hold converse and intercourse with Mrs. Phillips, to which condition that honest man was induced to protest, from the belief that his fellow-prisoner was a notorious courtesan of the city, who bore the name of Phillips. This protest was published in the paper, with Butler's order granting the request of Keller, so as to convey to the world the idea that a poor vendor of periodicals declined association with a lady of the highest respectability, the wife of a distinguished lawyer and ex-Member of Congress. I can bear personal testimony to the rigorous execution of the sentence against Mrs. Phillips, having been imprisoned for weeks in a building adjoining to that which she was never allowed to leave. Such was the treatment of a delicate lady of the highest refinement, the mother of nine children.

In his first interview with the authorities of the city, Butler had declared that he would take no cognizance of any acts committed before he occupied the city, and established martial law therein. This solemn and oft-repeated pledge he has violated in a thousand instances.

Of the other prisoners, there are three captains in the Confederate service, who have copies of their parole as prisoners of war, and who are sent here upon no specific charge, but as suspicious persons, who *might break the lines* and go into the Confederate service. They are Captain McLean, late of the McCulloch Rangers; Captain Losberg, who commanded the De Feriet Guards of the Chalmette Regiment, captured and paroled by Commodore Farragut in the attack upon the forts below the city; and Captain Batchelders, of the 3rd Regiment of Louisiana Regulars. There is also a young Creole, the sole protector of his family, his father having recently died, who is sentenced to an indefinite punishment, on the charge, supported by the testimony of his own slave, a negro boy, of having thrown a revolver into the river after Butler's order, requiring the citizens to deliver up their arms, had been published. This is the case of Mr. Le Beau, belonging to one of the oldest and most respectable Creole families in the State. The other prisoners here are imprisoned upon like frivolous charges; some eight or ten of them for the publication of cards denying that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, their names having been published in Butler's journal among those who had taken that oath.

In the case of Mr. Davidson, a gallant young lawyer, who has not yet recovered from a severe wound received at Shiloh, the offence consisted in his publishing a card stating that he was not the person of the same name who was published as having taken the oath.

So much for the prisoners at Ship Island, with the facts of whose cases I am personally acquainted. I refrain from any reference to my own case, hard as my doom is, closely confined on this island, with all my property appropriated by the enemy, and my family placed under strict espionage and subjected to many annoyances, insults, and discomforts. With all its trials and hardships, the condition of the prisoners here is quite easy and endurable compared with that of those who are confined in the damp and unwholesome casemates of Forts Jackson and St. Philip on the Mississippi, and in Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island.

Among the latter is the Mayor of the city, who has been imprisoned for four months for the offence of writing a letter to Butler, protesting against his order relative to the treatment of the ladies of the city, and declaring his inability to maintain the peace of the city if the Federal soldiers were thus authorized to insult and outrage our women at their own pleasure and will.

The secretary of the Mayor, who wrote the letter signed by the Mayor, was included in the same committal and imprisonment. Several members of the council, for like or smaller offences, suffer the same punishment.

Dr. Porter, a wealthy dentist and citizen, is imprisoned for requiring the Citizens' Bank, the pet bank and place of deposit of Butler and his agent, in his vast schemes of corruption and extortion, to pay checks in the currency which Butler alone allowed the banks to pay.

George Laurason, formerly collector of the Port of New Orleans, suffers a like penalty, for applying for a passport to go to Europe, where his family now is.

Thomas Murray, as president of that benevolent institution known as the Free Market, which supplied the families of the soldiers with the means of subsistence; Charles Heideich, a French citizen, the owner of the celebrated wine manufactory in France; Mr. Dacres, and other British citizens; Mr. Mir, a wealthy and highly respectable Spanish citizen, the owner of extensive saw-mills in Florida, and the contractor to supply the French navy with timber, are all imprisoned at Fort Pickens, for endeavouring to pass the lines without taking the oath prescribed by Butler for foreigners, which oath requires them to reveal to the United States all information they may have respecting the acts and designs of the Confederate States, on pain of being regarded and treated as enemies and spies. There are, too, many prisoners who are confined on the information of political and personal enemies as dangerous characters, for offences alleged to have been committed by them months and years before Butler's arrival in the city. Dr. McPherson, an elderly and most respectable citizen, was condemned to the casemates of Fort Jackson, for speaking in a circle of his friends of Butler's proclamation, No. 28, that relative to the ladies of New Orleans, as "infamous," the very epithet which Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, declared to be the only appropriate one.

Dr. Warren Stone, the distinguished surgeon and philanthropist, was consigned to a like punishment, for refusing to recognize an individual who had been announced as President of a Union Association,—and yet who a few months before had made in public a most violent speech against the Yankees, and had advised our people to cut the throats of all invaders.

Several ladies of the highest social position have been imprisoned for the expression of sympathy with the Confederates, and the wearing of ribbons of certain colours.

Mrs. Dubois, an elderly lady, long engaged in the business of teaching our children, was imprisoned on the charge of not being able to account for certain keys and books belonging to the schools, which were never in her possession.

All the members of the Finance Committee of the City Council are imprisoned for authorizing the subscription of the city to the fund for its defence, and several hundreds of our citizens who subscribed to this fund, have been compelled to pay 25 per cent. of their subscription to Butler, under a threat of imprisonment at hard labour. To swell this exaction to the sum of \$300,000, all the cotton factors of the city, who had united in a circular address to the planters advising them not to send their cotton to New Orleans, were assessed fines of \$500 and \$250, which they had to pay or go to prison.

The treatment of a venerable citizen named Roberts, a farmer living a short distance from Baton Rouge, is one of peculiar atrocity. A son of Mr. Roberts, a soldier of the Confederate army, having come on sick leave to see his parents, a detachment of the 21st Indiana Regiment was sent to arrest him. The young man, hearing the approach of armed men, went out to meet them, when several shots were fired by the Indians, one of which killed young Roberts. The father, seeing the danger of his son, seized a gun and fired through the door, slightly wounding Colonel McMillan, the commandant of the detachment. He was then arrested and charged with having killed his own son, and was taken with the rest of his family from his home; the body of his son being brought out and laid on the ground, the building, all the outhouses, barns, and stables were burnt to the ground, and his mules, horses and cattle were driven off to the Federal camp. Old Mr. Roberts was condemned to close imprisonment for twenty years, and this imprisonment he is now undergoing at Fort Pickens.

There are many other cases of equal atrocity and hardship of citizens of the highest respectability, who upon the most frivolous charges have been dragged from their homes by a brutal soldiery and immured in cells or the casemates of forts, and condemned to hard labour.

I have not the time nor the exact information to state these cases fully. The prisons of New Orleans are crowded with citizens, whose highest offence consists in the expression of opinions, and of hopes for the success of the Confederate cause. Not a few are confined for repeating reports of Confederate victories, or for having in their possession newspapers containing such reports.

A Mr. Levy, a respectable merchant, was imprisoned for one month for stating to a Federal that he heard

that Baton Rouge had been evacuated, when it really had been evacuated.

Another citizen was arrested in the cars, and imprisoned for saying that the distress for cotton in England would soon increase; and another for repeating what had been published in the *Delta*, that "Richmond had fallen," such a remark being regarded as ironical, after the Confederate victories in the first days of July.

A great many have been imprisoned on the information of their slaves that they had concealed or destroyed arms, and the informers emancipated.

Mr. Lathrop, a respectable lawyer, is now undergoing in the parish prison a sentence of two years' imprisonment for "kidnapping" his own slave, who had been appropriated by a Federal officer. This sentence Butler declared was intended as a warning to the people not to interfere with the servants of his officers—meaning the slaves of our citizens appropriated by them.

A number of our citizens, enrolled as Partizan Rangers, or in the State Militia, have been closely imprisoned and threatened with death as "guerillas" or "pirates."

W. E. Seymour, late a captain in one of the regiments in the defence of the State, and honourably paroled, is a close prisoner at Fort St. Philip, and his property all confiscated on account of an obituary notice which appeared in his own paper, the *Bulletin*, of his father, the late gallant Colonel J. G. Seymour, of the 6th Louisiana, who fell in the battle at Gaines' Mill. The writer of the article, Mr. Dennis, an old and infirm citizen, was subjected to a like punishment, and is now a prisoner at Fort Pickens.

Besides these instances, there are a great many citizens who have only escaped imprisonment by the payment of large prices, and in many cases by bribing Federal officers of influence. To enumerate the cases of confiscation by order of Butler, and in many cases even by the order of his subordinates, would exceed the bounds I have allixed to this report. I have, however, kept a record of these cases, and will communicate them at some other time. Suffice it to say that nearly all the large and commodious houses of our citizens, especially those of absentees and officers in our army and Government, have been thus appropriated. Officers of no higher grade than lieutenants occupy houses which have cost our citizens \$30,000. Where furniture has been removed, or when deficient in any articles which the appropriators may deem necessary to their comfort, they are purchased at the expense of the owner of the property. The wives and families of our citizens are frequently ejected from these houses to make way for coarse Federal officers and the negro women whom they appropriate as their wives and concubines. Ships have been loaded with costly articles of furniture stolen—they say confiscated—from our citizens and transmitted North to the families of Federal officers. Many a house in New England is even now resounding with the tones of pianos thus stolen from the parlours of our citizens. A vast amount of silver has been appropriated in like manner. The example set by Butler in appropriating the house of General Twiggs's minor heir and furnishing it in a most lavish and luxurious style at the expense of the estate, and in transmitting the plate and swords of the deceased veteran to Lowell, the seizure and removal to the North of the statue of Washington by Powers, and of the State library from the capital of Baton Rouge, have been extensively followed by Butler's subordinates.

Nor have I here space to expose the extortions of Butler through the agency of his brother, an abandoned gambler and speculator, who has compelled our citizens, by all kinds of threats, to sell their property to him at rates fixed by him; who has monopolized all the shipping employed by the United States to transport the produce thus forced from our people, and has acted as broker to obtain remissions of penalties, and the restoration of fugitive slaves, in many cases on condition of the payment of half their value, and on pledges of half of the growing crops. In this manner have the plantations within fifty miles of New Orleans been taxed. Many of them, unable to secure even these terms, have been depopulated.

You have, doubtless, been made acquainted with the proceedings of Butler to compel our citizens to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, the prohibition of all trade to those who have not taken the oath, and the seizure of their funds in bank. The last device will be to compel all those who do not take that oath to register themselves as enemies of the United States, when they will be either imprisoned or driven from the city, and their property confiscated. These orders, especially the oath requirement, are applicable as well to women as to men. Indeed, the malice of Butler against females is more bitter and insatiable than that against males. A placard in his office in large letters bears this inscription, "The venom of the she-adder is as dangerous as that of the he-adder."

And this is but a feeble and deficient presentment of the enormities and brutalities of this cowardly and brutal monster. It is in vain that some of his subordinates remonstrate and protest against many of his acts. He will permit no one to thwart his two great objects—to bid highest for the favour of the Northern mob, and to accumulate a vast fortune by extortion and plunder. The extent to which this latter purpose is carried will surpass all similar efforts of great robbers, from Verres down.

I content myself with this mere epitome of Butler's crimes. At some other more favourable occasion I will present them in greater detail and with the authentic proof which I cannot now command. It would not be becoming in me to solicit or to suggest that some steps be taken by the President and Government of the Confederate States to arrest and to avenge these wrongs done our people. I have full confidence that all will be done in that behalf which can be done.

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THE INDEX

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Mr. Lincoln is always humorous. When the question of peace or war was pending, he interrupted a grave conference with grotesque anecdotes. No matter how solemn the occasion, he cannot refrain from homely jesting. We do not blame him for the indulgence of a habit which is evidently natural and unconquerable. When he tries to be serious he is grimly, but more than ever comic. When he told the Army of the Potomac, after the Seven Days' Battle, that it had not been beaten, we can conceive that the crushed and crouching remnant of that once mighty host must have thought their President amazingly funny, though it may have seemed rather a cruel joke to the crippled and the dying, and to those who had lost husbands, sons, and fathers in the bloody conflict. The last exhibition of Mr. Lincoln's fun is the terms in which he proclaims a servile war in the South—that is, a servile war if his power were in any degree equal to his will. This edition of his Emancipation Edict is confessedly a "military measure," and as such it would be useless, unless the slaves were to revolt, and also "be received into the Federal army and navy" to fight for the country of Butler, Pope, Turchin, and McNeil. With a blasphemy that has no parallel in the atheistic Reign of Terror in France, he invokes, "the gracious favour of Almighty God" upon the most brutal and savage scheme ever propounded. But the fun is as amusing as the blasphemy is disgusting. Mr. Lincoln, in effect, solemnly decrees that the slaves shall be free, where he has not the power to emancipate, and wherever he has the power, he decrees that the slaves are not to be freed.

The telegraphic summary of the document, of which we give the text in another column, says:—

It declares for ever free the slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except in certain counties and districts occupied by the Federal forces; and that their freedom will be recognized and maintained by the Government and military and naval authorities of the United States. All the Border Slave States are exempted. The proclamation enjoins upon the people so declared free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and recommends to them that, in all cases when allowed they labour faithfully for reasonable wages. The proclamation states that the slaves will be received into the Federal army and navy, and concludes by affirming the act to be one of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, and invokes the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God.

Possibly Mr. Lincoln hopes by this measure to conciliate the good-will of both Democrats and Republicans by playing with and deceiving both parties. He may remind the fanatics of New England that emancipation in ten States is equal to a general decree of emancipation, because the Border States could not keep their slaves if the negroes in the South were free. And Mr. Lincoln might still more conciliate his supporters by appealing to their cupidity and that passion for bloodshed that has made the clergymen of New England prefer the rifle to the Bible as an Evangelist. Mr. Lincoln, with a cunning chuckle, might tell his friends that he was going effectually to punish the Border States by protecting their property in slaves so long as the war lasted, and when it is over to leave them to their fate, and to whistle for compensation; and further that emancipation, by servile war, would be a ready mode of clearing the South of its white population and the hated negroes. The Republican journals approve of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, and the Rev. Ward Beecher is gloating over the prospect of a feast of blood that is happily not likely to be gratified.

Mr. Lincoln may hope to conciliate the Democrats by explaining to them that the proclamation is a sham to checkmate the Republicans. "See, gentlemen, I am not an Abolitionist. So far from sharing in the fanaticism of New England, I look upon the right to hold slaves as a fitting reward for loyalty to the Union. Besides, I am not going to emancipate the slaves. Where our armies do not go the negroes are not likely 'to work out their freedom'; in all the counties and districts occupied by our troops I especially exempt the slaves from emancipation." The cunning of Mr. Lincoln is too transparent to deceive the Democrats or to change the determination of the South to punish every attempt to stir up a servile war.

In our last issue we recited a clause of the Constitution of the United States, which forbids the dismemberment of a State. Our readers will not have been surprised to learn that Mr. Lincoln has violated that part of the Constitution by signing the bill for the admission of Western Virginia as a separate State. This act of spoliation is not formidable, as Mr. Lincoln's unconstitutional bills are less valuable than Mr. Chase's irredeemable greenbacks.

We elsewhere publish President Davis's proclamation of retaliation. We invite a careful perusal of that document, for though it is severe and uncompromising in its tone, it is marked by the most scrupulous regard to the claims of justice and humanity. Every effort was made to ascertain beyond question the true version of the murder of Mr. Mumford by General Butler, and ample opportunity was given the Federal Government to offer any explanation of the circumstances. The crime could not be denied, and yet Butler was left in office month after month, though his conduct was in all respects notoriously infamous. Long after the civilized world has condemned Butler as an enemy of mankind the President of the Confederate States denounces him as a felon and orders him, if captured, to be hanged. Surely no one ever so deserved the gallows as Butler, whose hands are stained with innocent blood, and who has been guilty of unparalleled barbarity to women and children, and has robbed the people of New Orleans of their property. Mr. Lincoln will not, by now withdrawing his favourite from New Orleans, save him from the consequences of his crimes. If ever the murderer of Mumford and the savage tyrant of New Orleans falls into the hands of the Confederates, he will be hanged. With regard to Butler's officers, who ought to have refused to obey such a commander, it is tolerably certain that since Butler is removed,

they will be released from the responsibility. The latter part of the proclamation refers to attempts at stirring up a servile war. It simply decrees that Federal officers actually in command of negro regiments are, if taken, to be punished; and the non-commissioned officers and privates are to be treated as prisoners of war. President Davis will not, in any way, encourage a war of retaliation, and so he limits the responsibility to the officers. We are confident that this act of the Confederate President will do much to prevent the war becoming a war of extermination.

President Davis and Staff arrived at Mobile on the 30th of December.

The military operations in the West are for the moment the centre of attraction. The reports which come from New York are meagre, and of such a character that we can only speculate upon the probable issue of the operations to which they refer. It appears that a series of battles have been fought in Tennessee between the Confederates under Generals Joseph Johnston and Bragg, and the Federals under General Rosecrans. The contest commenced on the 31st of December, and was continued on the 1st and 2nd of the present month. We need hardly say that the Federals claim a victory, for they have always done so during the progress and immediately after a series of battles. It is said that on the 31st of November the Federals recaptured Murfreesboro, and that the Confederate centre was broken, and the Confederates driven one mile, the left wing of the Federals having captured the entrenchments. This account of the affair is discredited by the fact that the engagement was renewed on the 1st and 2nd of January, and that when the mail left the result was not known in New York. The Federals must be very unteachable, or they would ere this have learned the danger of claiming a victory before the end of the battle, or before the result is known to them. We will endeavour to present our readers with an intelligible account of the affair, from the report of the special correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, though, of course, under such circumstances we cannot in any way guarantee the accuracy of the statements. The account is, however, full of admissions that pretty plainly indicate that there is much truth in the statement of the *Tribune*, that in spite of the Federal victory "the advantage was with the rebels."

It appears that the Southern army was posted on the bank of Stones River, with its flanks resting on Murfreesboro, and the centre on an elevation thickly wooded, and strongly fortified with artillery. The battle commenced at 7 o'clock in the morning, by the capture of three Federal batteries, which had the effect of demoralizing a Federal division. Upon this General Rosecrans ordered an advance, and the Confederates drew back, but immediately afterwards assaulted the Federal centre and broke it. The division under the immediate command of Rosecrans was still engaged in following the division of the Confederate army, the retrograde movement evidently being intended to divide the enemy's forces. The attack on the Federal right was also successful, and the correspondent of the *Tribune* says, "The number of our stragglers was formidable, and the prospect was discouraging, but there was no panic." The difficulties of the Federals were increased by the Confederate cavalry capturing McCook's ammunition and subsistence trains. The battle lasted till 6 o'clock in the evening. The correspondent of the *Tribune* says, "When the battle closed the enemy occupied the ground which was ours in the morning, and the advantage was theirs." The next day General Rosecrans commenced the attack. At 12 o'clock the correspondent of the *Tribune* says,

"At this hour we are apprehensive, some of our troops behaved badly, but most of them were heroes, I believe all but Walker's brigade, consisting of the 17th and 31st Ohio, and two other regiments, were in Wednesday's battle, they being on guard, but they were engaged to-day." It thus appears that on the 1st the whole of the Federal reserves were in the battle. The result of the contest had not transpired. It is admitted that the Federal loss was enormous; it is said, "Our whole line suffered terribly. Four regiments of regulars lost half their men and all their commanding officers. General Anderson's troops suffered severely." In the list of killed are Generals Sill and Willick; Lieutenant-Colonel Garsche, chief of General Rosecrans' staff; Colonels Hill, Sheffer, Tanner, and Jones; Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, and six other officers. Amongst the wounded are Generals Kirk, Wood, Van Cleve, Rousseau; Colonels Carsole and Berry, and Majors Clemmer and King. This list is very significant of a severe Federal disaster. Three Illinois regiments lost two-thirds of their men. According to Northern accounts the Confederate loss was heavy, and they report that General Raines was killed, and that General Cheatham was wounded and taken prisoner. But we need hardly observe that Federal reports of Confederate losses, whilst a battle is progressing are necessarily mere guesswork, and are always exaggerated. From the position of the Confederates it is probable that, as at Fredericksburg, their loss bears no proportion to that of the enemy. What is admitted in regard to losses seems to indicate one of those Federal victories which all the world considers Federal defeats.

Another and most significant circumstance is, that General Morgan captured the whole of General Rosecrans' transport train, which is in itself a decided victory, and is not modified by the report that he "is said to have lost heavily in men and material in skirmishes with the Federals." With enormous losses admitted, with the entire loss of the transport train, we should not be surprised to hear that the army of General Rosecrans has been completely dispersed and disorganized; but we must wait a few days before we can receive any reliable intelligence as to the bloody battles in Tennessee, of the 31st of December and following days. Possibly the capture of the transport train may refer to the ammunition and subsistent trains in charge of General McCook.

The reported defeat of General Morgan, at Rolling Fork, Kentucky, is not accompanied by any details, and is most probably one of the "rumoured victories" with which the Federal Government endeavours to console the Northern people for crushing disasters.

The Federals have made another attempt to capture Vicksburg. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th of December four attacks made on that place were repulsed with heavy loss to the Federals. The Confederates captured 100 prisoners. According to the latest accounts, the fighting was still going on. The New York papers said that Vicksburg would fall before the 1st of January, and, as usual, were false prophets.

Amongst other items of war news we may mention that General Grant has "changed his base" by falling back to the north side of Tallahatchie River; that the Confederates have repulsed an attack upon Davis's Mills, Mississippi; that the Confederates held the road between Columbus and Jackson; that the Federals evacuated New Madrid on the 28th of December, after destroying the magazine and barracks; and that General Morgan has destroyed a portion of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and captured Elizabeth Town, with 600 Federals. The Federals have taken Port Hudson, an undefended place of 300 inhabitants, about twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge. General Herron is reported to have captured Van Buren, Arkansas, on the 28th of December, and to have taken 100 prisoners, and "a quantity of war material."

General Stuart has again made the circuit of the Army of the Potomac. On the 27th of December he appeared before Dumfries, drove out the Federal garrison, made some captures, obtained some useful information from the War Department at Washington by means of a telegraphic operator whom he had with him (there is something immensely droll in the way in which Federal generals and officials are outwitted); having eluded the enemy, who promised faithfully to cut him off, he paid a few other visits, and then recrossed the Rappahannock safely, and rejoined the Confederate army. This exploit of General Stuart's has much annoyed the Lincolnites, as it shows the inefficiency of the Federal army and the spirit and determination of the Confederates.

Mr. Seymour was inaugurated as Governor of New York on the 1st of January. In his address, which we elsewhere reproduce, he said that he should support the Constitution of the United States, the

Constitution of New York, enforce the laws, and maintain and defend the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the State. His Message to the Legislature was to be delivered on the 6th instant. If we may judge by his first act, he will not altogether disappoint those who looked to him as a defender of the Constitution. He has ordered a trial of the New York Police Commissioners and Superintendent Kennedy for permitting the use of the New York police stations for the illegal detention of citizens.

General Banks has replaced General Butler at New Orleans, and has suspended all sales of property on account of the United States. Butler, in his parting address to his army, congratulates his "brave comrades on their privations, hardships, dangers, victories, successes, military and civil;" the victories he refers to being the ill-usage of women and children, murder and theft. He reminds them that, "landing with a military chest containing but \$75, from the hoards of a rebel Government you have given your country's Treasury nearly half a million of dollars;" but he does not refer to his soldiers' plunder, or give an account of the fortune that he has scraped together by the agency of his brother. He further says, "By your practical philanthropy you have now the confidence of the 'oppressed race,' and the slave." The expression "practical philanthropy" being a delicate way of stating that the Federal soldiers have taken the negro women for their mistresses and clothed them with garments stolen from the ladies of New Orleans. Amongst other achievements claimed by General Butler, he says, "I have demonstrated that the pestilence can be kept from your borders." If he had been in New Orleans during an unhealthy season, he would have found it difficult to conquer the yellow fever by his brutal rule. It is rumoured that General Butler will have a command in the field, or succeed Mr. Stanton. We are prepared for any act of degradation on the part of the Lincoln Government. A correspondent of the *New York World* thus refers to Butler's doings in New Orleans:—

New Orleans, Dec. 19, 1862.

Our streets and shops, and houses are almost entirely deserted. Every one has got away that could, by fair or foul means, and the military have had possession of everything. They have not, I regret to say, been scrupulous in regard to right. Dwellings have been sacked, stores have been broken open, plantations seized, negroes accounted as soldiers, women driven into the streets, men shut up in prisons, property confiscated and sold, pockets rifled, and grave offences sanctioned as military necessities—all in the name of liberty and union; while the grand genius of all this work and his satellites and confederates stood by, like another Nero, gluttoned with savage self-complacency, smiling on the ruin crumbling around us.

The Alabama captured the steamer Ariel, of the California line, on her outward passage, on the 9th inst., with Captain Sartori, Major Garland, and 160 marines of the Federal navy, and \$9500 in currency and specie. In consideration of the many women and children among the passengers, Captain Semmes released the vessel after three days, instead of destroying her. He took ransom bonds for \$228,000, payable one month after the recognition of the Confederacy. The private property of the passengers was spared. The Federal officers and marines were paroled. The passengers speak in warm terms of commendation of the gentlemanly conduct of the captors, of which some account will be found in a letter published in another part of our impression.

The Florida (Oreto) has left Mobile fully armed.

The rates of marine insurance at New York have advanced 2 per cent., and as the 300 war ships of the United States are not able to capture the Alabama, the New York Chamber of Commerce has been abusing this country, and has adopted the following resolutions:—

Whereas, On the 21st day of October last a statement emanating from Captain Hogan, of the ship Brilliant, recently burnt at sea by the captain and crew of the steamer Alabama, was produced in this Chamber, and a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, the object of which was to warn the merchants of Great Britain in a friendly spirit of the evil consequences likely to ensue from a repetition of such piratical acts as the fitting out in ports of Great Britain of other vessels like the Alabama, destined to plunder and destroy our commerce on the high seas; and

Whereas, This Chamber is led to believe that other vessels have sailed from ports of Great Britain, or are about to sail, for the express purpose of destroying American ships in distant parts of the world, and in answer of Earl Russell to the Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce is found the following passage, to wit:—"Sir, I am directed by Earl Russell to reply to your letters of the sixth instant, respecting the destruction by the Confederate steamship Alabama, of British property embarked in American vessels, and burned by that steamer. Earl Russell desires me to say to you that British property on board a vessel belonging to one of the belligerents must be subject to all the risks and contingencies of war, so far as the capture of the vessel is concerned. The owner of any British property, not being contraband of war, on board a Federal vessel captured and destroyed by a Confederate vessel of war, may claim in a Confederate Prize Court compensation." And

Whereas, Action on the part of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, so far as is at present known, has been limited to a reference of the proceedings of this Chamber to their Council, and on the part of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for trade, to her Majesty's Government, as set forth

in the communications from Mr. Tinson and Mr. Tennent, Secretaries of their honourable bodies; and

Whereas, Since the month of October last, it has come to the knowledge of this Chamber that the *Laurette*, T.B. Wales, and other ships have been captured and burned by the Alabama, and that in the first-named a considerable portion of the cargo was on British accounts, and certified to be such, and under the hand and seal of a British Consul; and

Whereas, There is no evidence before this Chamber to show that, in the absence of a recognized Government of which to demand redress, the British Government has issued orders to the naval commanders of her Britannic Majesty's ships of war to hunt down and destroy the Alabama as an offender against the property and honour of Great Britain, as well as an offender against the rights and interests of humanity; and

Whereas, It is alleged that the Alabama is continually supplied from Great Britain with coal and ammunition, by means of which she is enabled to continue her piratical course against American commerce, the consequence being to raise the premium of insurance on American vessels and their cargoes, and to depress the rates of freight in American ships, and to transfer our carrying trade to vessels of other nations, this Chamber is led to the following conclusions:—

First, That through the active instrumentality of the subjects of Great Britain, the so-called Confederate States are furnished with ships, men, arms, and ammunition, with which to war upon the United States:

Second, That without such foreign aid the States in revolt against the Government of the United States would be powerless to effect any injury to American commerce on the high seas.

Third, That this war upon American commerce, carried on by ships built and manned in Great Britain, is not rebuked by the British press generally; is not discouraged by the public sentiment of a once friendly nation, claiming to be governed by high and honourable principles, and is not effectively and thoroughly arrested by the strong will and stronger arm of the British Government:

Fourth, That, as a result of the foregoing facts and conclusions, the merchants of the United States are subjected in a certain degree to the evils that would attend a state of war with Great Britain, and are compelled to witness the carrying trade of their country transferred from their own vessels to British bottoms under all the sanctions and advantages of peace and neutrality to the latter, while the source of this great peril, threatening to drive American commerce from the ocean, is of British origin; now, therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of ten be appointed to take into consideration the foregoing, and to report at a special meeting to be called for the purpose, what action it becomes this Chamber to adopt in the premises.

May we suggest that the English press should be placed under the surveillance of Mr. Stanton, as that gentleman seems likely to lose his place in the Lincoln Cabinet? At present, we assure the Chamber of Commerce that there is no means in England of muzzling the press and forcing it to rebuke the gallant Alabama, or to prevent it rebuking Federal barbarity.

There was a report in Washington, on the 3rd of January, that General Burnside had resigned, and that General Hooker had been appointed to succeed him.

At a meeting of the Democratic Association in New York, the then forthcoming Emancipation Proclamation of the President was denounced as subversive of the Constitution, and a direct provocation of servile war. Resolutions were unanimously passed, requesting New Jersey to take the lead in an endeavour to arrest the war, by inviting the loyal States to meet in a National Convention at Louisville, Kentucky, in February next.

On the 2nd of January, gold in New York was 3½ premium.

In the frauds on the Federal Government, now being investigated, not only contractors, but officers of rank in the army, are said to be compromised. One colonel is reported to have swindled the Government to the extent of \$100,000.

ENGLAND.

Pauperism is still decreasing in Lancashire. Since the middle of November there has been observable a progressive amendment: first, a reduction in the rate at which the number of paupers increased; then a contest between the flood and ebb tide, resulting in the steady diminution. The following is the Poor-law Report for this week on the condition of the twenty-one suffering unions:—

(a). Two unions have more:—		Paupers.	
Chorley	210	.. ..	210
Warrington	50	.. ..	50
Total	260	.. ..	260
(b). Two unions are in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Liverpool, Wigan.			
(c). Seventeen unions have less:—			
Paupers.		Paupers.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	1,510	Oldham	540
Blackburn	2,080	Preston	740
Bolton	110	Rochdale	60
Burnley	620	Saddleworth	70
Bury	270	Salford	210
Chorlton	240	Stockport	90
Glossop	30	Toadmorden	30
Haslingden	840	Total	7,570
Macclesfield	40	.. ..	.. ..
Manchester	90	.. ..	.. ..
NET DECREASE IN THE PAUPERISM OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT.			
Second week of December, 1862	4,320	.. ..	.. ..
Third ditto	2,580	.. ..	.. ..
Fourth ditto	1,050	.. ..	.. ..
First week of January, 1863	7,310	.. ..	.. ..
Total	15,260	.. ..	.. ..

These figures do not accurately represent the increase of employment, or the relief of suffering. In many unions a mere transfer of names from the books of the Poor-law officers to those of the Relief Committee presents the semblance, at first sight, of an actual diminution of distress. About 260,000 persons are receiving aid from the unions, of whom a large number are also relieved by the Relief Committee. The *Times* has contrived to get curiously mystified on this subject, and its figures are never very reliable; but the fact remains that there may be a diminution of pauperism without any improvement of the state of the people, and without any numerical increase on the muster-rolls of the committees, simply by an undertaking on the part of the latter to relieve wholly a certain number of those whom formerly they relieved in part only. Take such a case as that of Blackburn. There were, say, 24,000 receivers of relief, of whom, perhaps, 16,000 were aided from both sources, and 4000 by each separately. There has been a division of labour—the guardians take 10,000, the committee 14,000. This would produce a decrease of 10,000 paupers, and yet an actual decrease also of no less than 6000 in the number assisted by the Relief Committee. This kind of arrangement has had something to do with the recorded reduction of pauperism. On the other hand, there is one kind of amelioration of the state of trade and the condition of the people which tells but little on the reports of the unions. The first effect of an improvement of trade is to allow those masters who were working three or four days a week to work full time; their hands never were paupers, and therefore this improvement in their condition produces no sensible effect on the poor-law returns. On the whole, we are inclined to believe that there has been in many places a real amendment; short time has been exchanged for full time, and some silent mills have been re-opened. To what extent the latter has been the case we shall only learn when we are informed how many persons are now working who were a month ago receiving relief: that is, what is the diminution in the aggregate number of paupers and dependents on the relief committees. It is certain that the improvement must be slow and very partial, because there will not be cotton enough to set a majority of the people at work, and because what there is will not be freely used so long as a possibility exists that the American crop may be released. Nothing but peace between the North and South, or war between England and the North—nothing but the interruption of the blockade—can restore prosperity to Lancashire.

The Mansion-house Committee received last week £47,000, and distributed about £11,000. The Central Relief Committee also received about £47,000, and granted nearly £9000. The latter body has now a balance of £386,000. Inquiries have been made from several quarters as to the necessity of further collections for the present. The committee are of opinion that, although they have funds in hand to last for three months or more, yet as there is no prospect of any immediate termination of the distress, and as at least half the people must be out of work during the whole of the present year, should the American war so long continue, there ought to be no relaxation in the efforts of the charitably disposed. Mr. Farnall read his usual weekly report:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I beg to inform you that on the 3rd inst. there was a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief in the twenty-seven unions of the cotton manufacturing districts, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 7360. This decrease of 7360 is explained as follows:—There is a decrease at Ashton-under-Lyne of 1506, at Barton-upon-Irwell of 13, at Blackburn of 2079, at Burnley of 913, at Bolton of 183, at Bury of 62, at Clitheroe of 60, at Garstang of 4, at Glossop of 26, a Haslingden of 843, at Lancaster of 3, at Leigh of 18, at Macclesfield of 41, at Manchester of 95, at Oldham of 573, at Preston of 742, at Prestwich of 6, at Rochdale of 58, at Saddleworth of 70, at Salford of 212, at Stockport of 87, at Todmorden of 91; making a total decrease of 7685. But there is an increase at Chorley of 206, at The Fylde of 64, at Warrington of 51, and at Wigan of 4; making a total increase of 325, so that there is a net decrease of 7360. On the 3rd inst. there were 253,146 persons in the receipt of parochial relief; in the corresponding week of last year there were 65,406 persons so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 187,740. The percentage of pauperism on the population of these Unions is 12·8; in the corresponding week of last year it was 3·3. The expenditure in outdoor relief for the week ended the 3rd inst. was £17,082 1s. 8d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £3262 18s. 8d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £13,819 5s. The average amount of outdoor relief per head per week, both in money and in kind, on the 3rd inst., was 1s. 5d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was 1s. 2½d. The maximum number of paupers which I have hitherto reported to you was attained by the twenty-seven unions adverted to in the week ended the 6th ult., when there were 271,983 persons in the receipt of parochial relief; since then there has been a weekly decrease of pauperism. On the 3rd inst. there were 253,146 persons so relieved; a decrease, therefore, of 18,837 paupers has taken place, and I am enabled to state that this decrease is mainly attributable to the employment of some of the workpeople, but at the same time I am informed that until the supply and the price of cotton and the relative value of manufactured goods are more positively established than they are at present, even the partial employment of the mill hands must remain in a very precarious position. For the week ended the 6th ult., the expenditure in outdoor relief in these twenty-seven unions was £18,728 8s.;

but the expenditure in outdoor relief on the 3rd inst. was £17,082 1s. 8d.; there is, therefore, a decrease in the last week's expenditure of £1646 6s. 4d. In accordance with the arrangements made at your last meeting, I have written to each of the medical officers of the above unions to ascertain the extent to which typhus fever prevails in their respective districts, and I shall be in a position to report to you on this subject on Monday next. On Friday last I attended a meeting of the Chorlton Board of Guardians, by previous arrangement, when I brought under their consideration the complaint of the Messrs. Birley that the Chorlton Board of Guardians in fixing the amount for parochial relief to be afforded to the workpeople of the Messrs. Birley, took into account the amount of aid which the Messrs. Birley gave them. I have now to report to you that I have received the assurance of the Guardians, through their chairman, that they have not adopted this course, but that, on the contrary, they have relieved each of those cases on its own merits, to the best of their judgment, and irrespectively of the aid extended to them by the Messrs. Birley.

From every quarter comes testimony to the same effect—that we can only hope for a scanty and insufficient relief from India, and that the misery of Lancashire—the semi-starvation of her labourers, and the gradual ruin of her capitalists—must go on until it shall please the American belligerents to make peace, or the European Powers to do it for them. Nothing but the cotton crop of the Confederate States can avail, within the next five years, to restore our cotton trade; and in five years that trade will be past the possibility of restoration.

The Members for Halifax addressed their constituents on Tuesday. Sir C. Wood defended the American policy of the Government, and expressed a qualified and not very confident belief in an increased supply of cotton from India. The more any one knows about Indian cotton, the less does he trust in it. The public at large is apt to imagine that the substitution of Surat for Orleans is only a question of time; the Indian Secretary thinks we may probably get more Surat than heretofore, but is doubtful; Mr. Laing, late Finance Minister in India, is very discouraging; and the manufacturers and merchants persevere in an obstinate disbelief. Mr. Stansfeld, after the manner of the man, complained gently of everything and everybody. He mourned over the collapse of Reform; rebuked the Emperor of the French for not withdrawing from Rome; and expressed himself much disappointed at the moral insensibility displayed by the English people in regard to the American quarrel. Everybody seemed, he said, to sympathize with the South, and to have forgotten all they had learned from Mrs. Stowe and Lord Shaftesbury about the wrongs of the negro. Mr. Stansfeld is much liked and respected by his constituents; and his speech, therefore, was received with more gravity than could have been expected.

Mr. Kinglake, M.P. for Bridgewater, addressed a meeting in that town on Monday evening. He reviewed the session in general, and his own conduct in particular, and seemed well satisfied with both. He inveighed furiously against the conduct of France in Mexico, and rejoiced that she was left alone "to carry out her base intentions." He thought that England ought not to recognize the Confederate States, until they were in possession of the whole of the territory which they claimed, and ought not to attempt mediation unless she had the goodwill of both belligerent Powers. If his views are to be carried out, neither recognition nor mediation will be possible while the war lasts. The Power which holds the sea can always hold New Orleans; and the Northern States will never cease to abuse and menace England in a way which, as Mr. Kinglake truly says, would have brought about a suspension of diplomatic relations with any other Power.

A county meeting in Worcestershire, assembled to consider the best means of raising funds for the relief of Lancashire distress, gave an opportunity to several gentlemen to speak out freely on the subject of intervention and the war in America. Sir E. Lechmere "regretted that there was no prospect of a termination of the war." The Earl of Coventry expressed a doubt whether the policy of our Government had been a wise or an enlightened one. How much misery might have been spared, how many lives might have been saved, had the proposal of the Emperor of the French been accepted, and a joint mediation offered. The Earl of Dudley referred to the existence of slavery in the Confederate States as a reason why we should not accord them our sympathy, and apparently as an objection to recognition. Mr. Lygon very properly retorted that we had never pretended to call in question the existence of slavery in the late United States, and he could see no reason why we should now cast it in the teeth of the Southern portion of the Union. He thought that the time had come when we were bound to face the question fairly, and that it was our duty to recognize the new Confederacy. Sir John Pakington (Lord Derby's First Lord of the Admiralty) spoke with more caution. He avoided to commit himself on the American question, and confined his observations to the condition of Lancashire, expressing his strong conviction that no change in the circum-

stances of the Lancashire cotton weavers had taken place which could justify any relaxation of public efforts on their behalf. This was not a case in which the sufferers ought to be left to the pittance to be drawn from the Poor Law. Those who administered the Poor Law had to act in the interest of those who paid as well as of those who received, and if that proposition was generally true it was especially so with regard to Lancashire, where the shopkeeper and the manufacturer were just now less able than at any former period to contribute their share to it. But who, he would ask, were the men that they were to relieve either by means of the poor rate or by charity? They had been living in prosperity, in independence, he might say, in affluence, drawing their 25s. to 30s. a week wages, and it was a cruel consideration that now, by no fault of their own, they had been thrown on charity for subsistence. Little less than half-a-million of money remained in the hands of the Central Committee. But, though this sum appeared large, they must remember that the expenditure was going on at the rate of nearly £40,000 a week. It was clear, therefore, that the fund in hand, large as it was, unless augmented, would only last a limited number of weeks. Sir John next alluded to the prospects for 1863, as laid before the last meeting of the Central Committee, from which he drew the conclusion that it was necessary the funds should be most carefully husbanded. England had well performed her duty, and it must be most gratifying to the men of Lancashire to see what sympathy had been expressed for them by all classes of their fellow-countrymen, and he trusted that as long as this calamity continued so long would that sympathy be shown to them.

The East Kent election has resulted in the defeat, by a very small majority, of the Conservative candidate. Though due entirely to mismanagement, the loss is severely felt by the party, as the seat was one on which they had securely counted. It is thirty years since a Liberal has been returned for East Kent.

A letter from Gibraltar, received in Liverpool, informs us that, even under the guns of that fortress, the Yankees cannot be persuaded to abstain from the most outrageous insults to the British flag. The *Sumter* has been sold to a British merchant, disarmed, repainted, and christened the *Gibraltar*. Having obtained leave from the captain of the port to try her engines in the bay, she was followed about by the Federal steamer *Chippewa*, with her guns shotted and her men at quarters, until she returned to her anchorage. The *Chippewa* has since been joined by the *Tuscarora*, and both vessels are on the watch for the *Gibraltar*, to attack her if she should leave the port. Of course, they have no more right to do this than to sink the *Dover* and *Calais* packet in the Straits, and if they should attempt it, it will be at the peril of having to try conclusions with a British man-of-war. The Yankees pretend that the *Sumter* was a prize, and so cannot be sold in a British port without an infringement of the Queen's proclamation. This is not true; and if it were true, would not give them the right to touch her, or invalidate the sale. The Queen's proclamation is a purely municipal regulation, and gives no rights to any foreign Power.

The *Economist* points out that we cannot hope to escape this year, a deficit due chiefly to the progress of distress and want in Lancashire. The revenue for the three quarters of the financial year which have already expired, exceeds, it is true, that of the corresponding quarters of the year 1861; but in that year there was an exceptional deficiency, and notwithstanding the increase in the present year, it is still evident that the result will fall far short of Mr. Gladstone's estimate. Some of the items deserve attention. There is an excess over the estimates in Customs of £650,000, in stamps of £151,000, and in assessed taxes of £408,000; showing that business has, on the whole, been fully as brisk as the Chancellor anticipated, and that the imports have exceeded his calculation. On the other hand, in the Excise, which shows more than anything else the condition of the labouring classes, there is a deficiency of no less than a million and a quarter—or at the rate of more than £1,650,000 a year; the income-tax is short by £900,000; the Post-office by £42,000; and, as not unfrequently happens to Mr. Gladstone, the miscellaneous revenue is short by a quarter of a million. We may expect a total deficit of £1,600,000, even if the expenditure have not exceeded the estimates.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The great event of the week is the Emperor's speech at the opening of the Legislative Chambers. His Majesty informed the Deputies that he saw no occasion to remand them prematurely to their constituencies, congratulated them on the progress which France had made in prosperity at home and

prestige abroad, and expressed, in conclusion, a hope that the country would continue to give him a Chamber composed of men willing loyally to accept the Empire, and to forego the indulgence of traditional prejudices and party antagonism. He considers himself, in fact, as the rightful ruler of France, and the representative, in his sovereign capacity, of the French people, whose full confidence he believes himself to enjoy; the Deputies are returned to assist at the ceremonies, and render some subordinate aid in the work of government. The Emperor governs, instead of reigning only; and this being the case, he can hardly tolerate the existence of an organized Opposition, whose hostility, being necessarily directed against himself, rather than against his Ministers, assumes the form of open disaffection. Moreover, he knows that the Liberals are all not merely hostile to himself, but pledged to schemes, more or less vague, for the overthrow of his dynasty, and the substitution, under a King or a Republic, of real Parliamentary government, for which he justly holds France to be entirely disqualified. Hence his objection to the presence in the Chambers of men who, under an English system of government, would be their brightest ornaments. The two most significant paragraphs of the speech referred to Italy and to America. On the former point he spoke guardedly:—

Our arms have defended the independence of Italy without assisting revolution, without changing beyond the field of battle the good relations with our adversaries of a day, without abandoning our Holy Father, whom our honour and our past engagements oblige us to sustain.

Courteous to Austria—resolved to sustain the Pope—what must be the Emperor's feelings towards the Government of Turin? Alas! poor Italy. Concerning America, the speech was a little more explicit:—

The indirect revenues constantly increase from the simple fact of the increase of general prosperity, and the situation of the empire would be flourishing if the American war had not dried up one of the most fertile sources of our industry. The forced stagnation of work has caused in several places a misery the alleviation of which demands all our solicitude, and a credit will be asked from you to assist those who support with resignation the effects of a misfortune the cessation of which does not depend upon us. However, I have endeavoured to promote on the other side of the Atlantic counsels inspired by a sincere sympathy, but the great Maritime Powers not feeling themselves in a position to join with me, I have had to defer to a more convenient epoch the offer of mediation which had for its object to stop the effusion of blood and to prevent the exhaustion of a country the future of which could not be indifferent to us.

This is a sufficient answer to the repeated assertions of certain Ministerial and Americanizing journals, that the Emperor has repented his offer of mediation, and is determined to abide by the policy of England. If Lord Russell is willing to starve his countrymen in order to gratify the vindictive ferocity of the North, Napoleon III. is less complaisant and cosmopolitan. For the sake of Europe, even more than for that of America, the sooner mediation is offered, or recognition recorded, the better.

We regret to see that a third warning, placing the paper altogether at the mercy of the Minister of the Interior, has been administered to the *Courier de Dimanche*, for a very clever but very malicious article on the electoral system, and the influence exercised by officials, from the pen of M. Prevost-Paradol. The irony of the writer was no doubt tolerably provoking; but Ministers should have thick skins, and there is some danger in sitting on the safety-valve, even when the escape of steam becomes disagreeable. We do not believe that brilliant satire can hurt the Imperial Government; but severe repression may do so.

GERMANY.—The King of Prussia remains firm in his adherence to the policy of reaction. In his reply to the New Year's address of the Municipality of Berlin, he said:—

The present position of affairs in Prussia, which has been styled a conflict, has arisen from the confusion prevailing in the public mind.

I intend to maintain and protect the Constitution. I am compelled to carry out by every means within the limits of the Constitution that which I consider essential to the welfare of the country, without regarding the fact of my being at present misunderstood.

It is the duty of all loyal citizens, and especially of municipal councils, to propagate sound views amongst the people.

His Majesty's Ministers seem bent on distracting the attention of the people by a foreign quarrel. It appears that the dispute with Austria has received a new embitterment. A Frankfort journal says that the Minister of Prussia, at Vienna, read to Count Rechberg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a very angry despatch, in which Austria was violently reproached, and Prussia threatened to secede from the Confederation, unless she were allowed the military and political leadership in Germany. Count Rechberg asked for a copy, which was refused. On seeing this statement, M. Von Bismark-Schönhausen lost his temper, and sent a *communiqué* to a Berlin paper, denouncing the Austrian Minister for a breach of confidence, giving his own version of the contents of the despatch in question, and declaring that the

statement published in the Frankfort journal must have come from Count Rechberg himself. Of course, it may just as well have been supplied by some unreliable clerk in the Berlin Foreign-office, or in the Embassy at Vienna. But the *communiqué* is decidedly an insult to the Austrian Cabinet, and it is hardly probable that it will be allowed to pass without notice. Prussia has her own reasons for quarrelling with Austria at this juncture. She has always been intriguing to constitute Germany a closer Federation, excluding Austria on the plea that her non-German territories form so much the most important portion of her empire as to constitute her, in fact, a non-German Power. In such a Federation the lead of Prussia would be undisputed; and for that very reason it seems certain that the other German Courts will never agree to it. Again, the proposal of Austria to enter the Zollverein, and the treaty between Prussia and France, which the minor States of that commercial union are not disposed to ratify, are thought likely to bring about a reconstruction of the arrangements, admitting Austria, and leaving Prussia "out in the cold." Altogether, the latter Power feels that Austria has thwarted her intrigues and gained influence at her expense; and is sore accordingly.

ITALY.—A proposal has been made, apparently in serious earnest, to transfer the Italian capital from the Northern to the Southern provinces. Turin is about as unsuitable a locality as could be chosen; and it is thought by some that the transfer of the Court and seat of Government to Naples might confirm the wavering loyalty of the people, and further the restoration of order in the Southern provinces. The following petition has been circulated for signature in Naples:—

Considering that on the good order and strong organization, as well as civil as military, of these Southern provinces depends in a very great measure the success of the Italian enterprise, and that from the prolongation of the present wretched state of things immense danger may arise for Italy:

Considering that the men and systems hitherto employed in the Government of these provinces have made a sad failure, so much so, indeed, as to make their condition much worse, and to increase the disaffection to the Government:

Considering that the solution of the Roman question, so impatiently expected by all Italy, but especially so by these provinces, may be delayed yet much longer, and that the residence in Turin of the Government and the Italian Parliament is among the principal causes of the grave evils, as well moral as material, of which this part of Italy complains:

Considering that the transference elsewhere of the Government and the Italian Parliament could be productive of no danger or inconvenience to the other provinces of Italy, while their removal to Naples until Rome be free would be an immense benefit to these provinces, the general and profound discontent of which would cease immediately:

The undersigned express the fervid wish that the Italian Government, as well as the Italian Parliament, should transfer their seat as speedily as possible to Naples until the arrival of the great day in which Italy shall have Rome for its permanent capital.

That great day is, we fear, so far off that the question of changing the seat of Government must ere long be seriously entertained.

GREECE.—The *Times'* correspondent reports that the Greeks still insist on having Prince Alfred for their King, and are by no means disposed to put up with a substitute. They do not consider the proposed cession of the Ionian Islands by any means a sufficient compensation for the refusal, and still cherish hopes that the three Powers may be brought to consent to their wishes. We cannot but fear that great mischief has been done by the long delay in declaring the ineligibility of the Prince. His name has been made the symbol of union and order; his reign has been expected as the best and easiest solution of the many problems that perplex the politicians of Greece; and now the announcement that he cannot be their King has thrown them back into confusion, distrust, and faction. No one knows what will be the issue. The name of a Prince of the House of Orleans has been mentioned; and if the jealousy of the Emperor of the French would allow of such a choice, it might, perhaps, prove eventually better for Greece than the acceptance of the throne by a Prince so young and untried as him on whom the Greeks have hitherto set their hopes. But we fear that the House of Orleans is out of the question.

An address, thanking the English Government for the projected cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, has been abandoned, as opposed to the wishes of the principal merchants of Corfu.

On Sunday morning last, at about four o'clock, the schooner *Retribution*, of 1500 tons, John B. Parker, master and owner of the cargo, came into our port. At daylight she hoisted the rebel flag of the Southern States. The authorities, we understand, at once sent the harbour-master on board with the request that the flag be lowered and not again hoisted. The schooner belongs to Charleston, S.C., and is ten days from Wilmington, N.C., with the large complement of fifteen men. She has a cargo of about one hundred bales of cotton, four hundred barrels of spirits of turpentine, and one hundred barrels of rosin, with three guns in the hold! Under what particular form the cargo has been allowed to be landed, we are not prepared to say; certain it has been landed, and will be sold at public auction. Her consignee is Mr. C. W. White. We are told that in consequence of the want of a power of attorney from the owner, no sale of the vessel can be made.—*The St. Thomas Tidende*, 10th December.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1863.

During the past week our cotton market has witnessed considerable fluctuations in value.

Our last report closed on a quiet market with Fair Dhollerahs at 18d.

The three following days the trade bought sparingly. Speculators held aloof, and with a business of 3000 to 4000 bales daily, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. decline was established. Some uneasiness was felt regarding the next American news and many holders became anxious to realize before the arrival of the next steamers from the States.

On Monday the "Scotia's" news were to hand, and their purport had the tendency of further disquieting timid holders. It appeared that a Democrat meeting had been held at New York, when the Hon. James Brook proposed a convention of commissioners from both loyal and disloyal States to meet at Louisville, for consideration of their present difficulties, whilst President Lincoln was to be petitioned to grant an armistice. Although such proposals as these are evidently impracticable and would not, for a moment, be entertained by the Government, yet they served to increase the uneasiness that previously existed here; at the same time it was believed by some that Lincoln would adopt a fresh policy on the 1st of January, and on Seymour making a bold stand on assuming power, he might be so influenced as to adopt a moderate—and what might become—a pacific policy.

Our market accordingly on Monday and Tuesday was very much depressed, and the sales were only 3,000 and 4,000 bales at a further decline. Fair Dhollerahs being done at 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The India accounts slightly counteracted the effects of the American news and imparted more tone to the Manchester market. Goods had advanced on receipt of latter news from Europe, 6d. to 9d. per piece. The Calcutta market at the close was reported excited, and as they had each mail to receive a further advance in the home markets, it was generally believed that this was but the first of a series of better accounts from the East.

This morning a great change has occurred in the position of our market. The "Etna" brings the President's proclamation of emancipation to the negroes in all rebellious States. Seymour in his inaugural address refers merely to his State duties, and expresses no intention of interfering with the present Government. In the West, some severe fighting had taken place without decisive result.

The careful consideration of this news had the effect of removing from men's minds the chance they had previously entertained of an early settlement. Our market opened very excited, and with sales of 20,000 bales, an advance of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. was freely paid, and the tone at the close is still very buoyant. We quote Middling Orleans 24 $\frac{1}{2}$. Fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttee 18 to 18 $\frac{1}{2}$, and Fair Broach 18 $\frac{1}{2}$.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, January 13, 1863.

Our market for yarn and cloth during the whole of last week has exhibited a great amount of tameness, even when compared with the quiet state of things prevailing the week previous, caused chiefly by the small amount of cotton sold from day to day in Liverpool.

Yarns for export have been almost entirely neglected, nevertheless holders maintain great firmness, and do not press for offers.

Yarns suitable for home trade manufacturers, suffered a decline on Friday of from $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. on the prices of Tuesday previous, but very little business was effected, even at that reduction, as the tone in Liverpool appeared to indicate a further weakness. Cloth has also been very quiet, especially qualities suitable for shipment, there being only a small demand from the home houses.

To-day, Tuesday, we have experienced a further depression of feeling, and altogether it has been one of the quietest market-days for some months past. All parties are anxiously waiting the arrival of the American steamer of the 3rd inst. with the President's Emancipation Proclamation.

Export yarns, although not enquired for, are firmly held; but home trade yarns have been sold at another $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. decline.

Telegrams received to-day from Calcutta and Bombay, with dates 26th and 27th ult. respectively, advising higher prices for cotton goods generally, have imparted great firmness to cloths suitable for those places.

FREDERICKSBURG.—The town of Fredericksburg, Va., having suddenly become a point on which public interest centres, we deem it appropriate to give a brief description of the place. It is pleasantly situated in a fertile valley, in Spotsylvania county, on the south side of the Rappahannock River, at the head of tide water, 65 miles north of Richmond and 110 miles above Chesapeake Bay. The population in 1860 was 5090. The town was named in honour of Prince Frederick, father of George III., and was established at an early period of the colonial era. It contains a court house, several Churches, an orphan asylum, three banks, several mills and foundries, three semi-weekly newspaper offices, &c. The Rappahannock affords valuable motive power, available at the falls above. A canal extending to a point forty miles west of the town affords means of transportation for the products of a rich farming country, and the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad connects the city with the State capital. Just beyond the limits of the city an unfinished monument, begun in 1833, marks the tomb of the mother of Washington, who died there in 1789.—*The Charleston Courier*.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following letters are addressed to a relative in London:—

RICMOND, Nov. 6, 1862.

My dear —,—We were all much gratified to receive your interesting letter, though it pained me much to hear that your health is not strong. I sometimes think I would give a great deal to be with you on the other side of the Atlantic, and away from the sad scenes by which we are entirely surrounded. We have been blessed with many victories, but the exultation of every one has been saddened by the irreparable loss of valued friends. R— is much separated from me. I have not seen him now for nearly four months. In one of the battles near Manassas his horse was wounded; he has escaped thus far without any scar to mark of the fearful conflict in which he has borne his part.

Surrounded as you are, my dear —, by all the luxuries of life, and under the protection of a powerful and peaceful Government, you can scarcely realize the feelings of inexpressible sadness which sometimes almost overwhelm us. We never despair of the final success of our cause, but we realize the fearful sacrifices by which we are purchasing our independence.

Your friends often inquire about you and express their deep interest in your welfare. I am sorry you have not heard oftener from home. Be assured you are never forgotten, and hereafter I hope the letters we send you may be more fortunate in reaching their destination. Send me your *carte de visite*. I would be delighted to see your face again, and the "counterfeit presentment" of a well-dressed man would be a novelty in our primitive Confederacy.

God bless you—may we meet again and in happier times.

CHARLESTON, S. C., November 14, 1862.

Dear Cousin,—It falls to my lot to acknowledge the receipt of your letter by Aunt C—, written just before your departure for the Highlands of Scotland—the only one she has received from you since that brought by the Nashville some months ago.

I am here in this city, having been granted a furlough by the authorities at Richmond, owing to a severe spell of illness which I incurred while in Maryland with the army. I was quite ill at Frederick, and barely managed to escape, my comrades being taken prisoners. I have, by great good fortune, escaped injury thus far; though at Manassas, No. 2, I expected one of the many thousand bullets which whistled past my ear would have hit me.

I am still in the ranks. I stood an examination in Richmond some weeks ago; my *papers* were satisfactory, but my age (20 years), proved an insurmountable barrier to advancement. I am perfectly contented, however, and will serve in that capacity to the end of the war, patiently awaiting something to "turn up."

Aunt C— has had a great many applications for boarding, among whom are the families of Captain P—, and General R—, together with hosts of refugees; but, as she says, the trouble would be too great for her, and she wishes to live in quiet, she has refused them all categorically. Her house, however, is always open to sick soldiers, and she has taken care of a great many. One, a very estimable young man, who was picked up at her door in a fainting condition, and who would not go to have his case treated until too late, died there in September. She has also, in a great measure, supported several of our Norfolk relatives. Dear Aunt C— has such a big heart that she never wearies in her acts of generosity.

Your friend W. B.'s system has been terribly shattered by the campaign through which he served as a private. Though an officer before, through some unintelligible cause he refused the same post (that of 1st lieutenant) when it was unanimously tendered him. He will probably now accept of some lighter duty should his strength return, being totally unfitted to undergo the hardships of a common soldier. Poor Mrs. M— has suffered terribly; her son John, a major of infantry, being killed at Manassas; James so badly wounded as to be still in a critical condition, and George wounded, but not dangerously. Mrs. M— always inquires after you when I go to her house.

Your cousin J. N— has met with a great misfortune. He was captain of a company of heavy artillery stationed at Drury's Bluff, and while drilling his command was attacked by a stroke of paralysis, which for some time disabled his right arm and leg, and painfully affected his mind. Since then his mind has become sound again, and he has recovered the use of his arm and leg, but his hand seems to bid defiance to all remedies. He resigned last week upon his surgeon's telling him that continued service would expose him to a second attack, the consequences of which would be much more serious than the preceding. Being compelled to resign has rendered him quite gloomy, and he is no longer the J. N— of old.

Never in the course of time has there been more patriotism displayed than there now is by the young men of our army. Though suffering deeply from the change from affluence to the hardships of camp, and those of no ordinary description, each and every one labours and fights uncomplainingly and undismayed—resolved that should the Confederacy be subdued, he will fall with it. Every mind is calmly determined that such shall be the case, though we anticipate no such contingency.

While in Winchester, I took the opportunity of visiting Mr. Mason's home, if home it can now be called. I have never seen such venom as the Yankees displayed in the demolition of that house and grounds. The scene presented the strongest exhibition of rancorous hate that could be conceived of.

I hope your trip has proved beneficial to you. As I write in great haste, and under some restrictions, my letter is necessarily condensed, and I only wish I had the opportunity to write more fully.

Extracts from letters lately received from New Orleans.

Dec. 8, 1862.

General Banks has just arrived from the North with a large number of troops; we hear he is to supersede Butler. We trust the exchange will be a beneficial one. It could not be much worse under any circumstances. If I were to attempt to describe the atrocities which have been committed here, you in England would not give them credence. Ladies and infants turned out of their houses, everything of value stolen, packed up, and sent North by men calling themselves officers of the United States army. No sex, no age is safe from insult, and wherever the United States' troops have entered into the country or interior of Louisiana, everything has been destroyed, houses burned, plate and jewels and all valuables stolen, and the women turned almost naked into the fields. In one instance they used a gentleman's library to set fire to his house!

Without European intervention the war will be prosecuted for years, and every day renders the contest more savage; I sincerely believe peace would take place twenty-four hours after it were insisted on by Europe.

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 17, 1862.

We find it most difficult to get on with the sale of the goods sent us, and have visited the grocers even of Fourth District and the Basin to try to sell them; but as we are confined to the city demand, it is slow work. None can trade in the country, except favourites of the military officers. The people are getting daily poorer, eating up what little they have; yet with all our poverty, Colonel Butler and his brother the general, by whose aid he acted, is said to have made since the occupation of this city, not less than \$5,000,000. A clerk of Colonel Butler stated in the presence of a dozen gentlemen within a week, that Colonel Butler had made \$2,500,000 since he had arrived at New Orleans. Can any man of any sense suppose that that amount of money could have been made by honest and honorable trade, in that time? We are now glad to have the pleasure of reporting that General Butler has been superseded by General Banks, who, we are informed, is a gentleman, and will not rob and steal.

By the papers we send you, you will see General Banks' first order is to suspend the sale of all property on account of the United States Government until further orders; that is well, as they are clearing out dwellings and houses daily, and selling everything at auction. All of Dameron's large stock of carpets were seized and sold this week, because he is living over the lake. It has been deemed crime enough to live within the Confederate lines to have your property seized and sold.

We expect to hear of some hard fighting soon in Mississippi.

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 19.

General Banks has commenced his work in the city by countermanding many of General Butler's orders, some of which you will observe in the papers we send you. He has stopped the sale of all private property confiscated and being sold on account of the United States; and has given up the house of Dr. Campbell, corner of St. Charles and Julia, which General Butler turned the doctor and his family out of and used himself; and has ordered all officers using private houses, that they must either pay all back rent and rent for the future, or leave the houses.

He has also liberated H. M. Wright, who was on Ship Island at hard labour; also Shortridge, who was on his way there, and several other persons who were in prison, some for attempting to run the blockade.

The papers say General Banks will hear all grievances. His course has been very conciliatory so far.

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 20.

We are very quiet here at present. It is reported that General Butler will leave here for Washington on Monday next, the 22nd, and that his brother, Colonel Butler, is under arrest.

You will observe an advertisement in the *True Delta* we send you, "House wanted by S. Holabird, quartermaster." He wants a furnished house, for which he will pay rent.

How different from the rule of General Butler. His order was, "Leave this house by 4 p.m. to-day, we want it." He took any house in town, and would not allow the owner to remove one cent's worth of property.

General Banks is living at the St. Charles' Hotel, and his officers take no man's property or house without paying rent, &c. We are all much pleased with the *crumb of improvement* in our condition.

At the date of our latest advices from Charleston, the 17th of December, a Governor for that State had not been elected.

The balloting commenced on the 16th of December. Two ballots for Governor were taken, with the following result:—

FIRST BALLOT.

Hon. M. L. Bonham	59
Hon. J. L. Manning	58
Hon. J. S. Preston	17
W. H. Trescott, Esq.	12
Scattering	21

None of the candidates having received a majority of the votes cast, there was consequently no election.

SECOND BALLOT.

Hon. M. L. Bonham	79
Hon. J. L. Manning	63
Hon. J. S. Preston	3
W. H. Trescott, Esq.	6
Scattering	7

No candidate having received a majority of the votes cast, there was no election.

The Hon. P. C. J. Weston, of Prince George Winyah, was elected Lieutenant-Governor.

A special despatch to the *Mobile Register*, from Okolona, Mississippi, the 12th of December, says:—"Colonel Bartram's scouts burned 1500 bales of cotton, near Corinth, belonging to Yankee speculators, this week. There has been no movement of the enemy in this direction."

THE ATTACK ON PLYMOUTH, NORTH CAROLINA.—The *Raleigh Journal*, of the 13th of December, says:—"A portion of the 17th Regiment North Carolina troops (Colonel Martin), two squadrons of the 63rd Regiment North Carolina troops (Colonel P. G. Evans' Partisan Rangers), commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Evans, and a section of Captain A. D. Moore's Artillery (10th Regiment North Carolina troops), commanded by Captain Moore, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Lamb (17th Regiment), attacked the enemy near Plymouth, on Wednesday morning last, at 5 o'clock, drove them into the town, and, being fired upon from houses, the artillery battered them down. Our forces captured twenty-five Yankees and seventy-five negroes. Captain John M. Galloway, of the 63rd Regiment, from Rockingham County, was severely wounded while leading a charge. Three privates of Moore's battery, and three of the 17th Regiment, were wounded, though not severely. We lost none in killed. One gunboat was seriously damaged by our artillery. Some two-thirds of the town was burned, and was still burning.

A special despatch to the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* from Grenada, Mississippi, the 13th of December, says:—"The latest reliable intelligence places the Abolitionists at Water Valley, on the Yockanapatafina River, where they burned five houses. They impress all the stock and crops in their reach, and destroy the surplus. Generals Grant and McPherson's headquarters are at Oxford, Mississippi.

At last accounts General Forrest was operating on the Memphis and Clarksville Road, having destroyed a portion of the track over that road and burned the bridge over the Tennessee at Danville.

The Charleston papers of the 17th of December announce that another vessel from Nassau, with an assorted cargo and Government stores, has arrived safely at a Confederate port.

From Southern accounts we learn that not more than 3000 Confederate troops were engaged at Kuston, North Carolina, and that the General did not retire until he had once driven the enemy entirely from his position, and inflicted a heavy loss. The Federals shelled the town, killed many of the citizens, and destroyed several houses.

It is said that no more than one-tenth of Fredericksburg is seriously injured.

GENERAL MANCY GREGO, of South Carolina, who was killed at the battle of Fredericksburg, was in his 47th year. He was appointed a Major in the 12th Infantry, U. S. A., for the Mexican War, in March 1847, and retired on the disbanding of that regiment after the war. In all the elements of a good officer and commander, he exhibited marked aptitude and proficiency, and conciliated the admiring regards of all who enjoyed opportunities of observation. Candour, frankness, and earnestness were ever present and prevalent traits in his character and conduct. In the great issues between the North and South, as now prosecuted to the ordeal of battle, he was emphatically in earnest. In the debates and contest of 1850-52, he was an active and influential leader of the party urging and advocating secession, either with or without co-operation. He was then a delegate to the "Southern Congress," in Nashville. At the opening of this war, he commanded one of the first regiments organized, and was in active service when he was promoted a Brigadier. His services and performances in this grade will be recorded in the history of the war.

DEATH OF GENERAL COBB.—General Cobb's command bore a conspicuous part in the battle of Fredericksburg. General Cobb had posted his men in a field where they were concealed by a stone fence, while he stood behind a house awaiting the approach of the enemy; a shell passed through this house and struck General Cobb, shattering his right leg, from the effects of which he died in a short time. It is stated that Cobb's brigade encountered a force of the enemy four or five times their number, and slaughtered them terribly, waiting until the Federals approached within a short distance. They poured in a deadly volley, which broke their columns, and they refused to rally afterwards. On this field, we are told, the enemy left 1000 of their dead.

COLONEL JAMES D. NANCE, 3rd Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, was severely wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, in the right leg and instep of the left foot.

LIEUT. JAMES ARMSTRONG, jun., attached to General Maxey Gregg's brigade, was badly wounded in the leg at the late battle before Fredericksburg.

GENERAL LEE'S DESPATCHES.—The following despatches are published in the Richmond papers:—

To General S. Cooper,—At 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, the enemy attacked our right wing, and, as the fog lifted, the battle ran along the line from right to left until 6 p.m., the enemy being repulsed at all points—thanks be to God. As usual, we have to mourn the loss of many brave men. I expect the battle to be renewed to-morrow morning.

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

To General S. Cooper,—General Hampton reports that he entered Dumfries and captured twenty waggons with stores.

and 500 prisoners, all of which he brought to the Rappahannock. General Sigel is expected at Dumfries to-morrow.
(Signed) R. E. LEE.

ENGAGEMENT AT PORT HUDSON.—The *Charleston Courier* publishes the following:—

Port Hudson, December 14.

On the afternoon of the 12th inst., the Yankee gunboat Essex and a wooden boat, name unknown, anchored out of the range of the lower batteries. Captain McLain's company of cavalry crossed the river in the night, hired a negro to hail the Essex, which hail was promptly answered, and a small boat sent ashore, when the cavalry fired, killing one and wounding two. Last night, Captain Boone, with his company of light artillery, crossed the river and took possession opposite the wooden boat. At dawn they opened a brisk fire on her, which was answered by her and the Essex. The engagement lasted two hours, when the wooden boat retired behind the iron-clad boat for protection, and both proceeded down the river. The enemy fired in all 110 guns. Captain Boone fired twenty five, twenty of which took effect, some passing through the enemy's boat. The enemy's loss is not known. We had one private slightly wounded in the hand. The enemy were badly worsted and driven off. Captain Boone's company acted with great gallantry. The enemy's pickets extended as far up as Donaldsonville on the shore.

TEXAS NEWS.—The *Houston Telegraph*, of November 25th, says, that "at a skirmish at Bolivar's Point, two Federals were killed and five captured, and the latter brought to the city."

News from Niblett's Bluff, Louisiana, states:—"The gunboat Cotton had a fight yesterday with the Federal gunboats. After two hours' fighting, the Federals withdrew with apparently one boat badly damaged. Nobody hurt on our side. The enemy are cruising in and around Grand Lake."

BATTLE IN ARKANSAS.—General Hindman's Confederate forces recently attacked the enemy at Fayetteville, Arkansas, defeated them, and captured 400 prisoners.

CAPTAIN ED. WILLIS, of Savannah, a West Pointer, has been appointed Major of the 12th Georgia Regiment, of which he was for some time Acting Adjutant.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, January 13.

The Emperor's speech on the opening of the last session of the present legislature has not, in any one point, fulfilled the expectations that were formed of it. It was expected to be very important, and to contain various precise indications as to the policy which in the opinion of the simple minded people the Emperor always makes up his mind to follow, years beforehand. The speech is not important, and it does not contain anything of the kind. At the same time if it does not contain anything that justifies the extravagant eulogies which the French semi-official papers think they are obliged to put forth, it is but fair to admit that it contains nothing that invites censure. His Majesty, your readers will have seen, begins by alluding to the rumours of a premature dissolution of the present Corps Legislatif, and states that it would have been ungrateful on his part to have done so—an avowal on the candour of which (not unmixed with a slight squeeze of the lemon of irony) the Emperor may be congratulated. For, indeed, it may be said that for subserviency and docility *nullum inveniunt parem*. After this commencement which, naturally enough, was immensely applauded by the assembled legislators, the Emperor proceeded to sketch, with a light and dexterous hand, all that had been accomplished since the present legislature was first elected, and I am bound to state that the retrospect contains not one word that could give offence to any of the most punctilious of the Foreign Powers. Fancy, for instance, what a statesman, of the stamp of say Mr. Seward or the renowned Cassius M. Clay, would have said had they had to recite events such as the Italian campaign, the defeat of Austria, the annexation of Nice and Savoy, the transformation of the navy, and the no less wondrous transformation of Paris! This retrospect, which might without injustice have been one continued piece of self-laudation, is written in singularly good taste, with an absence of what the French call *le moi*, that future writers of state papers cannot do better than imitate. The Corps Legislatif is congratulated on its share in the great deeds of the Empire.

The tone of the speech, on the whole, is pacific. The Empire continues to be *la paix*, as the *Debats* very judiciously remarks, the wars that have taken place in Italy and elsewhere, are set down as accidents not involving any departure from a general system of which peace is the foundation. Austria is not ungracefully alluded to as "*notre adversaire d'un jour*;" and if there is a suspicious phrase about sympathy with Serbia and Montenegro, there is also a reassuring sentence about the "rights of the Porte."

The paragraph on the American war is purely retrospective; but, at the same time, it is held to imply that His Majesty has not by any means abandoned his intention of tendering his mediation on the first favourable

opportunity. On this point the speech could hardly be more explicit. For fuller particulars we must look to the speeches to be delivered in the Senate and Corps Legislatif, in the course of the debate on the address. It is not, however, thought impossible, that by the time that debate commences, that the French Government may have taken a final decision to preserve from utter ruin a country, of which, to use the Emperor's own words, France (and surely England is in the same case) cannot contemplate the future destinies with indifference.

A great many reports have been current respecting interviews between the Federal envoy here and the Emperor. The semi-official *Observer*, I see, has stated that the Emperor had assured Mr. Dayton that he had no intention of proposing an armistice—your weekly contemporary, I am able to assure you, has been imposed upon,—no declaration of the kind has been made by the Emperor; and, I may add, beyond the official new year's-day reception, there has been no interview between His Majesty and the American envoy. Moreover, the Imperial speech shows by its reference to the American war, that no statement of the kind could possibly have been made.

The first setting of the Chambers took place this afternoon, when the two "Blue-books" corresponding to your Secretaries reports laid before Congress simultaneously with the presidential message, were laid on the table. I have been unable to do more than take a hurried glance at them. In the general *resumé* of the Ministry of Foreign affairs, the paragraph which relates to the United States is guarded in the extreme; after briefly describing the refusal by Russia and England to join in the tender of mediation, the document proceeds to make the following important announcement:—

"Evidently there can be no occasion on our part to resume alone the initiation of a project, which, according to our primitive idea, should have been carried out with the concurrence of our allies, but we have taken care to make it known at Washington that we were quite ready if any wish was expressed to that effect, to facilitate either alone or in conjunction with any other Power, and in whatever form might be suggested to us the work of peace in which it had been our wish to associate Russia and Great Britain."

The general news of the week is neither remarkable for its importance nor from its interest. The Archbishopric of Paris has been conferred upon M. Darboy, Bishop of Nancy, a downright anti-ultramontane, hitherto known chiefly by his having written (some few years back) a most eloquent protest against the bigotry, superstitious idolatry, and rabid intolerance of M. Veuillot and churchmen of his school. The appointment is likely to be popular everywhere save among the Church. The numerous good things which Cardinal Morlot combined with his archiepiscopal emoluments (in themselves a miserable pittance, only £800 or \$4000 per annum,) are not to be the perquisite of his successor. The grand Almonership, together with the Cardinal's hat and the seat in the Senate are, it seems, to be bestowed on one of the offshoots of the Imperial family—the Abbé Bonaparte—of whom little is known save that he is a young man, and is a son of the Prince de Camille.

The Italian imbroglio appears to be enjoying a brief period of repose; and however partial they may be to Italy, the public are, in truth, not sorry to let it rest for a period. To all appearance, the relations are anything but friendly. The Tuilleries frown at the Palais Royal, and the Palais Royal turns its back on the Tuilleries. The Pope waxes affectionate and sentimental in his New Year's address to veterans of the Crimea and Solferino—congratulates them in all sincerity on the "glorious duty" they are fulfilling at Rome—is affected to tears at the idea of his "little godson;" sneers at Italy, as "I know not what kingdom;"—the whole of which finds a place in the front page of the *Moniteur*. The Italian minister puts up with wonderful equanimity with the rebuff, and the public, in a state of bewilderment, mentally exclaim, like the man in the play—"Ah ca! Messieurs, qui trompe-t-on ici?"

Whether the liberals or the clericals labour under a misconception as to the real way the wind blows respecting themselves, one class there is that cannot indulge in any illusion as to the views respecting them in high quarters—I mean the press. Since I last addressed you, two remarkable *avertissements* have been launched by M. de Persigny—the first, on the 5th, was given to the *Opinion du Midi*, a paper published in the pleasant town of Nîmes. M. Augier's celebrated anti-clerical piece, *Le Fils de Giboyer*, had been announced for performance there: whereupon, the Bishop of Nîmes Vicar-General penned a letter denouncing the Government for allowing such a piece to be performed, denounced the manager who got it up, the actors that performed it, the author who wrote it, and the spectators that went to see it, and published the letter in the *Opinion de Midi*. Telegrams were thereupon interchanged between Nîmes and Paris. The Prefect hesita-

ted to give an *avertissement* to a bishop's coadjutor, but M. de Persigny, to do him justice, knows no scruples of the kind. He immediately ordered the *avertissement* to issue. The second warning was to the *Courier du Dimanche* for an able and amusing article of M. Prevost Paradol on "Universal Suffrage." This *avertissement* has done M. Paradol not the slightest harm, but *en revanche*, has done a good deal to the Government, whom M. de Persigny's excessive zeal leads the public to look on as bent into reducing to silence, or driving into exile, the only political writers the brilliancy of whose talents the effectual extinguisher has been wholly unable to affect.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 1, 1863.

By the President of the United States of America—a Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States containing among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall there be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and *for ever free*; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authority thereof will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom. That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by Proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by Members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:—

ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA—except the parishes of St. Bernard, Picquemin, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans—MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA—except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And, by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do hereby declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward, shall be *free*, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labour faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And, upon this—sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution—upon military necessity—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favour of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 1st day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seven.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President, Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

(From the *New York Times*.)

I have solemnly sworn to support the Constitution of the United States with all its grants, restrictions, and guarantees, and I shall support it.

I have also sworn to support the Constitution of the State of New York, with all its powers and rights, and I shall uphold it.

I have sworn to support the duties of the office of Governor of the United States, and with your aid they shall be faithfully performed.

These constitutions and laws are meant for the guidance of our official conduct, and for your protection and welfare.

The first law recorded for my observance is that declaring that "it shall be the duty of the Governor to maintain and defend the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the State."

The next strict injunction on the Constitution is, that

Governor shall take care that the laws "are faithfully executed," and so help me God, they shall be.

He would not dwell, on the present occasion, on our National affairs.

Our position as a State has been happily alluded to by my predecessor. My views on the subject will be laid before the Legislature. While knowing that his position gave him but little control over national affairs, he (Seymour) yet ventured to trust that before the end of his term of service the country would be again great, glorious, and united, as it once was.

PRESIDENT DAVIS IN MISSISSIPPI.—The *Jackson Mississippian*, of the 21st, announcing the arrival there of President Davis and Gen. Johnston, says :

We are happy to see the President in good health and spirits. His presence in the State which has honoured and loved him so long at this critical juncture will be worth almost as much as "an army with banners." Everybody seemed to be reinvigorated and better contented, when it was ascertained that the President had arrived. We augur much good to the cause to grow out of his visiting and encouraging the troops, and overlooking personally our various defences. With his keen and quick soldierly tact he can tell at a glance what is needed to save us from the devastation of the Northern vandals; and we doubt not that new life and vigour and a more heroic and determined spirit will mark the conduct of the soldiers wherever he goes.

A Committee of the House of Representatives visited the President this morning to invite him to address the Legislature. His reply was, that he had come to work, not to speak; but that he would do in Mississippi what he would not anywhere else. He would meet the Legislature either publicly or privately, advise with the members in secret session, or deliver an address in the Hall to the people. He left for an important point yesterday evening, but will return in a day or two, when he will comply with the invitation of the Legislature and the universal wish of the people.

"The reception of the President among his old friends and neighbours was, of course, most cordial; and notwithstanding the vast responsibility, which would weigh heavily upon any other man, yet he met his friends with the same pleasant warmth and courteous, unassuming candor of former and less eventful times.

[] FRAUDS ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The *New York Tribune* publishes the following respecting the frauds on the Government :—

The outbreak of this rebellion was so sudden and unexpected, and its first developments were so startling, that the nation was taken by surprise, and for a moment was unable to provide for the calamity which seemed impending. But the attack upon Sumpter acted as a galvanic shock, and we awoke to a sense of our danger. In answer to the President's call for troops, offers of regiments and companies poured in from all quarters. In a few weeks we had an army in the field, armed, equipped, clothed, and fed. All will recollect those first days of excitement in this city, when regiment after regiment was sent away, when recruiting officers swarmed in the streets, and from week's end to week's end there was nothing heard but martial music, and nothing seen but marching battalions. One day the capital was said to be in danger; another the route to Washington was closed; a third the rebels were preparing to raise an army in Maryland. The most fervent appeals were made by the Executive, the Ministers, and the press, for troops to be rushed to Washington without an instant's delay. All was hurry and confusion here. Citizens gave of their means with splendid liberality; corporations and societies vied with each other in contributions to individual regiments; and, finally, at the monster meeting in Union-square, the Union Defence Committee was organized. It was a time of great national peril and distress, and we were willing to lavish any amount of money and make any personal sacrifices for the national good. This was the opportunity for rogues and thieves to reap their golden harvest; it was a time for them to assume the cloak of patriotism and perpetrate enormous frauds. Foreigners whose career had been infamous at home foisted themselves off upon us as able soldiers and honest patriots, and won the confidence of our best men by specious pretensions. We had no time to scrutinize their antecedents; we were only too glad to think that they were what they seemed to be, for we needed the help of every man we could find. The Union Defence Committee contributed funds toward the organization and equipment of thirty or forty regiments, in some cases defraying the whole course of subsistence, clothing, arms, and equipment of officers and men. They could not do otherwise, for at that time there was no fund in the hands of the officers of either Staff in the army out of which the expenses could be paid. Congress was not in session, so no Act could be passed to provide for the emergency. All the President could do was to make such assurances as he felt authorized to, that the fair and honest expenses of recruiting should be provided for as soon as Congress met. So recruiting officers paid their men who boarded and lodged their recruits partly in ready money and partly in promises. Friends of colonels and line officers advanced them sums, the general public subscribed for special or general purposes, and finally, as we above stated, the Union Defence Committee was organized. No matters went until some time in August 1861, when, Congress being then in session, an appropriation of \$20,000 was made for the "recruiting, organization, and drilling of recruits." By the provisions of the Act of the Adjutant-General's department was made the custodian of this fund, and the mustering officers on duty in the different cities were made the disbursing officers. Colonel D. B. Sacket, Inspector-General of the United States' Army, was at that time on duty here as mustering officer, assisted by several other army officers, and on account of the rush of volunteers who answered the President's first call, they were overwhelmed with business. According to the Act of Congress making him disbursing officer, he hired a building in White-street, where he removed his entire business as mustering officer,

and where he opened a disbursing-office, and employed several clerks to assist him. The first instalment which he received from the Government was \$5000, which was exhausted, of course, in three or four days; for, as soon as it became known that the Government was prepared to pay the expenses of recruiting regiments, all those who had claims upon the Government for this purpose came down upon Colonel Sacket in a perfect swarm. He, however, received no more money for three or four weeks, and all that while the bills were accumulating in his office by scores, and the office was crowded with people clamorous for payment. Finally he received another check for \$100,000, and late in November, 1861, he got a further instalment of about an equal amount. The investigation which has been made by the special Commissioner, Mr. Oleott, has been in reference to bills for subsistence and lodging of recruits, which comprise a specific statement of the number of lodgings and rations furnished, on separate accounts, beside an abstract giving the sum total, and these accounts are certified to by the officers recruiting the men, signed by the special contractor, and the bill should be endorsed as approved by the colonel commanding the regiment. In the haste and confusion which resulted upon the opening of the disbursing office by Colonel Sacket, in some cases the Colonel's name was omitted from these bills. Colonel Sacket, on assuming the duties of disbursing officer, addressed a letter to the Controller of the Treasury, asking him how far the mere certificate of the volunteer officers should be taken as a guarantee of the correctness of bills, and whether he should require an affidavit from the officer in each case or not, because it is notorious that on the organization of our volunteer regiments a large number of worthless scamps, who had taken to the military profession for want of something else, had crept in. To this letter Colonel Sacket received no reply, and was thus thrown upon his own judgment, and did as well as he could under the circumstances. In the recruiting service there are two kinds of contractors—the general contractor, who puts his bid in answer to the advertisement of the United States' official, and who is bound to furnish rations and lodgings at a certain specified rate to any extent which the Government may require, and whose bills are paid at regular intervals; he is obliged to give sureties for the performance of his duty. The other is the special contractor, who is the petty keeper of a larger beer-saloon or boarding-house about the city, and who has had a recruiting-office opened upon his premises, and has perhaps boarded a certain number of men, from half a dozen to fifty, who, from time to time, as they were recruited up to the number of a dozen or more, have been taken to camp, where they came under the care of the regimental quartermaster. As far as the general contractors are concerned they cannot perpetrate any fraud except by the connivance of the Government officials, but the special contractors have more latitude. If the recruiting officer happens to be a dishonest man, or even an easy-tempered honest man, who can be used by the special contractor, between the two the Government can be defrauded to any amount on the signature of the special contractor to false bills, backed by the certificate of the recruiting officer, and these signatures would in themselves be almost a sufficient guarantee to the disbursing officer as to the correctness of the account. When this pressure came upon the disbursing officer for the payment of bills, of course the special contractors rushed there, but, as much of the time there was no money, they would lose their time and patience, and finally be driven to take their claims to brokers. These brokers, at first, did their business in a fair way, sometimes requiring 10 or 15, and sometimes as high as 75 per cent. to cash the bills, the amount depending upon how they could handle the special contractors. The broker, being a man of capital, would advance the money and wait until the disbursing office was in receipt of funds from Washington, when he would present his bills at one time and get a cheque for the whole amount. The disbursing officer, to protect the Government as much as possible from fraud, not only required an affidavit from the special contractor in doubtful cases, but he employed a detective, whose business it was to go about the city, and when a bill was presented visit the man's place and satisfy himself by examination of the premises and by the statements of the contractor and of his neighbours whether the number of men charged for in his bill had been subsisted by him or not; and then this detective had to make a certificate and take it to the disbursing officer, who would usually cash the bill without further investigation. If the business had been conducted in a straightforward manner, there would have been no trouble about it, but it turned out otherwise. Lieutenant Colonel Nichols, U. S. A., relieving Colonel Seekat on the 11th of December, 1861, and during the latter part of his term of office, which lasted until the 9th of June, 1862, this brokerage business was in full blast, and it went on increasing until Midsummer, when Captain F. S. Land was placed in charge of the disbursing office, succeeding Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols. The brokers about this time had got to doing a very large business, and had their affairs organized so as to employ runners to go about the city to get all the fair bills they could, and also to make out false ones. They were not satisfied with the profits of shaving correct bills, but they began to resort to fraudulent ones. The clerks in their office would make out false bills, and the names of special contractors would be procured by various tricks and sometimes even forged, as also would be the names of the commanding officers. These runners would find an ignorant German lager-beer saloon-keeper, who could not read, speak, or write English, and ask him if he had not boarded recruits for such and such a regiment. He would reply that he had. They would then inquire the amount of his bill, which, perhaps, would be \$37, and would offer to buy it for \$25. The man, after haggling and bargaining would consent, and the next day they would bring him certain papers, and tell him that they were merely formal receipts, and on his signing them they would give him the \$25. The papers would be folded in such a way that there would be only room for the contractor to sign his name at the bottom, and he would not be made acquainted with the nature of the document he was signing. Not content with swindling the Government, even in this infamous way, these runners would take the names at random and put them on the false bills as special contractors, forging their signatures, and sometimes the signatures of the colonels of the regiments, and the broker and the recruiting officer would divide the spoils after the claim was cashed. During the two months that the Commission has been engaged in this investigation, from thirty to forty forgeries have been discovered of this nature. There seem to have been two favourite classes of frauds. In one the special contractor is induced to sign blanks, which are afterwards filled up fraudulently, and the name of the colonel or recruiting officer is omitted or forged; and the other is where a contractor has a bill for a small amount—say, \$200—and who, after having gone to the disbursing officer several times to collect it, without success, goes to a broker, who says the bill is not made out correctly, and takes it and tears it up, at the same time offer-

ing the contractor \$50 for his claim. The contractor protests, but, as he has been to the disbursing office several times, and knows that he is in the broker's power, after haggling and bargaining, he accepts the proposition. The broker then tells him to come again at a subsequent time, and he will have the bill made out correctly. He comes again, and is shown one leaf of the bill, on which he sees a certain sum charged which is larger than the amount rightfully due; and on his asking why it is so he is told by the broker that he has one or two other little bills, the amounts of which he has put into this one. The contractor signs all the papers, which often contains claims for fifty times the amount of his just dues. Still another mode is where the recruiting officer brings blanks to the special contractor, but does not show him any part of the paper except the space where his name is to be signed. In a day or two afterwards he comes to him again, and tells the contractor he must go before a notary and swear to his bill. He goes before the notary, who, being in the pay of the swindlers, does not administer any oath or ask him any questions, but after the contractor signs his name, signs his also, and attaches his notarial seal, and the poor dupe is thus entrapped into signing an affidavit and a bill which is a fraud from beginning to end. There are cases where the Union Defence Committee have paid the regular price of 40 cents per ration to special contractors for their bills on vouchers given by the officers of the regiment, and the special contractor has been obliged to refund 5 cents, per ration to the colonel of the regiment, and 10 per cent. of his gross receipts to the quartermaster. In other cases the bills of special contractors have been swelled by the addition of extra rations, the proceeds of which would be divided by the recruiting officers. The Commission commenced to investigate the frauds perpetrated by certain suspected brokers, and after having disposed of their cases, the Secretary of War placed in his hands a bill which had been collected in Washington by the colonel of a regiment, who had made a sworn affidavit to its correctness. The bill was accompanied by a great number of sub-vouchers for rent of recruiting offices and subsistence and lodging furnished to recruits, and it was found, on examination, that out of the whole number only two names on the sub-vouchers were real, and those two had been forged; the other men had no existence whatever. The colonel of the regiment had perjured himself and committed forgery besides. This led to an investigation of the affairs of the regiment, and it was found that he had swindled the Union Defence Committee, individual citizens of this city, the general Government, and every one of his officers and soldiers, and that he had made out of the frauds probably \$100,000; that he had turned officers of his regiment out of their place on frivolous pretexts, and sold their commissions; and that he had been engaged in a wholesale system of swindling of the meanest and lowest kind, fit scarcely for a third-rate pickpocket. The papers in this case have been placed in the hands of Judge-Advocate General Holt, and the man has probably been arrested and will be subjected to trial by court-martial. The developments in this case, when fully given to the public, will be among the richest and raciest ever made, and will show that the colonel has been a swindler for a number of years, and been guilty of all sorts of crimes, and that he was a regular Jeremy Diddler, and had succeeded in getting the endorsement of some of the best men in the city of New York. It is not proper for the interests of the Government that the names of these parties should be given to the public. The probability is that the affairs of other regiments recruited in this city which are to be investigated will yield results equally interesting. Within a week after this commission commenced its labours, it was ascertained that bills to the amount of many thousands of dollars, which had been all prepared ready to put through the disbursing office, were withdrawn and destroyed, and that one bill of \$6,000, which had been so prepared, was withdrawn in this manner; thus saving the Government that sum. It is estimated that the Government has been swindled by these various means through the disbursing office in this city alone to the amount of \$700,000, and this is a sample of what is going on throughout the United States. The frauds are in every department, and the probability is that the Government, has not paid one bill in fifty of any kind that has not been fraudulent in greater or less degree. The newspapers at the request of the Government have kept quiet about this Commission, and the public having been put in possession of none of the facts, knowing nothing of the tremendous system of frauds carried on, have supposed, when one man after another was arrested and imprisoned, that the Government was organizing a system of despotism without cause. The fact of the matter is that, instead of the Government having committed wrongs, it has not arrested one-twentieth part of the men implicated in these frauds, and all, or nearly all, those who have been in confinement have been released. There is no desire on the part of the Government or the Commission to cover up anything, and these facts are furnished at as early a period as it has been safe for the interests of the Government to do so. It is difficult to understand how many of the frauds upon the disbursing office in this city have been consummated so as to deceive the officers in charge. For instance, it must be well known to the merest tyro that there are less than two hundred men in a battery of artillery, and yet bills for more than double this number have been paid for some batteries. It would also seem the easiest thing in the world for the disbursing officer to ascertain through his regular detective, and by means of personal questioning of the special contractor, whether John Smith or William Brown, of a certain number, in a certain street, had the facilities to feed and lodge 100 men or only five, or whether Captain —'s company left the city with his regiment on the 1st of August or 30th of December; and yet bills in such cases have been paid over and over again without apparent question. Again, there might, it would seem, have been some correspondence between the disbursing officer here and the Adjutant-General's office in Washington, which would prevent thievish colonels and captains from recovering the amount in both offices. But all these things will doubtless be explained in due season."

ANOTHER CAPTURE IN BRITISH WATERS.—After the outrages already committed by Federal gunboats within our waters, we cannot say that we were much surprised to hear of the capture of the schooner *Nonesuch*, Albany, master, of this port, which was cleared by Messrs. H. Adderley and Co. on the 29th ult., and left the night after for Key West with a cargo of salt and coffee. She was captured on the 1st inst. by one of the four boats belonging to the Federal gunboat *Tioga* (employed in blockading the North-west Passage), within a mile of Joulter Cay, the *Tioga* being anchored at the time on McGie's Bank. A prize crew was put on board the *Nonesuch*, and she was sent to Key West.—*Nassau Guardian*, Dec. 10.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1863.

The News of the Week.

Seldom, even in this eventful period of American history, has a steamer brought so solid a budget of news as was brought by the *Etna* on Tuesday last. We have the report of a great battle in the West, already going on for three days, with no decided result, as the Northern papers ominously state, except immense loss on both sides; a Proclamation by the President of the dismembered Republic, freeing all the slaves in those States and parts of States where his authority is laughed to scorn; an Inaugural Message by the newly-installed Chief Magistrate of the most powerful State in the fragmentary Union, vowing unflinching fidelity to a Constitution which has been rent and tattered by the higher powers until scarcely a semblance to the original remains. We have, also, within the week, a Proclamation by the President of the Confederate States, denouncing before God and man the instruments of the Federal authorities as felons, and decreeing for them the punishment of such. With all this wealth of news, there comes not a ray of light by which to read the near and yet still darkening future. All that is discernible, with any degree of clearness, is, that the attempt of subjugation will be as fiercely and as hopelessly as heretofore persisted in by one side, as resolutely and successfully resisted by the other; and that the war must go on—if not in one way, then in another; if not by campaigns, in Virginia, then by campaigns in the West; if not by campaigns, then by predatory incursions; if not by land, then by sea—until the seemingly untiring patience of the by-standers shall at last be exhausted.

On the result of the great battle in Tennessee it were premature now to speculate. Suffice it that the Northern accounts, the only ones we have, bear a close resemblance to all the first reports of Federal defeats from the same quarter, since the rout of Manassas down to the last known disaster at Fredericksburg. Had the battle, which ushered in the new year, been a Federal victory, we may fairly assume that every city of "the loyal States" would have blazed with bonfires before the steamer left for our shores, and no uncertain rumours would have been permitted to reach us. Nor would the reports insist, with such evil-boding repetition, upon the fearful loss and slaughter which appear to be the only incontestable feature of the battle. Unfortunately victories and defeats on this theatre of war have long ceased to possess any other than this tragic interest. To the final result they have contributed but little, and can contribute but little; and in the West they have been even less decisive than in the East. The defeat of the Confederates in a great pitched battle would surprise Europe, but it could scarcely give to their enemies more than the temporary possession of a few additional square miles of abandoned and devastated country, and no defeat that the Federals might sustain can be more disastrous than those they have already borne. Were it possible for either combatant to strike at the heart of the other, then battles might decide the contest; but since space

and climate have to be conquered as well as armies in the field, the bodies of dead and dying men serve only to rear on higher the impassable barrier which separates the two peoples.

The only effect of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation will be to strip the contest of its last pretence of resemblance to civilized warfare. It will ensure the rigid construction and merciless execution of the retaliatory measure of the Confederate President, which had been in a degree anticipated and neutralized by the removal of the man against whom it was more especially directed. If there was a man in the Southern States who still thought that this war was one for political objects, he must now know that to him and to his countrymen it is a war for man's dearest possessions—wife, children, and home. Since the dark ages no war has been waged in which such stakes were involved in failure. If we could assume that the wicked scheme of Northern fanaticism was practicable and on the eve of execution, mankind would stand aghast at a spectacle of indescribable horror, to which neither Hayti nor the Sepoy massacres afford a faint parallel. The machinery of civil and municipal government by which one-third, in many districts over one-half, of a numerous population are ruled and accustomed to be ruled, would be broken at a single blow. Four millions of a heretofore quiet and industrious peasantry would rise in frantic fury against the hands that fed and clothed them. The fiercest instincts of a race, only a few generations removed from the lowest degree of savageness, would be goaded on to a fiendish banquet of torture and blood. Fortunately, and for the honour of humanity, these things can happen only in a few horrible exceptions. The bond by which in the Southern States the white man holds the negro to servitude, whatever may be the abstract opinions on its nature, is yet not that bondage of cruel force and individual tyranny which the ignorance or malignity of the Harriet Beecher Stowe school love to describe it. It is a bond into which, whatever be its imperfection, natural affections enter, and in which reciprocal duties are recognized and practised. It was appointed that the South should undergo this last fiery ordeal to vindicate her national fame from many foul slanders, as she has already vindicated herself from grievous others, and she has foreseen this ordeal, and is prepared to meet it with a calm reliance on the justice of Heaven.

The inaugural address of Governor Seymour, of New York, has disappointed expectations,—partly because the inaugural, a mere public oration, in which aught but generalities are out of place, has been very commonly confounded with the Message to the Legislature, in which the Chief Magistrate of the State makes his official recommendations and indicates his policy—and partly also because, in all probability, too much has been expected from the official action of the Democratic candidate. Neither he nor his party—did they wish it ever so fervently—have it in their power to offer to the people of the North the free choice between peace and war. Such an option was possible before the first blood was drawn; it is not now, when to stop or to go on are alike ruin, and the last gleam of hope is in the alternative to go on. Could the Governor of New York place his city and State where they were on the 17th of April, 1861, and then give them the option, no doubt that the vast majority would, with one accord, elect for peace. But it is often as difficult to interrupt a state of war, once become chronic, as to interrupt a state of peace; and for the same reason in each case—that it is necessary to divert the energies of a whole people into new channels. It is peculiarly so with the North. Its entire population finds employment, food, and wages through the war; its capital finds investment; its individual ambitions find a vent. With peace, a population four times as numerous as that now suffering in Lancashire, those who live by the army pay and those who live by providing the wants of the army, will be thrown out of employment. With peace comes the striking of the national balance-sheet, which converts the millions of imaginary treasure into fairies' gold. With peace

disappears, in fact, the only commerce and the only industry which has thus far filled up the vast gap left by the loss of the South. There are some hideous diseases of the human body, for which amputation is the only cure, and that amputation is certain death. So it is with this swollen and swelling exerecence on the Northern body politic, into which all its saps of life have collected. Great Britain might make peace with her revolted colonies, great as was the loss of pride; she might have made peace with her mightiest adversary—the conqueror of our century—while in the height of his power; she might reasonably rejoice over peace with Russia, though the objects of the war were but partially accomplished. In all these cases, Great Britain might at any time make peace, because even the greatest of these wars was a far distant one, and in which but a scarcely appreciable proportion of her population and resources were actually and indissolubly engaged.

The war in America, it is true, cannot last for ever, even without foreign intervention; but so long as it lasts each interest that is involved in the war will make the most of it, and strive to prolong it. At this time there appears as yet no prospect of a termination, except through the recognition of the Southern States, the inevitable consequences of which act of bare justice we have pointed out in our last. Of this we perceive a gleam of hope in the speech of the powerful monarch who presides over the destinies of France, and whom friend and foe alike pronounce the greatest of living statesmen. This speech, not the least interesting event of the week, reviews the foreign policy of the Empire during the last six years, with a clearness and frankness which show the ruler's desire of educating his people in constitutional forms. As regards the attitude of France in the American war, the speech could hardly have been more explicit. It indicates the Emperor's conviction, that to England in this matter belongs, properly and naturally, the initiative; that the rejection by England of his repeated overtures has heretofore been the chief, almost the only, cause of his benignant intentions being defeated, but that he has not abandoned these intentions, nor remitted his efforts to make England share them. Whether in the last resort he is prepared to act without her concurrence, we could not expect to learn from a document of this nature, which, besides, is rather a review of the past, than a glance into the future; but in that past we have a sufficient guarantee that in any wise and just prospect of pacification the influence and moral weight of France will not be wanting.

Retribution.

One thing, we think, should have been borne in mind by those who have censured the proclamation in which the President of the Confederate States announces his intention to exact retribution for certain gross outrages committed against unarmed citizens in the places occupied or overrun by the Federal troops. For more than eighteen months the Confederates have endured, without once transgressing the laws of war, a series of systematic and habitual violations of those laws by the invaders of their country. However sorely provoked, they have never forgotten their civilization or sullied their honour by a single cruel, savage, or lawless action. On the field of battle they have never refused quarter to their enemies; and except on the field of battle they have never shed blood. They have always respected private property in the enemy's country; they have never committed any wanton violence, or perpetrated any needless devastation, during their raids into Pennsylvania, Southern Illinois, and the Unionist districts of Western Maryland. They have burned no houses; they have never insulted women; they have never plundered stores or dwellings; they have destroyed nothing but bridges, telegraphs, and railroads that formed the military communications of the enemy, and have appropriated nothing but the most legitimate spoil of war—the property of the hostile Government. They have done more; they have spared the dwellings, the goods, and even the persons

of traitors. While the Federal soldiery is engaged in its work of rapine and destruction in Virginia and Tennessee, a few wretched citizens of those States—creatures as little worthy of the name of men as of the privileges of citizenship—are actually in the Federal camp or in the Northern States, stirring up the foes of their country to fresh efforts against her. By every law of the land, of nature, and of war, these men are liable to be hung if taken and to be treated as outlaws until they are taken. But the plea of a divided allegiance—of an imaginary loyalty due to the Union otherwise than through the State, and obligatory after the State has withdrawn from the Union—though it has no foundation in law or in conscience, and is a mere fiction of the Republicans, invented to serve their present necessities, has been allowed to save these men from the doom they have so richly merited. They have been permitted to desert to the enemy; and their property often appears the single oasis in the wilderness which Federal devastation has made around, respected by the invaders in consideration of the owner's treason, and by the Confederates out of reverence for law and obedience to orders. There is, indeed, a story, which has recently been concocted by General Butler, or his creatures in charge of the press at New Orleans, that seven citizens of that town, enlisted in the Federal service, were shot as traitors, when captured in a marauding expedition, by sentence of a Confederate court-martial; but we see not the least reason for believing the story. It is altogether at variance with probability, and with the notorious and invariable practice of the Confederates. It rests only on the authority of a journal which every one knows to be under the absolute control of General Butler, and therefore to be utterly undeserving of credit; and it is not corroborated by any sort of evidence. If the men alleged to have thus perished ever existed, ever enlisted, and ever were shot, we feel pretty sure that they were shot not as traitors, but as spies, deserters, or offenders in some other way against the military code. Of course, citizens of the State of Louisiana in arms against the State and the Confederacy to which it has linked its fortunes, are morally and legally traitors, and have justly deserved death; but the only effect of enforcing such a principle would be to give to the Federal Government a plausible pretext for murdering in cold blood the Confederates taken in the disputed States of Missouri and Kentucky, and to damage the Southern cause in the eyes of Europe. While a quasi-civil war continues, executions for merely civil treason cannot be held justifiable; unless in case of actual aid given to one party by a citizen living within the jurisdiction of the other; as if a citizen of Richmond were detected in correspondence with Washington, or a New Englander in conveying information to Richmond. If the execution reported by General Butler's retainer had taken place as alleged, it could hardly be defended. But we do not believe a word of the story; and we repeat that the invariable usage of the Confederates has been to respect the laws of civilized war—to shed no blood except on the field of battle, and to commit no havoc save what was imperatively required by strategic necessities.

Every one knows that the practice of the Northern armies has been the very reverse of all this. They have repeatedly and deliberately butchered prisoners or peaceable citizens in cold blood. They shot two men in Missouri in presence of their family, and on the door-step of their home. They hung some twenty peaceable citizens of Tennessee for no other crime than that of living near a place in which a Federal escort had been surprised, and the general whom it protected killed in the *melee*. They shot ten prisoners of war at Palmyra, with all the circumstance and ceremony that could be adduced to give to a deliberate murder the air of a military execution, because a Federal scout, who has since returned home, was missing for a few days. They have always burned and plundered without mercy wherever they have passed; their track is marked by burnt dwellings and devastated fields; they have robbed every house within their reach of everything worth carrying off, insulted and maltreated the in-

mates, and finally fired the place before they left. They have made a desert of Northern Virginia and of the district along the banks of the Mississippi. In a word, they have made war after the fashion of savages; descending even so low as to employ—according to the boast of one of their own organs—negro incendiaries to set fire to those Southern cities which defied assault and were willing to take their chance of bombardment. For all these crimes no retribution has yet been exacted; no retaliation has been inflicted on the Northern frontiers; none of the Federal banditti who have committed such ravages have been hanged or shot. It is only just that these facts should be recalled to mind, when we find President Davis censured for having at last deemed it necessary to threaten with condign punishment the most atrocious of all the criminals who disgrace the Northern service.

We cannot think that any Englishman—we are sure that no English gentleman—can wish that a wretch like Butler should escape the gallows. One journal, whose impartiality is almost as remarkable as its wit, recently expressed a doubt whether hanging were not to good for him, and suggested the additional discipline of the lash. If, therefore, any one really doubts the propriety of Mr. Davis's decision in regard to this arch-scooundrel, it must be not on any ground of sentiment or of mercy, but simply because he doubts the expediency of retaliation in any case whatever. For if ever a commander of an invading force deserved to be treated, not as a soldier, but as a felon and an outlaw, General Butler has earned such treatment. The crime for which he is sentenced to death is that of deliberate, wilful, and utterly unprovoked murder. When the Federal gunboats appeared before the Crescent City, and while the latter had not yet surrendered—certainly, while it was not yet in possession of the invaders—the Stars and Stripes were hoisted by some marines on a public building, and hauled down soon afterwards by an indignant crowd. Among that crowd was a respectable citizen, Mr. Mumford, who was afterwards hanged by order of General Butler, for the alleged crime of hauling down the flag. If this be not wilful murder, what is? President Davis demanded explanations from the Federal Government, through the military authorities on each side; and explanations were promised, but never given. After a considerable interval, being fully informed of the facts, and finding that the enemy has nothing to say—no excuse or palliation to offer—he issues his order that the assassin shall, whenever and wherever caught, be immediately hanged. Soon afterwards the murderer is withdrawn from the scene of his crimes, to another, and perhaps a safer, sphere of action. The proclamation is justified, therefore, so far as General Butler is concerned, both by its cause and its effect.

But the proclamation menaces with punishment not only the general, but the commissioned officers serving under him, who are, when captured, not like their chief to be hanged immediately, but to be held as robbers and criminals deserving death, and reserved for execution accordingly. Is this order justified? Clearly so, we think. It is not provoked simply by the murder of Mr. Mumford, but by a long series of infamous outrages committed against the men and women of New Orleans by General Butler's officers, under the auspices of their chief. These outrages are recapitulated by the President, and we believe that no one will read the list without being satisfied that it affords ample reason for treating the perpetrators of such atrocities not as soldiers, but as felons. We believe, that there is no Power on earth which, in the position of the Confederate Government, would treat the garrison of New Orleans, if captured, as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding the strictness of the military code, there can be no objection to the doctrine of the proclamation, that commissioned officers are answerable for crimes habitually committed by them under the orders of their chief. They have the power to retire from the service, rather than execute such orders; and if, being to that extent free agents, they choose to continue the officers of an army commanded by a Haynau, a Butler, or a Pope, they make themselves answer-

able for the acts in which they participate. In the present instance there can be no doubt that Butler's officers have lent themselves willingly to his tyranny, and robbed, oppressed, and maltreated the women and children of New Orleans as much for their own pleasure as for his. On what pretence, therefore, can it be urged that, if captured, they should be treated like gentlemen and soldiers, and not like the brigands they are?

A point apparently more doubtful, yet remains to be examined. Mr. Davis threatens that all the negroes taken in arms against the Confederacy shall be given up to the authorities of their respective States, to be dealt with according to the laws of those States; and that officers commanding negroes shall be treated in like manner. At this the Abolitionists are furious, of course; and as the justification of the menace is not, as in the former case, self-apparent, it is possible that some more reasonable men may be deluded by their reclamations. The simple truth is, that negro regiments mean servile war, and that servile war a series of Cawnpore massacres in every State wherein the Federals may succeed in kindling the flame of insurrection. Let us ask ourselves how the mutineers of Bengal were treated; and how, had the Russian war lasted till 1858, Russian officers found in command of Sepoys would have been treated—and we shall see that Mr. Davis has only threatened what we did, or should have done, in a parallel case. There are enemies whom you cannot treat as soldiers engaged in lawful warfare; and among such enemies are insurgent slaves and those who excite them to insurrection. It is not to be imagined, however, that a regiment of negroes would, when captured, be put to the sword. The officers would probably be hanged with as little ceremony as our Indian heroes showed towards the captured accomplices of Nana Sahib; a few of the men would likewise be hung as an example to the rest; the majority would simply return to the condition from which they were taken, and in which, till evil advisers came among them, they were happy. One other consideration deserves notice. It is not in the least likely that this clause of the proclamation will come into practical operation. Negro regiments cannot be raised, and white officers cannot be found to command them. In one or two cases negroes have been armed and have accompanied marauding expeditions from New Orleans; and this is the extent of the service they are likely to render to the Federal cause. They are not bad hands at stealing—though in that art the troops of General Butler need little assistance—but they have as little idea of fighting as the Pennsylvanian regiments that marched home from the battle-field of Manassas, to the sound of the Confederate cannon, before yet their comrades were engaged.

Nothing can be said, then, against the justice or propriety of reprisals in these particular instances. On the contrary, if ever there were a case in which retaliation was just and necessary, it is justified and imperatively required by the crimes perpetrated by Federal officers and sanctioned by the Federal Government. The only arguments that can be brought against the proclamation of President Davis are such as go to prove that all reprisals are useless and inexpedient. To such reasonings it is sufficient to answer that retaliation is the only method of enforcing the laws of war against an enemy who systematically disregards them; that though it may not be rashly resorted to on every provocation, no Government that respects its own honour and the lives of its subjects can refrain from exacting vengeance for wholesale and habitual murder and rapine on the part of an invader; and that every nation in turn has in extreme cases had resource to them. Even during the Crimean War, we believe, a Russian officer, convicted by a British court-martial of having given orders to bayonet the wounded, was shot at Scutari. If Butler ought not to be hanged, then was that man murdered. If his officers have not deserved the doom with which they are threatened, then England, in hanging and shooting the officers of Nana Sahib, committed a crime against humanity and civilization. Mr. Bright and

Mr. Peter Taylor, in their hearts, no doubt sympathize as cordially with the author of the Cawnpore massacre as with any other enemy of their country; but if they dare not publicly defend the Nana, they should, for very shame, cease to constitute themselves the apologists of General Butler, or of the Government which delights to do him honour.

The Recognition of the Republic of Texas.

In considering the question now most prominently before the British Government and people, it would be impossible to cite a historical precedent more in point, or to find a more complete analogy in the circumstances of the two cases, than is afforded by the recognition of the Republic of Texas. Excepting that of the Kingdom of Italy, the recognition of Texas is the most recent instance of the admission of an "insurgent Power" into the communion of nations; and by a singular chance that recognition was accorded to the feeble Republic by the same English Minister who now refuses it to her as the member of a powerful Confederation. The facts of the case are briefly these.

The vast unsettled region between the Rio Grande and the Sabine River—now the prosperous and flourishing State of Texas—was originally a part of the "Province of Louisiana" and with this province ceded, or rather sold, by the first Napoleon to the United States, under the Presidency of Mr. Jefferson; but was by the United States again ceded a few years later, in 1821, to Spain, as part payment for the territory of Florida. From that period until her appearance before the world as an independent nation, Texas followed the fortunes of Mexico. Settlers from the United States and from Europe were attracted by the invitation of the Spanish Government, repeated by that of Mexico, when Spain abandoned her pretensions to her former colonies. Emigrants now rapidly poured in, and in 1836 the whilom desert had already a population of nearly 150,000 souls, mostly Americans. But little sympathy could exist between a population so widely differing in race and language and that of the older settled States of the Mexican Federation, and although politically a part of that Federation, Texas was really a colony of the United States. The list of grievances was complete when, by one of those innumerable convulsions which still sweep over Mexico, the established forms of State Government were abolished to give place to a centralized rule, with military governorships. This was deemed by the people of Texas a wrong sufficiently great to justify secession from Mexico; and assembling in Convention, after the fashion of their American kinsmen, they declared themselves, on March 2, 1836, a free and independent nation. An attempt on the part of the Mexican Government to vindicate its authority resulted, in the same year, in the defeat at San Jacinto, in which the Mexican President and Commander was himself taken prisoner by the Texans. Mexico, however, did not relinquish the hope of bringing back the insurgents, but the distraction of her internal affairs delayed any vigorous renewal of her efforts. Meanwhile the young Republic spared no pains to obtain her recognition by the principal Powers. Envoys were despatched to Washington, London, and Paris, and on the 3rd of March, 1837, exactly a year and a day after the declaration of independence, Texas was recognized by the United States. The Envoy of Texas was admitted to official intercourse by the Governments of both France and England, and the former in 1839, the latter in 1840, entered into treaties of amity and commerce with the new nation. Three years later, after an existence of seven years as an independent Republic, governed by an elective President, Texas formed a treaty with the United States, by which, in 1843, she became one of those States. It was this "annexation," as it is termed, which, with the renewed attempts of Mexico to regain her lost possession, led to the war between this Republic and the United

States, and it was not until after a protracted struggle, and the occupation of the capital by the American army, that Mexico finally renounced her pretensions in 1848, nor was it until that date that the boundaries of Texas were definitely and permanently fixed. In 1861 the Convention of Texas repealed the ordinance passed eighteen years before, by which the Republic had entered the American Union as a State, and a short time afterwards she entered, with due formality, into the newly formed Confederation, as a member of which she now a second time claims recognition.

The *Annual Register* for 1840 announces the acknowledgment of the Republic of Texas in the following suggestive words:—

TEXAS.—On the 16th of November a commercial treaty, between Great Britain and the Republic of Texas, was signed in London by Lord Palmerston and General James Hamilton, the Envoy from the Republic to England. By this treaty the independence of the infant State was recognized, and the basis of the commercial stipulations was perfect reciprocity. It was hoped that this would tend to bring about a reconciliation between Mexico and the Texans, and cause a settlement of the boundaries of the last-mentioned Republic, in which the former would acquiesce.

It will be observed from the preceding facts that not only were the causes and mode of the secession of Texas from the Mexican Federation similar to those of her second secession from the American Federation, but that her claims for recognition were as nearly as possible identical with those of the Confederate States at present. Mexico had signally failed in the attempt to conquer her, but had not abandoned its attempt, and stood ready to renew it at the first favourable opportunity. Her boundaries were not yet definitely ascertained; but as there could be no doubt that her independent Government was *de facto* established, it was rightly hoped that the recognition of this fact would be the speediest manner of adjusting such and other questions of dispute between the two countries, in which other nations had no concern except to tender their friendly offices as mediators. There was at the time the same talk now so commonly heard, that the recognition of the new Republic would lead to the re-opening of the African slave trade, and much more to the same effect, and Lord Palmerston is highly eulogized by the historian of Texas for "his act of patriotic firmness in the face of prejudice and clamour." But here the parallel ends. Texas, when recognized by England and France, was a weak and insignificant Power, scarcely entitled, historically or politically, to be styled a nation. The Confederate States are a great military and naval Power, which has already permanently secured for itself a distinctive and honourable place in history. Trade with Texas in 1840 could be of but infinitesimal value to the British realm. The trade with the Confederate States is one of the most important and valuable in the world. To recognize Texas was to consummate the dismemberment of the Mexican Republic and to aggrandize prospectively a Power whose too rapid increase might reasonably awaken alarm. The recognition of the Confederate States will be the permanent establishment of a balance of power in the New World, to the lasting benefit of both Europe and America, and the best interests of civilization. The recognition of Texas had not for its object to stop one of the most sanguinary wars of modern times; the recognition of the Confederate States will dry the source of untold miseries, snatch one of the most productive regions of the globe from devastation, and restore peace and plenty to two continents. There is such a parity in the circumstances of the two cases, and there is at the same time so enormous a preponderance of just and weighty motives in the latter, that it is difficult to understand how the same man can reason and act so differently in the two. A scarcely settled wilderness, which not a single adult inhabitant could claim as the land of his birth, where not a white settler's child had yet reached man's estate, is recognized in 1843 as an independent nation. In 1862 the title is withheld from a people of eight millions, of British race and speech, defending the homes and the graves of their ancestors, and making the world ring with their deeds of valour and heroic fortitude.

Within thirty years England has thrice recognized an independence achieved and maintained by foreign aid, despite the most solemn treaties of 1815. To-day, when no such treaties bind her, in opposition to every prompting of commercial or political foresight, she refuses to recognize the independence of a nation which, unaided and in the face of the most appalling disadvantages, has baffled the efforts of a million of armed men to subdue it. We are told that no precedents exist to warrant such recognition, and yet the Premier of the present Administration himself made the precedent when Secretary for Foreign Affairs only twenty years ago.

Statistics of Southern Trade.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The trade of a country is naturally divided into two classes—foreign and home—and these are again subdivided. The foreign trade embraces the exports and the imports, and the home trade consists in producing and preparing for export, in receiving and distributing the imports, and in producing and distributing the commodities that are consumed within the country. It is only by looking at these several sources of revenue, and combining them, that we are able to form an accurate estimate of national resources and wealth.

At first sight it may seem somewhat difficult to give statistics of Southern trade, from the way in which it has been incorporated with that of the other sections of the late Union. The returns of the exports and imports at Southern ports do not afford even proximate information as to the amount of the Southern foreign trade. As a proof of that the commerce of Southern ports has not increased with the development of the resources of the country, and the imports have borne no proportion to the exports. In 1820 the imports into Charleston were equal to one-half the exports, and a few years since the imports were not more than one-eighth the exports. The Southern trade has been carried on through the North, and therefore official returns, so far as they relate to the particular commerce of Southern ports, are valueless for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of the trade of the South.

Yet it happens, fortunately, that the official returns of the United States are so full and complete that we can, with certainty and precision, distinguish the commerce of the two sections. They separate the articles exported, and certain leading articles of export are of almost Southern growth. We present the returns for the year ending June 30, 1859, because it was the last year undisturbed by the influence of political agitation and war; but if we had taken the year ending June 30, 1860, the exports of cotton would have been larger.

According to the Treasury report of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1859, the total exports of the United States were:—

Southern produce and manufacture of	
United States	\$335,894,385
Foreign exports	20,895,077
Total	\$356,789,462

The following were Southern produce:—

Cotton	\$161,424,023
Tobacco	21,074,038
Rice	2,207,148
Naval Stores	3,695,474
Sugar	196,735
Molasses	75,699
Hemp	9,279
Total	\$188,693,296

To this must be added an amount for the exports of articles not exclusively Southern produce, including grain and manufactures; and if we estimate this at \$12,000,000, we shall be underrating it. These amounts, together, are:—

Exports exclusively Southern produce, as per United States' returns	\$188,693,296
Exports not exclusively of Southern origin, say	12,000,000
Total	\$200,693,296

In the exports from United States we have included

Gold and Silver Coin	\$24,172,442
Gold and Silver Bullion	33,329,863
Total	\$57,502,305

In comparing the commerce of North and South, this ought, with an exception we shall afterwards notice, to be deducted from the exports; and doing so, we have the following results:—

Exports of United States, 1859:—

From the South	\$200,693,296
" North	98,593,861
Total	\$299,287,157

We have not yet arrived at a fair comparison between the two sections of the late Union. In the Northern re-

turns we have included "Foreign exports," that is, the export of articles not the production or manufacture of the United States. But this is evidently merchandize in transit, and is no more to be considered United States' exports than would be a venture of a New York merchant of a cargo of cotton goods shipped in an American bottom from the Port of London to Hong Kong. Deducting, then, the amount of the foreign exports from those of the North, it leaves them \$77,698,399. The only part of this calculation that can be impugned is the deduction of the bullion from the Northern exports, on the ground that it is to a great extent the production of California. We will, then, allow that the whole stock of gold and silver bullion exported, \$33,329,863, is to be placed to the credit of the North. This makes the result :—

Southern Exports..	..	..	..	\$200,693,296
Northern Exports..	..	..	..	111,028,262
Excess of Southern Exports	..	..	..	\$89,665,034

In arriving at this result we have given the North the benefit of every possible doubt, and if we had not done so, we do not question that the Southern exports would have shown double those of the North. But accepting the above calculation, we must in the comparison remember the difference of population. In round numbers the North was nineteen millions, and the South twelve millions, including the slaves, or equal to three to two. Assuming the exports to be a measure of the productiveness, prosperity, and industry of a country, and taking the Southern exports as the basis, the exports of the North, considering its relative population, ought to have been—

The actual exports were ..	..	..	\$301,039,944
	..	..	111,028,262
The comparative deficiency ..	..	..	\$190,011,682

Or, to put the fact in another form, the exports of the South in 1859 were equal to \$16½ per head of the population, including the slaves, while the exports of the North did not exceed \$6½ per head of the population.

Before giving the imports for 1859, it may be interesting to present a return of the leading exports of the United States for several years, including flour and provisions and manufactures which are mainly but not entirely Northern.

Year.	Cotton.	Tobacco.	Flour and Provisions.	Rice.	Naptha.	Total.
1790	\$ 42,285	\$ 4,349,567	\$ 5,991,171	\$ 1,753,769	\$	\$ 19,666,101
1803	7,920,000	6,209,000	15,050,000	2,455,000	2,000,000	42,205,961
1807	14,232,000	5,476,000	15,700,000	2,307,000	2,309,000	48,609,392
1816	24,106,000	12,809,100	20,587,376	2,378,880	2,331,000	64,781,896
1821	20,157,484	5,648,902	12,341,360	1,494,367	2,752,631	43,671,894
1831	31,724,682	4,892,488	12,424,701	2,016,267	5,686,690	59,218,583
1836	71,284,925	10,058,640	9,588,359	2,548,750	6,107,528	106,916,680
1842	47,593,464	9,540,755	16,902,876	1,907,387	7,102,101	91,709,242
1847	53,415,848	7,242,086	68,701,921	3,605,876	10,351,364	150,574,644
1851	112,815,317	9,219,251	21,946,651	2,170,997	20,136,967	178,620,138
1859	161,434,923	21,074,038	37,987,395	2,207,148	32,471,927	278,392,080

It will be perceived that the wonderful development of the cotton culture has not checked, much less diminished, the production of other articles of export. It may seem that rice has remained stationary, but it will be sufficient to remark that whilst in 1850 there was less exported, than in 1851—not quite \$2,000,000—the value of the rice crop that year was, according to the census, \$8,612,539. It is the same case with sugar, of which the production is considerable, but it is almost entirely consumed in the country.

The total value of the United States' exports for 1859, including foreign exports of bullion and coin, was \$356,789,462, and the total imports for the same fiscal year were \$338,768,130.

A large portion of the imports is necessarily sent South, but not a portion equal to the Southern exports, because Northern commissions, charges, and profits have to be deducted. What these charges amount to there is no official documents to prove, and we there-

fore do not attempt to give an estimate; but we will adduce a few statistics from the United States' returns, that plainly indicate to what extent the South was victimized by the fiscal policy of the North, and how that policy was detrimental to the interests of the commerce of Europe :—

The total value of imports free of duty in 1857	\$ 79,768,130
The total value of imports paying duties ad valorem	259,047,014

The Southerners were not permitted to levy an excise or duty upon their cotton, tobacco, or rice, before it left their States, but before they could get manufactures for their produce, they had to pay heavy duties for the benefit of the national exchequer, and for the protection of Northern manufacturers. A division of the country was made to bear the fiscal burdens of the whole country, and at the same time to give, to the extent of the duties, a monopoly to the Northern manufacturers, by which they, the Southerners, were the pecuniary sufferers. The Morrill tariff was not a new scheme, but the development of an old system.

With regard to the profits of the North, we must not forget the item of freights. The imports of the United States in 1859 were thus divided :—

In American vessels	\$216,123,428
In foreign vessels	122,614,702

With respect to the trade of this country with the United States, the subjoined returns give some useful information :—

In 1859, England	
Imported from the United States	\$174,945,853
Exported to	125,754,421
Excess of imports	\$49,191,432

BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.		
	Imports from U.S.	Exports to U.S.
Gibraltar	\$273,000	\$66,261
Malta	94,123	47,723
Canada	18,940,792	14,208,717
Other British Northern Possessions	9,213,332	5,518,834
British West Indies	5,288,702	1,909,885
British Honduras	350,006	264,139
British Guinea	1,081,340	260,380
British Possessions in Africa	1,141,062	1,152,262
British Australia	2,984,836	114,036
British East Indies	1,363,615	8,697,229
Total	\$40,933,903	\$32,239,466

Total Excess of Imports from America to the whole British Empire in 1859	\$57,885,874
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The Bank-Note Forgeries.

Of all promises to pay the Bank of England note has the widest currency. It is taken readily everywhere, and often commands a premium. The only limit to its circulation is the fear of forgery. Within the last twenty years that apprehension had died out in England. It is not long ago that in remote country districts it was quite impossible to get a Bank of England note changed. The people were not accustomed to any other notes than those of the local bank. Those notes they knew well, and treasured above silver and gold. The legal tender note they would not take. It might be good, but they could not tell, and a stranger would have to remain in pledge for his hotel bill, until his Bank of England note could be sent to the country town for change. Now Bank of England notes are driving the notes of private companies out of the field—the great extension of communication, the more frequent intercourse between the country and the town, the increase of banking facilities, have made the autographs of the Old Lady of Threadneedle street familiar in all parts of England. Forgery has been comparatively rare, and always easy of detection. However well the forged note might be engraved, a cursory examination of the paper upon which it was printed would detect the cheat. For nearly 150 years the paper for Bank of England notes has been made after a peculiar process, which no one has succeeded in imitating. It has been made all that time by one firm and on one spot. In 1720 Messrs. Portal and Co. made the paper for the Bank of England notes, at Laverstoke, in Hampshire; and in 1863 Portal and Co. are still making it at Laverstoke. During all these years, the forgery of bank notes has employed all the energy and ingenuity of clever scoundrels; but until the middle of the year 1861, so great was the care taken by the proprietors of these paper mills, that all attempts to abstract paper from them failed. The Bank of England note was making its way as well through Europe as England. The paper furnished so sure a means of detection, that Continental money-changers made no scruple about cashing the notes. In the month of August last, this confidence was rudely shaken. A bank-note, which had been the most convenient currency, suddenly became a security difficult to negotiate. No one even in England, would change a note without knowing well the person for whom he did it. Every man had to go to the Bank of England himself, and for a few weeks a large stock of gold became an absolute and inconvenient necessity. On the Continent the bank-note became almost useless. The money-

changers held aloof from the accursed thing. The cause of this little convulsion was the issue of an announcement by the Bank of England to the effect that forged notes were in circulation printed upon genuine paper, and offering a reward of fifteen hundred pounds for the discovery of the persons concerned in abstracting the paper from Messrs. Portal's mill. The Bank had been for some little time aware that paper had been stolen. In the working of the mills some deficiency of the paper has always been occasioned by tearing or carelessness, but in 1862 it increased so much that it led to an inquiry, and the result was the discovery that a very considerable quantity of the bank-note paper had been stolen from the mills. This alarming fact the proprietors communicated to the Bank, which awaited with some anxiety the presentation of the forged notes, for the preparation of which the paper was, of course, stolen, and as soon as one appeared it issued the notice to which we have referred.

The persons concerned in this robbery, and in the printing and circulation of the notes, were tried last week at the Old Bailey. The offer of the reward induced a youth, who had been the principal agent in the robbery, to come forward and give information, which led to the apprehension of the guilty parties, and of another person whom the jury has pronounced not guilty. In the spring of 1861 William Burnett and a young woman named Ellen Mills, who passed as his wife, were liberated upon a ticket of leave, some years of a sentence passed upon them for receiving stolen goods having been remitted. They seem to have at once betaken themselves to Whitechurch, in Hampshire, whether with a pre-conceived plan of attempting to steal bank-note paper does not clearly appear. The couple lodged at the house of a sister-in-law of Burnett, and there met Henry Brown, a young man of 21, employed on the mills. According to the statement of Brown, confirmed by that of Mills, the woman spoke to him about getting some paper from the mills, and ultimately succeeded in inducing him to take some. At first he took but a small quantity, his plan being to abstract it from the size-drying machine, which was attended by a girl at each end, but so placed that neither could see Brown take the paper from the place where he stood; his business there was to see that the machine did its work properly. He gave the paper so stolen to the woman, and Burnett afterwards asked him to get more; he did so. According to his own statement, a man named Brewer, employed in the mills as a mould-maker, discovered his dishonesty, and ultimately became a partner in the crime, stealing the paper in great quantities, and employing Brown to carry it to Burnett and his wife in London. The jury, however, by acquitting Brewer, have declared their disbelief of his statement, and it must, therefore, be assumed that Brewer had no hand in the robbery. What is certain is, that through the boy Brown, Burnett obtained a large quantity of paper, for which he gave Brown several small sums of money, who seems to have led a drunken, dissipated life on the same. The paper obtained, Burnett had, of course, to dispose of it to some persons connected with the parties engaged in forging and printing the notes; and here the prisoner Buncher, a butcher in Strutton-ground, Westminster, appears upon the scene. Buncher, it was proved at the trial, was an agent between the forger of the notes, and the persons disposed to utter them. He bought, apparently, the notes from the forgers, and sold them at a regular price to persons ready to incur the risk of passing them. Burnett found in him a ready customer for the paper, which Buncher, as soon as he possessed of, forwarded to a man named Griffiths, at Birmingham, who was captured by the police when actually at work printing notes. In the possession of Griffiths the police found several plates from which, by Griffiths' own avowal, all the forged notes in circulation during the last few years had been printed, and a quantity also of the genuine paper. Griffiths, as soon as he found that he was caught, made a clean breast of it, gave up to the officers some plates and paper which were hidden in a place which they would not have found. At the trial Griffiths and Burnett pleaded guilty; but Buncher and Brewer, also put upon their trial, denied their guilt. The principal evidence relative to the abstraction of the paper was that given by the accomplices, Brown and Mills, and that evidence, by their acquittal of Brewer, the jury must be taken to have disbelieved. There was plenty of evidence which proved Burnett, Buncher, and Griffiths, guilty, if not of any actual participation in the paper robbery, at least of concern in some part of the forgery and robbery of notes; and as the statute declares that every accessory to the commission of a felony is equally guilty with the principal felon, that was quite sufficient. A man named Williams pleaded guilty to being in possession of a plate, upon which was engraved a portion of a Bank of England note. An electric-gilder of the name of Cummings was separately arraigned upon the charge of being concerned in the forgery, but Mr. Justice Blackburn directed the jury to acquit him, on the ground that the evidence of the accomplices, Brown and Mills, was not corroborated and confirmed on any material point by independent and untainted testimony; although his lordship took care to intimate that there could be no moral doubt of his guilt. Griffiths was sentenced to penal servitude for life; Buncher to penal servitude for twenty-five years; Burnett to penal servitude for twenty years; and Williams to penal servitude for four years.

This trial will no doubt restore, in the fullest degree, the public confidence in the Bank of England note. In the first place, it may fairly be assumed that Messrs. Portal and Co.

and the Bank of England will take the necessary precautions to prevent such another robbery being committed; in the next place, the capture of Griffiths and Buncher is likely, for the time at least, to put a stop to all attempts to forge the notes of the Bank. Griffiths asserted that he had printed all the forged notes which had been uttered during seventeen years, and gave up the plates from which he printed them. This statement may have been exaggerated. It is probable that there is some other manufacture of the same kind, but the elegance and accuracy of Griffiths' plates and the excellency of his printing rendered his forgeries especially dangerous. Next, the removal of the middleman Buncher must prove a great blow to the trade, even if capable manufacturers of notes should be ready to resume it at once.

Forgery of this kind, to pay at all, requires very careful preparation and trusty agents. Men like Griffiths, Burnett, and Buncher, are not easily replaced by the criminal classes.

Two incidents in these proceedings deserve notice; the first, the vehement affection of the prisoner Burnett for the girl Mills. As soon as he found she was arrested he admitted his own guilt, but protested that she was innocent, and begged the police to make her a witness for the prosecution; the second the jealousy with which the English law protects even a prisoner of whose guilt there can be no possible doubt. The jury would certainly have convicted Cummings if the judge had not directed them to acquit him. A criminal has thus escaped the punishment which was his due; but if the rule of law which requires that the tainted evidence of accomplices should be corroborated on some material point by independent testimony should be violated to insure the conviction of a man whose guilt is morally clear, it may also be infringed to secure the condemnation of an innocent man. Better a criminal should escape than an innocent man be condemned.

The Underground Railway.

We do not think it possible for any one to travel for the first time on the Metropolitan Railway without paying some homage to the triumphs of Science. In a peculiar manner, all the chief improvements of the present century are combined in the new enterprise. Steam is the motive power, the traffic is regulated by electric telegraphy, and the carriages are lighted with gas. The Metropolitan Railway is not only a remarkable evidence of engineering skill, but it is peculiarly an English undertaking. It was not constructed to carry out a theory, but to meet a necessity. Our streets were inconveniently crowded, and there was a prospect of a dead-lock to London traffic. Moreover, it was necessary for the completeness of our railway system that the various termini should, in some way or other, be brought into, and meet in the heart of the City. To do this in the ordinary way would not only have involved a sacrifice of property, that would have rendered any scheme of the kind too costly to execute, but a surface line of railroad would have done more to embarrass than relieve the traffic of our main thoroughfares. It was under these circumstances that the idea was conceived of making an underground railway. The Thames Tunnel is wonderful and useless; the Metropolitan Railway is not less wonderful, and immensely useful. It will be a convenience to those who reside in the country and have occasion to visit London, and as soon as the plan is completed, it will, by connecting with the South-Eastern bring all England into more easy communication with the Continent. A person then residing in the Western, Eastern, Midland, or Northern Counties will be able to reach Dover and Folkestone without the stoppages, trouble, and expense attendant on having to proceed from Paddington, King's-cross, or Shoreditch, in a cab. It is then a national, we may almost say an international, undertaking.

The late Mr. Pearson, City Solicitor, was one of those men who are firmly persuaded that any difficulty will yield to perseverance, or he would have abandoned the scheme as hopeless. As soon as it was proposed, it was met with sneers and playful allusion to the temporary insanity of the projector. When it was seen that Mr. Pearson meant to carry out his design a number of new objections were started. It would never pay. People would never use an underground railway. It would weaken the foundation of the houses, and we should have half London in ruins. But Mr. Pearson worked on without heeding such criticisms, and at length a Bill was obtained for the construction of the line. But though the Bill was passed in 1854, the works were not commenced until 1859.

The difficulties of the construction cannot be thoroughly appreciated by those who did not watch the progress of the works. To tunnel for three miles and three-quarters through a variety of soil is in itself a formidable task. The plan adopted was to make an open cutting, then form a massive and capacious tube of brick-work in the parts of the line that had to be covered in. When the soil was loose gravel the labour of making the cutting was considerably increased, and in many instances the progress of the works was stopped by springs of water, which had to be exhausted before it could be continued. Nor was this all. In tunneling London the engineer had obstructions which never occurred in tunneling in the country. Underground London is far from being an unoccupied space. There are sewers, gas-pipes, water-pipes, and telegraphic-wire tubes, all of which the railway had to avoid or to replace. In some parts of the line the sewer had to be removed either temporarily or permanently. Amongst other evils we were threatened with a pestilence from the interference with the sewers and from turning up the earth that had become satu-

rated with the leakages from the gas-pipes. We need hardly remark that no such catastrophe ensued.

Instead of being a dark gloomy tunnel, the Metropolitan Railway is well lighted, and when it is in full working order we doubt not will be at all times well ventilated. To effect this it was necessary to get rid of the smoke and steam that locomotives usually give forth. This was so important that at first it was intended to apply the atmospheric practice of propulsion; but this would, to a great extent, have cut off the ready intercourse between the railways and the connecting line. Mr. Fowler, the engineer of the line, has constructed a locomotive that condenses its own steam, and consumes its own smoke in the tunnel, but which at the same time works as an ordinary locomotive on the open railways. We may also observe that the system of signalling is at once complete and simple, and we trust it will prove so efficacious as to give the Metropolitan Railway the enviable distinction of being free from those appalling accidents which have happened on other lines.

The Underground Railway is a monument of skill that reflects the highest credit on Mr. Fowler, the engineer, and an enterprise well worthy of our national reputation for the performance of vast and difficult works.

Reviews.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SIBERIA.*

This is not a book which can be safely recommended to persons of sensitive nerves or susceptible imagination. It would haunt their thoughts for days, and their dreams for months. We read it with shuddering, sickening horror; we laid it down with a grateful sensation of relief. But the fault is not the writer's. He tells his tale with simple, straightforward distinctness, and displays no tendency to exaggeration or sentimentalism. The effect of that tale on his readers is due merely to the facts which it relates, and to the character of the system of which it affords a glimpse. We had hardly believed that such horrors had ever existed on earth, much less, that they existed still. When frightful crimes have been attributed to the Southern slaveholders—crimes of which we knew them to be wholly innocent—we have resented the imputation as a slander not merely on the South, but on the human race. And yet here we find, flourishing under the auspices of the Power with which the Northern Abolitionists profess the strongest sympathy, and cultivate the closest alliance, a system of cruelty infinitely worse than anything that the ingenuity of Mrs. Stowe or the venom of Beecher, Phillips, or Horace Greeley ever attributed to the slaveholders of South Carolina. None of the frightful inventions which have awakened the wrath of Europe against slavery, and excited the enthusiasm of New England in the cause of emancipation, war, and plunder, approached the hideous realities which M. Pietrowski reveals. If every slave-owner were a Legree, and every Legree were always in an access of drunken brutality, the condition of the Southern slave would hardly be so bad as that to which, at any moment, the Polish or Russian freeman may be reduced by the will of his autocratic master. We have all heard of deportation to Siberia; we have all an idea that it means something exceedingly frightful; but not one of us, probably, had conceived a tithe of its horrors until now. What life is in that earthly Tufano M. Pietrowski tells us; simply and quietly, without complaint or declamation. He tells of what he has seen and known, rather than of what he himself has suffered; and yet his own sufferings must have been truly terrible. And be it remembered that these things are not merely historical facts, but living realities. It is not yet twenty years since the author was sent to Siberia; Siberia is still what it was then, and still it receives from time to time a swarm of Polish exiles, doomed to expiate among felons and assassins—now as peasants on Crown lands, now as labourers on public works, now in the mines, but always subject to the vilest maltreatment, and always living in dread of corporal punishment as cruel as degrading—the crime of still believing in their country. Still every horror of which we read is in existence; still the servitude herein described is inflicted on numbers of men, and not a few women, of the best families in Poland; and the yoke of Alexander is not sensibly lighter than the yoke of Nicholas. The Emperor has abolished serfdom; but he treats his freeborn subjects much as the worst among them treated their serfs; much as the Abolitionists of Massachusetts would desire to treat the white population of the South. It is a crime to wear the Polish colours; it is punishable to wear mourning; the Polish language is almost tabooed; and Poles of all ranks must send their children to the common Government schools, to receive a Russian education, on pain of a fine on the parents, and corporal punishment on the children.

* The Story of a Siberian Exile. By M. Rudin Pietrowski. Followed by a Narrative of Recent Events in Poland. Translated from the French. (London: Longmans, 1863.)

Now and then, to relieve the tedious monotony of tyranny, assemblages of the people, unarmed and orderly, are surrounded, fired upon, and sabred by Cossack soldiery; the very churches are invaded, and the kneeling worshippers sometimes beaten, sometimes arrested, now and then merely expelled and violently driven home. In April 1861 Warsaw was treated almost as a town taken by storm; and yet there had been no insurrection, no resistance, nothing but the meeting of an unarmed crowd, among whom were women and children, to pray for those who had been butchered on a somewhat similar occasion. Those who dare to organize or take part in such demonstrations, under Russian rule, run no ordinary risk. They draw down on themselves punishment far worse than death; on their countrymen severities so monstrous that Europe refuses to believe in them. We have heard stories of outrage to women which would have astonished General Haynau and gladdened the heart of Butler; of atrocities suffered by old men and boys which would bring the vengeance of the civilized world on any Government whose speech was understood and whose country was visited by strangers—atrocities infinitely worse than any charged on the late dynasty of the Two Sicilies. The author, or suspected authors, of any remonstrance or demonstration may be sent to a long life-in-death in Siberia; or they may be put to death at once, not publicly by axe or gibbet, but secretly, by tortures the most horrible that human pen ever described. We extract, for the benefit of those who wish to know of what cruelty men are capable, the following minute account of three favourite methods of punishment in Russia:—

The knout is a strip of hide, a thong which is steeped in some preparation, and strongly glazed, as it were, with metal filings. By this process it becomes both heavy and extremely hard, but before it hardens care is taken to double down the hedges, which are left thin on purpose, and in this way a groove runs the whole length of the thong, except the upper part, which is supple, and winds round the hand of the executioner; to the other end a small iron hook is fastened. Falling on the bare back of the sufferer the knout comes down on its concave side, of which the edges cut like a knife. The thong thus lies in the flesh, and the operator does not lift it up, but draws it towards himself horizontally, so that the hook tears off long strips. If the executioner has not been bribed, and does his business conscientiously, the person under punishment loses consciousness after the third stroke, and sometimes dies under the fifth. A peculiarity of the Russian law may be also noted here, which orders that the number of blows from the knout shall always be an unequal one! The scaffold on which the sufferer is placed is called in Russ "a mare" (*kobylya*). It is an inclined plane, to which the man is tied with his back uncovered. The head is firmly fastened to the upper part, the feet to the lower end, and the hands, which are also knotted together, go round below the plank; any movement of the body becoming in this way impossible. After receiving the prescribed number of strokes, the poor wretch is untied, and on his knees undergoes the punishment of being *marked*. The letters *vor* (meaning thief, or malefactor) are printed in sharp-pointed letters on a stamp, which the executioner drives into the forehead and into both cheeks, and while the blood runs, a black mixture, of which gunpowder is an ingredient, is rubbed into the wounds; they heal, but the bluish mark left remains for life. In old days, after thus marking a man, they sometimes tore off his nostrils with iron pincers; but a *ukase* of the last years of Alexander I. definitively abolished this additional piece of barbarity. I have myself encountered in Siberia more than one criminal thus hideously disfigured, but all dating from a time anterior to the publication of the *ukase* in question. As for those who had the triple inscription of *vor*, I have seen an incalculable number in Siberia; but I believe women cannot be punished in this way, and I never met with one who wore the triple brand.

The *plète*, so often and so erroneously confounded with the knout, is a less fearful instrument of punishment. Three stout thongs are weighted at the ends with balls of lead, the other extremity winds up the arm of the executioner, and according to the law it ought to weigh from five to six pounds. When it comes down on the back it strikes like three sticks; it does not tear up the flesh like the knout, but the skin breaks under the blows, which make a lesion of the spinal column, break the ribs, and I have been told detach even the viscera from their places; and those who have suffered under the *plète*, if they have received any great number of lashes, generally fall into consumption and perish. In order to give himself greater purchase, the person wielding it makes a run, and does not strike till close to "the mare." I have said that it is possible to gain over the operator, and in this case he can manage not to touch the instrument with the little finger of the hand. This lessens the blow, although the attention of the superintending officer is not attracted by the practice, and any reader by experimentalising with a stick may convince himself that it does so. If, however, the sentence stands for a great number of strokes, the executioner is then bribed to inflict the first with tremendous violence, and as much upon the sides as possible, so that that life is sooner extinct, and death puts a speedier end to the sufferings of the victim.

A third species of punishment is running the gauntlet (*skvos-stroï*, literally "through the ranks"); it is generally reserved for soldiers, and yet many of my countrymen have suffered thus for political offences. It is inflicted with long rods newly cut, which have been steeped in water for some days to make them more pliant. Soldiers are arranged in two files, but each man stands at some distance from the other, so that all may strike with a long swing without being in each other's way. The condemned person, stripped to the waist, passes through the ranks, his hands are tied in front upon a musket of which the bayonet rests on his chest; the butt-end is held by the soldier who leads him. He walks slowly, receiving the rods on his back and shoulders, and if he faints and falls he is picked up again. A *ukase* of Peter the Great fixes the maximum of blows at twelve thousand, but it is seldom that more than two thousand are given at one time, unless for the sake of "setting an example;" in general, after two thousand, the patient is carried off to the hospital, and when healed of his wounds he pays the rest of his penalty.

From these punishments persons of noble birth are exempt by law; but they can be degraded from their rank, and as convicts in Siberia be made liable to the knout or the rods at the pleasure of the officials set over them. This liability, though he escaped the actual infliction, was one of the worst miseries of M. Pietrowski's condition when sentenced to hard labour in Siberia.

He was an exile since 1831; and his return to Poland appears to have had a political object. He arranged his plans in Paris, obtained a passport in the name of Joseph Catharo, a native of Malta, and therefore a British subject, and started for Poland in the beginning of 1843. He settled in Kamieniec as a teacher of languages, pretending total ignorance of Polish and Russian, and finding, of course, great difficulty in communicating with his pupils, many of whom were acquainted with no other tongue. To only a select few of his compatriots he entrusted his secret; they were faithful; and for many months he managed to elude suspicion. At last he was tracked, not by the local police, but by the superior authorities. The Imperial Government knew all the plans and proceedings of the Polish emigration; it got scent of Pietrowski's departure from Paris, discovered his route, and finally seized him, in December 1843, at Kamieniec. Great was the surprise of the town; great the consternation of everyone who had been on terms of intimacy with the prisoner. Many of his friends and pupils, including some of those who were in his secret, were also arrested. For a long time he persisted in his assumption of British nationality, and in declaring himself ignorant of Polish and Russian; the authorities informing him that they knew perfectly who he was, and that it was useless for him to persevere in his denials. Aware of the truth of this assertion, he chose an opportunity, when confronted with a number of his acquaintance and a few accomplices, to admit the charge of being a returned emigrant, and of having entrusted the knowledge of this fact to some of his countrymen; desiring that they should know the extent of his confessions, and shape their own course accordingly. After this he was despatched, under the charge of a superior officer of the police, by whom he was treated with great courtesy, to Kiow. From an accident on the journey, which seems to have inflicted a severe injury in the head, and from the irons placed on him, he suffered very greatly. After an interview with Prince Bibikoff, one of the veterans of the war against Napoleon, and famed for his severities in Poland—who, however, treated the prisoner with civility, and even kindness—his fetters were removed, and he was allowed to take some exercise during the continuance of the trial, or rather inquiry, which was to decide his fate, and that of those who had been arrested with him at Kamieniec. Nothing could be obtained from him; he persisted in his assertion that homesickness had been the only cause of his return to Poland; and was eventually sentenced, not to simple deportation, but to *ratorga*, or hard labour in Siberia for life. From the moment of hearing his sentence, he resolved to attempt his escape, although fully aware that the knout, and some extreme form of penal servitude, would be the penalty of failure, and that success does not, more than once in a century, attend these desperate attempts. He was conveyed to Omsk in a *kibitka*, a jolting Russian carriage, escorted by two soldiers; at Omsk he was sentenced to work in the distilleries at Ekaterinski-Zavod. Here he did the work of a common labourer, and associated with felons, until he was promoted through favour and good conduct to lodge with a countryman, and to perform the duties of a clerk. But even from the first his lot was a fortunate one.

One may get off with the *katorga* in some of the factories or Government distilleries, as I did at Ekaterinski-Zavod; but how many miserable beings labour in the horrible mines at Nerchinsk, with irons on their feet, and only hoping for some falling in of the mine to put an end quickly to a life which has nothing more to hope or to expect in this world. The verdigris mines are those which are the most dreaded. The disciplined gangs of Orenbourg, and other places, have the reputation of leading a life yet more awful than that at Nerchinsk. There the rod and the bastinado are the daily bread of our poor students and artisans, who are in general banished thither. There remains the fortress of Akatouia, not far from Nerchinsk, the last punishment reserved for the greatest criminals, and for convicts who revolt, or are taken in the attempt to break their ban. Here it was that Peter Wysocki, after the bad success of his conspiracy in Siberia, was at last shut up. I know nothing of this mysterious place, and I can say nothing about it, for I have never seen any one who had penetrated its mystery; but I only know that, throughout Siberia, the very name is pronounced with an indescribable terror.

Attempts to escape are commoner among criminals than among political offenders; the latter having more fear of the terrible consequences. Conspiracies have been formed among them to revolt, and force their way by arms and numbers into Persia or China, out of the reach of the Russian tyranny; but these have invariably failed, and brought down on their authors inflictions so frightful that the reader turns sick at the bare descrip-

tion. Such was the conspiracy of the Abbé Sierocinski, which had extensive ramifications, and was only betrayed—as conspiracies invariably are—at the last moment. Six of the principal offenders were sentenced to run the gauntlet, to receive 7000 lashes “without mercy;” and every one of them was liberally flogged to death; not one living to receive the whole number of blows awarded. The description of this execution is perhaps the most horrible in the book; yet it is but one among many similar tales of horror. Some such punishment as this the author knew was in store for him if he should be taken in his attempt to escape. Nevertheless, having made all his preparations, he quitted Ekaterinski-Zavod on the 8th of February, 1846, with a forged pass and about 180 paper roubles (£8) in his pocket, intending to avoid the trunk roads, and make his way by the north to Archangel, hoping there to find some foreign vessel which would take him on board. He had provided himself with the costume of a well-to-do Siberian peasant, and representing himself now as a commercial traveller, now as a workman on the tramp to find work at some Government factory, he journeyed for two months on foot, occasionally sleeping under a roof, but most often making for himself a bed under the snow, at the roots of some large tree, and running the risk of being frozen to death rather than that of being taken by the police. On one occasion he was awakened in the middle of the night, and asked for his passport, by the inhabitants of a village in which he had stopped; but they could not read; and his pass, being on stamped paper, though altogether worthless and informal, imposed upon them. In the early part of April 1846 he reached Vélki-Oustiong. From thence he made his way, with comparatively little trouble, as a pilgrim intending to visit the monastery of Solovetsk, to Archangel. Failing to find a ship there, he went on to Vyhegra; thence he obtained a passage to St. Petersburg, and escaping, by rare nerve and good fortune, the perils of the capital—terrible perils for the fugitive—he got on board a vessel bound for Riga. Thence he went on foot, by land, through Poland—steadfastly adhering to the rule he had laid down for himself, not to bring any one into danger by entrusting them with his perilous secret, and passing as an itinerant purchaser of hogs' bristles. He crossed the frontier, fired at, but apparently not pursued, by the Russian guard, and found himself safe in Prussia. Even here, however, his dangers were not over. Falling asleep in the streets of Königsberg, he was arrested as a vagrant, and detained for some weeks on suspicion. Finally, he informed some of the principal persons in authority who he was; whereupon he was told that he must be surrendered to Russia, in pursuance of a convention for the mutual rendition of political fugitives. He was allowed, however, to appeal to Count Eulenberg, President of the Government, through whose interposition he was released on bail; M. Kamke, a stranger to him, coming forward to give security. He was afterwards warned by the police that orders had been received for his extradition, and was allowed to make his escape. We do not pretend to have done justice to the narrative of his sufferings and his adventures—no abstract could do so. Seldom was any story more full of interest and excitement; never was such a story more simply, vividly, and clearly told by its hero. There is no affectation about M. Pietrowski—neither the affectation of complaint nor that of reserve. He speaks frankly of his miseries, but he does not dwell extravagantly upon them; and he does justice to his enemies without calling attention to his own generosity. Few authors ever leave on their readers' minds so pleasant an impression of their personality. No one who can endure the horrors of which his narrative is necessarily full will lay down the book without a strong desire to make the individual acquaintance of M. Pietrowski, and a strong admiration for the simple, frank style in which his story is told.

There is much that deserves grave consideration in the second part of the volume, which contains a very temperate account of recent events in Poland, and very life-like pen-and-ink portraits of Count A. Zamoyski, and the Marquis Wielopolski; but we have not space for any detailed notice of its merits.

RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

An ingenious advocate can generally invent some plausible theory to make a bad case passable, or to damage the good case of his adversary. Now and then legal smartness is at fault, and judge, jury, and audience perceive that the counsel for the defence is arguing for his fee, without the slightest hope of winning a verdict. Those who oppose the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States have made the most of their case, but all their skill and perseverance

have not succeeded in convincing unprejudiced persons that recognition is unjust and inexpedient. When secession had just taken place it was found impossible to deny that sovereign States had a right to secede from a Federation; but it was said that the constitutional right was of little consequence, since there had been an appeal to the sword, and that the South must prove her capability of maintaining her independence before we could acknowledge it. With this the North was perfectly satisfied, and the Lincoln Government promised to put down the “rebellion” in sixty, and then in ninety days. Instead of the South being subjugated, the North has only weakened itself by a vain and prodigal waste of life and treasure. When the Confederates had triumphantly maintained their independence, it was suggested that Europe ought to wait until the North recognized the Southern Confederacy. This was so opposed to common sense, and to the teaching of history, that it has not had much weight. A long string of precedents was adduced, to prove that the countries from which States have seceded or revolted have not been the first to recognize the independence of the new Power, and not one instance has been, or can be, adduced in which this has not been the rule. To get rid of this awkward fact, we were treated to a ridiculous plea, that would have been unworthy of notice, but for the great ability with which it was urged. The revolutions of Greece and Belgium were not precedents, forsooth, because, the cases were not perfectly analogous to that of the Confederate States. No precedent ever was or ever will be exact, and an agreement in the main features is sufficient. The offer of mediation, as proposed by the Emperor of the French, was not accepted on pretence that the Federals would reject it, whereas it is well known that there is, and was at that time, a peace party in the North only wanting such an opportunity for manifesting its pacific intentions. Perhaps the most extraordinary reason given for not recognizing the Southern Confederacy is, that the act would be inoperative and useless. If it were true, would it be valid ground for withholding a right because in some persons' opinion the right is of no practical advantage? What would be thought of a reply to a claim for a peerage, that though the title was clear, the peerage should not be granted, because it would not benefit the claimant? But the persistence with which the recognition of the Confederate States is opposed proves indubitably that in the opinion of its opponents it would not be without practical effect. Recognition does not mean armed intervention, it would not alter the resources of the belligerents, and yet the Lincolmites and the contractors who are getting rich on the misery of their country, oppose it vehemently. Why? Because they know that recognition would make the hopelessness of the contest apparent to the people of the North, and would issue in peace.

We have before us three pamphlets,* which, though differing from each other in the views taken of recognition, severally contain cogent arguments in its favour. Mr. John W. Cowell directs attention to the sufferings entailed on England by the “masterly inactivity” of our Government, and the injustice of such a policy to Lancashire. He maintains that by the conduct of the Federals we have been released from sacrificing our interests to a vague construction of the law of nations, and which, our author remarks, is not truly a law, because “nations have not constituted any common judge, any common court, with authority to declare it, or with power to administer it. The law of nations is thus seen to be wanting in the essential attributes of a law, and is erroneously termed ‘Law.’ It has never been declared; and if it had been, there exists nowhere any power to sanction or administer it.” Nevertheless Mr. Cowell is prepared to meet the arguments founded on international law, and he contends that our Government has violated that law by its policy of “masterly inactivity.” We were expressly bound, by treaty, to admit the independence of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The North might or might not have a right to make war on the South, but the assumption of sovereignty was indefensible.

Our Kings, for many centuries, assumed and employed the style and title of Kings of France; you will see this on all their coins up to 1814, and George III. concluded the Treaty of 1763, styling himself King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. No nation objected to the nominal barren assumption of this title, but had any of our Kings demanded “to act or to do” on the part of the Crown of France, he would have been laughed at. You must note this distinction. It was not the duty of our Governors to deny to the Washington Government the use of any title they might choose to assume; it was their duty to refuse them the exercise of any rights which they claimed by a false, or an illegal title. Had they performed, in-

* A Letter to the Cotton Operatives of Great Britain. By John W. Cowell. (London: McGowan and Danks.)
Confederate Notes. By M. B. H. (London: Richard Simpson.)
Shall we Recognize the Confederate States? By the Rev. E. L. Blackman, B.A., Incumbent of Elyburgh and Walberswick. (London: James Blackwood.)

stead of violating, this simple duty, you, instead of starving, would now be enjoying as good wages as ever. When the newly-arrived American Minister requested the English Minister, in the month of May 1861, to present him to our beloved and venerated Queen, it was the duty of the latter to present him by whatever title his credentials gave him, but it was *also* his duty, paramount and special, to apprise him that by so doing he did not admit him to be entitled to act in any way, directly or indirectly, for the sovereign States of Georgia, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and others, and that he should recognize no blockade which the Washington Government might institute if they assumed to proclaim it in the name of, and as acting on behalf of, a Confederation of States which had ceased, both actually and legally, to exist. Such, or a similar, course it was the duty of our Governors, your trustees, to have pursued, and it is directly owing to their non-performance of it that you and your families are now dying of cold and hunger.

"Confederate Notes" deals with the cotton supply and the institution of slavery. The author describes the extent of the cotton growing regions of the world, but we are inclined to think he does not make sufficient allowance for the peculiarly advantageous position of the cotton fields of the Southern States. We have no doubt cotton of excellent quality can be grown in Australia, but we are not at all sure that the Australian farmer can compete with the Southern planter. We commend M. B. H.'s observations on the prospects of Indian cotton culture to those who think that our Eastern Empire is to take the place of the Southern States. Our author refutes the charges brought against negro slavery in the South, by the statistics of the United States census of 1850. He cites the case of Jamaica to prove the evils of inconsiderate emancipation, and he quotes from Wilberforce, Buxton, Canning, and Lord Brougham, very decided opinions as to the natural and actual inferiority of the negro.

The Rev. E. L. Blackman argues that it is our interest to recognize the Southern Confederacy, because it would be highly dangerous to the peace of the world if, whilst all other continents are divided into different nationalities, America constituted one nation; and further that we can justly recognize the Confederate States.

When England and Europe recognized the independence of the United States, they did so as of thirteen independent and sovereign States, banded together by a federal compact. But as we recognized their right to retire as sovereign States, so did we their individual right to secede from their Federal Union whenever, as a sovereign State, any one of them should choose to do so. *It was never disputed in the States themselves but that they had the right to secede.* On the contrary, they have always been careful, all of them, to be recognized as sovereign States. This right was distinctly recognized at the time of the secession. No proof has since been given to surrounding nations that they had not this right to secede. And until this proof be supplied, we can only regard the Northern States as attempting, under the guise of suppressing a rebellion, to subjugate by main force the eight millions of inhabitants of the Southern States.

With respect to slavery, Mr. Blackman observes that if encouraging the North would result in emancipation, and immediate emancipation was a consummation to be desired for the negro, he could not, even then, advocate the Federal cause, because he protests against doing evil that good may come. He does not believe in the doctrine that the end justifies the means. Besides, the success of the North would not help the negro. His slavery would be exchanged.

for the loathing which would prompt a man rather to grasp the hand of an assassin or a crimp, than to touch with his finger tips the black "freeman's" palm. Not allowed to ride in the same carriage with even the lowest and most degraded of the white men; should he attempt it, he is ruthlessly dragged out, and spat upon. Nay, even the very presence of God, before whom all men are equal, cannot procure for him the recognition of equality. He may not kneel beside the white man, even to pray for their common salvation. This is the "freedom" which the North will give to the slaves of the South.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN NEW ORLEANS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

IRELAND, January 3, 1863.

Sir,—Being a subscriber to THE INDEX during my temporary residence in this my native country, I take the liberty of sending you the following extracts from a private letter I have received from New Orleans.

My family reside in that unfortunate city; I have lived there for twenty-four years. Everything I am worth is in real estate. In order to save an invalid wife from being turned out into the streets, and to save my property, I took their accursed oath on the 23rd of September last, and left home on the 25th. If you think the following extracts worthy of publication, you are at liberty to publish them. For the sake of my family, I wish my name suppressed.

Very respectfully, —

New Orleans, December 10.

Dear H —, Times are getting worse and worse every day. Mrs. W. G. R —, of this city, and the wife of Colonel Thorpe, of the Federal Army, were fellow-passengers in the Marion from New York. The following conversation took place on board. Mrs. Thorpe asked Mrs. R — "What sort of society have you in New Orleans?" Mrs. R — replied, "Rather exclusive." "What sort of roads have you about New Orleans for driving on?" "Why?" replied Mrs. R —, "have you brought a carriage and horses with you?" "No," replied Mrs.

Thorpe, "but my husband will get them from confiscated property." The spoliation of plantations still continues. The crops are seized—horses, mules, horned cattle, sheep, wagons, &c.; even ladies' wardrobes, children's shoes, pictures &c., are all carried off. The furniture is sometimes sold at auction, and sometimes sent North. The seizure of houses in the city still continues, under the most heartrending circumstances.

The most respectable ladies, young and old, are turned into the streets, and beg their way from house to house, just as God may send a friend to receive them; and these friends, in turn, may soon share the same fate. Federal officers give ladies' dresses (stolen from the plantations) to their boon companions, the coloured wenches, who sport them at their churches and balls, where those same officers dance with them and call them their sisters, &c. These wenches are liberally rewarded, for favours extended, from the plunder of many a once comfortable and happy home. When the Federal officers take possession of a house and don't appropriate the plate to their own use, the moment the soldiers are placed on guard the small articles soon disappear. A few days ago a house was seized, and some articles of ornament were missed. The sentinel was asked if he took the articles? He said no; but the wife of Major Warner was in the house, and the missing articles were found in her possession. Billy Wilson's New York Zouaves are encamped on the Metairie Ridge, and make a professional business of highway robbery. They robbed a man on the Shell-road the other day. All those attached to the Federal army, either civil or military, are sending for their families to the North, and as they arrive like Thorpe's wife, they look out for the windfall of the confiscated property.

On Thursday, the 27th of November, there was a private party given by a family, to which all the officers of the foreign vessels in port were invited. A Yankee officer called at the house, and gave notice they could not hold the party without permission from General Butler. The lady of the house got permission from General Butler, he, I suppose, not wishing to refuse, on account of the foreign officers. The wife of Dr. Campbell, whose magnificent dwelling Butler now occupies, sent a pair of candlesticks as a present to the Jesuit church. A negro servant told General Butler, he immediately sent for the candlesticks, and they were delivered up to him.

Jacob Barker is a candidate for Congress for the City District; he is said to be the best of the "Liberals;" and is opposed by Michael Hahn, a pettifogging German lawyer, and General Butler's candidate.

To enumerate all the incidents of tyranny and oppression that are daily transpiring in and around this city would fill a volume.

Yours, —

THE "ALABAMA" AND THE "ARIEL."

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

COLON, United States of Colombia,
December 15th, 1862.

Sir,—The steamship Ariel, Captain Jones, having left New York for this port on the 1st inst., was overhauled off the east end of Cuba on the 7th inst., at 2 o'clock p.m., by the Confederate steamship Alabama, Commander Semmes; which kept her two days and a half, brought her as far as off Morant Point, Jamaica, took what treasure she had on board, about \$12,000 (\$1500 in gold coin, balance in Lincoln United States' Treasury notes). Captain Jones gave release bond for about \$260,000 (\$120,000 on vessel, balance on cargo).

There were 120 marines on board the Ariel, from whom arms and ammunition were taken, and then they were paroled. I have conversed separately with some ten or twelve of the passengers, and they all speak in the highest terms of praise of the kind and gentlemanly bearing of Lieutenant Lowe and those that were with him boarding the Ariel; at first many of the lady passengers were much frightened, but the conduct and kind words of their visitors soon calmed them, as well as the male passengers, when they were assured that their persons and their private property should be respected, and some expressed regrets at parting from their gentlemanly captors, and all were agreeably disappointed. The scandalous and libellous accounts that are published by the muzzled press of the Northern States have poisoned the public mind in regard to the character of Commander Semmes' officers and crew, and this accounts for the fears entertained at first on board the Ariel. Lieutenant Lowe, upon leaving the Ariel, had not a button left on his coat, they having been all removed by the ladies as mementoes.

General Julio Arboleda, the Commander-in-Chief of the party in this Republic opposed to General Mosquera, was assassinated on the 12th of November, whilst crossing the Barruecos Mountain, near Pasto, which event will probably close the civil war in this country.

H. N.

THE PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES—
A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, a communication was addressed on the 6th day of July last (1862), by General Robert E. Lee, acting under the instructions of the Secretary of War of the Confederate States of America, to General H. W. Halleck, Commander-in-Chief of the United States' Army, informing the latter that a report had reached this Government that William B. Mumford, a citizen of the Confederate States, had been executed by the United States' authorities at New Orleans, for having pulled down the United States' flag in that city, before its occupation by the United States' forces, and calling for a statement of the facts, with a view of retaliation, if such outrage had really been committed under the sanction of the authorities of the United States.

And whereas (no answer having been received to said letter), another letter was, on the 2nd of August last (1862), addressed by General Lee, under my instructions, to General

Halleck, renewing the inquiries in relation to the execution of the said Mumford, with the information that, in the event of not receiving a reply within fifteen days, it would be assumed that the fact was true, and was sanctioned by the Government of the United States:

And whereas, an answer, dated on the 7th of August last (1862), was addressed to General Lee by General H. W. Halleck, the said General-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, alleging sufficient causes for failure to make early reply to said letter of the 6th of July, asserting that "no authentic information had been received in relation to the execution of Mumford, but measures will be immediately taken to ascertain the facts of the alleged execution," and promising that General Lee should be duly informed thereof:

And whereas, on the 25th of November last (1862), another letter was addressed, under my instructions, by Robert Ould, Confederate agent for the exchange of prisoners, under the cartel between the two Governments, to Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Ludlow, agent of the United States under said cartel, informing him that the explanation promised in the said letter of General Halleck, of the 7th of August last, had not yet been received, and that if no answer was sent to the Government within fifteen days from the delivery of this last communication, it would be considered that an answer is declined:

And whereas, in a letter, dated on the 3rd day of the present month of December, the said Lieutenant-Colonel Ludlow apprised the said Robert Ould that the above-recited communication of the 19th of November had been received, and forwarded to the Secretary of War of the United States; and whereas this last delay of fifteen days allowed for answer elapsed, and no answer has been received:

And whereas, in addition to the tacit admission resulting from the above refusal to answer, I have received evidence fully establishing the truth of the fact that the said William B. Mumford, a citizen of the Confederacy, was actually and publicly executed, in cold blood, by hanging, after the occupation of the city of New Orleans, by the forces under General Benjamin F. Butler, when said Mumford was an unresisting and non-combatant captive, and for no offence even alleged to have been committed by him subsequent to the date of the capture of the said city:

And whereas, the silence of the Government of the United States, and its maintaining of said Butler in high office, under its authority, for many months after his commission of an act that can be viewed in no other light than as a deliberate murder, as well as of numerous other outrages and atrocities hereafter to be mentioned, afford evidence too conclusive that the said Government sanctions the conduct of the said Butler and is determined that he shall remain unpunished for these crimes:

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and in their name, do pronounce and declare the said Benjamin F. Butler to be a felon, deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he shall no longer be considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that, in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging.

And I do further order that no commissioned officer of the United States, taken captive, shall be released on parole, before exchange, until the said Butler shall have met with due punishment for his crimes.

And whereas, the hostilities waged against this Confederacy by the forces of the United States, under the command of said Benjamin F. Butler, have borne no resemblance to such warfare as is alone permissible by the rules of international law or the usage of civilization, but have been characterized by repeated atrocities and outrages, among the large number of which the following may be cited as examples:—

Peaceful and aged citizens, unresisting captives and non-combatants, have been confined at hard labour, with chains attached to their limbs, and are still so held in dungeons and fortresses:

Others have been submitted to a like degrading punishment for selling medicines to the sick soldiers of the Confederacy:

The soldiers of the United States have been invited and encouraged, in general orders, to insult and outrage the wives, the mothers, and the sisters of our citizens:

Helpless women have been torn from their homes and subjected to solitary confinement,—some in fortresses and prisons, and one especially on an island of barren sand, under a tropical sun; have been fed with loathsome rations that had been condemned as unfit for soldiers; and have been exposed to the vilest insults:

Prisoners of war who surrendered to the naval forces of the United States, on agreement that they should be released on parole, have been seized and kept in close confinement:

Repeated pretences have been sought or invented for plundering the inhabitants of the captured city, by fines levied and collected under threats of imprisoning recusants at hard labour with ball and chain. The entire population of New Orleans have been forced to elect between starvation, by the confiscation of all their property, and taking an oath against conscience to bear allegiance to the invader of their country;

Egress from the city has been refused to those whose fortitude withstood the test, and even to lone and aged women, and to helpless children; and after being ejected from their homes, and robbed of their property, they have been left to starve in the streets or subsist on charity:

The slaves have been driven from the plantations in the neighbourhood of New Orleans until their owners would consent to share their crops with the Commanding-General, his brother, Andrew J. Butler, and other officers, and when such consent had been extorted the slaves have been restored to the plantations, and there compelled to work under the bayonets of the guards of United States' soldiers. Where that partnership was refused armed expeditions have been sent to the plantations to rob them of everything that was susceptible of removal:

And even slaves, too aged or infirm for work, have, in spite of their entreaties, been forced from the homes provided by their owners, and driven to wander helpless on the highway:

By a recent general order, No. 91, the entire property in that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River has been sequestered for confiscation, and officers have been assigned to duty, with orders to gather up and collect the personal property, and turn over to the proper officers, upon their receipts, such of said property as may be required for the use of the United States' army; to collect together all the other personal property, and bring the same to New Orleans, and cause it to be sold at public auction to the highest bidders—an order which, if executed, condemns to punishment, by starvation, at least a quarter of a million of human beings, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, and of which the execution, although forbidden to military officers by the orders of Presi-

dent Lincoln, is in accordance with the Confiscation Law of our enemies, which he has effected to be enforced through the agency of civil officials:

And, finally, the African slaves have not only been incited to insurrection by every licence and encouragement, but numbers of them have actually been armed for a servile war—a war in its nature far exceeding the horrors and most merciless atrocities of savages:

And whereas, the officers under command of the said Butler have been in many instances active and zealous agents in the commission of these crimes, and no instance is known of the refusal of any one of them to participate in the outrages above narrated:

And whereas, the President of the United States has by public and official declarations signified not only his approval of the effort to incite servile war within the Confederacy, but his intention to give aid and encouragement thereto, if these independent States shall continue to refuse submission to a foreign Power after the 1st day of January next, and has thus made known that all appeal to the law of nations, the dictates of reason, and the instincts of humanity, would be addressed in vain to our enemies, and that they can be deterred from the commission of these crimes only by the terrors of just retribution:

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and acting by their authority, appealing to the Divine Judge in attestation that their conduct is not guided by the passion of revenge, but that they reluctantly yield to the solemn duty of redressing by necessary severity, crimes of which their citizens are the victims, do issue this my proclamation, and by virtue of my authority as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Confederate States, do order:

1. That all commissioned officers in the command of the said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honourable warfare, but as robbers and criminals deserving death; and that they, and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution.

2. That the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the army of the said Butler be considered as only the instruments used for the commission of crimes perpetrated by his orders, and not as free agents; that they, therefore, be treated, when captured, as prisoners of war with kindness and humanity, and be sent home on the usual parole that they will in no manner aid or serve the United States in any capacity during the continuance of this war, unless duly exchanged.

3. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the Executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of the said States.

4. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

In testimony whereof I have signed these presents, and caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be affixed thereto, at the city of Richmond, on this 23rd day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1862. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President, J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State.

THE DOINGS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES' STEAMER ALABAMA.

The *St. Thomas* (W.I.) *Tilende* gives some particulars, borrowed from the *Grenada Chronicle*, of the recent movements of this celebrated cruiser. It appears that after her escape from Martinique, she proceeded to the Blanquilla Isle, where she had arranged to rendezvous with her coaling ship, the *Agrippina*. The whaling schooner *Clara S. Sparkes* (American) was overhauled there by the *Alabama*, and detained, probably to prevent the master from giving news of the *Alabama's* whereabouts until her departure. Captain Semmes told the master of the *Sparkes*, that if he had been caught three miles from the land under sail, the schooner would have been burnt. The master of this craft states that the *Alabama* is provisioned for eight months. She mounts six heavy broadside and two large rifled pivot guns. According to a written statement handed to the master of the *Sparkes* by Captain Semmes, the following is a list of the captures of the *Alabama* during a cruise of two months:—

Ship <i>Ocmulgee</i> , of Martha Vineyard.....	Sept. 5
Brig <i>Starlight</i> , of Boston.....	" 7
Barque <i>Ocean Rover</i> , of New Bedford....	" 8
Barque <i>Alert</i> , of New Bedford.....	" 9
Schooner <i>Weather Gauge</i> , of Provincetown..	" 9
Herm. Brig <i>Alabama</i> , of Sippican.....	" 13
Ship <i>Benjamin Tucker</i> , of New Bedford..	" 14
Schooner <i>Courser</i> , of Provincetown.....	" 16
Barque <i>Virginia</i> , of New Bedford.....	" 17
Barque <i>Elisha Dunbar</i> , of Bedford.....	" 18
Ship <i>E. Farnum</i> , having 32 female passengers, was sent to Portsmouth, U.S., where bound.....	Oct. 2
Ship <i>Brilliant</i> , of New York.....	" 3
Barque <i>Wave Crest</i> , of New York.....	" 7
Herm. Brig <i>Dunkirk</i> , of New York.....	" 7
Ship <i>Tonawanda</i> , of Philadelphia.....	" 9
Ship <i>Manchester</i> , of New York.....	" 11
Barque <i>Lampighter</i> , of Boston.....	" 15
Ship <i>Lafayette</i> , of New Haven.....	" 23
Schooner <i>Cranshaw</i> , of New York.....	" 26
Barque <i>Lauretta</i> , of Boston.....	" 23
Herm. Brig <i>Baron de Castine</i> , of Bangor..	" 29
Ship <i>Levi Starbuck</i> , of New Bedford.....	Nov. 6
Ship <i>Thos. B. Wales</i> , of Boston.....	" 8

On board of the last named ship was the American Consul at the Mauritius, and the captain's wife, who were landed at Martinique.

SALE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES' STEAMER SUMTER.

This vessel was sold on the 19th December, by authority of the Confederate Government, for the sum of \$19,500, at the port of Gibraltar, where she had for some time been laid up awaiting repairs. Her name has been changed to "*The Gibraltar*," and after the necessary repairs are completed, she is to be converted into a passenger steamer. The United States' Consul at that port attempted to resist the sale, and, this failing, to injure it by a protest. The sale, however, being clearly legal, no notice appears to have been taken of the Consul's action.

Thus ends the warlike career of this remarkable vessel, the first that displayed the flag of the new-born nationality of the South on the high seas. The astounding boldness of the exploits of the frail little steamer, and the success which attended all her movements, are still fresh in the mind of the reader, and have rendered her name historical.

THE ARTICLE FROM THE "RICHMOND WHIG."

The following is the article from the *Richmond Whig*, referred to in the telegraphic summary of news. It is not a fair, and certainly not a dignified expression of Southern feelings toward England. The *Richmond Whig* is the organ of the opposition in the Confederate States, and accustomed to speak in terms quite as unmeasured about President Davis, the Ministers of his Cabinet, the Generals of the Confederate armies, and other men who have the implicit confidence of the nation. But while we must receive the *Whig's* outburst with this due degree of caution, we should not disguise from our readers that the people of the South do feel themselves aggrieved by what they consider the withholding of bare justice to them on the part of the British Government, and there is danger that if England much longer presents the only obstacle to their recognition by other European Powers, the indignation now expressed only by a small vociferous minority, may become the restrained but not less intense feeling of a nation with whom we have every reason to desire amicable relations.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN WAR.

(From the *Richmond Whig*, Dec. 29.)

The grovelling and cold-blooded selfishness of the British Ministry towards the Confederate States is fast engendering toward that country a bitterness of feeling in this that cannot fail to tell upon the future relations of the two Governments, and still more materially upon the business intercourse of the people. If we credit appearances, nine-tenths of the British people are with us and for us, an equal or greater proportion of the press, and a large minority, if not a majority, of the Ministry. Yet, so passive is their sympathy, that they permit, almost without remonstrance, those two old painted mummies, Russell and Palmerston, to place the British nation in an attitude toward us heartlessly and cruelly unjust. There can be no doubt that those who direct the policy of England secretly rejoice in the fact that the late United States are arrayed against each other in bitter strife, literally threatening the complete annihilation of each other, thus relieving her of a powerful rival, of whom she lived in continual dread.

As the *Mississippian* says they desire the restoration of the Union less than any other event, and feeling that that result is impossible, they do not wish to see the independence of the Confederate States established until the people both North and South are prostrated in strength, bankrupted in finance, and disgraced as a free people. With a hypocritical profession of anxiety that the war may cease, they have pursued the very course calculated to inflame and prolong the contest. They have patted the Southerner on the shoulder, saying "Bravo! my gallant young lad, we admire your courage," insidiously from time to time encouraging our people to persevere, and recognition will soon come. At the same time they heap abuse upon the North, taunting her with her inability to whip the Southern gamecock, only for the purpose of exasperating that section. They have acted the part of a brutal bystander, losing no opportunity to intensify the hot contest raging between two alienated brothers. They have a purpose to gain in this savage and perfidious policy, and the wickedness of the Northern people in waging an unholy war upon the liberties of the South enables them to carry it out.

The Confederate States needed no encouragement to stimulate them to the assertion and the maintenance of their rights. They acted alone upon their own judgment and convictions of duty; but we cannot help revolting at the inhuman demonstrations of the Government of England. We have been undecieved in regard to it. We judge the English Ministry rightly now; and, next to the abominable North, we have a right to hate them more than any other Government upon earth. If it were possible that the old United States could be restored—an event for ever beyond the pale of possibility—the English Government would find a wholesome and intense hatred for them both North and South, which was only equalled by that which their brutality inspired in the breasts of our grandfathers.

The fact is remarkable, that Napoleon, to whose people we are not connected by the ties of a common language and kindred, and whose interest in the cessation of hostilities in America, is not one-third as great as that of the English, should offer terms of mediation in the spirit of humanity, the object of which was to gain an armistice, in order that the effusion of blood might be stayed, and the parties in the strife might settle honourably their difficulties, and that the humane offer should be coldly rejected by England, whom we have called our mother. Even Russia, from whom we had no right to expect anything, and who had nothing to gain, could not treat with indifference an offer which common humanity so strongly recommended. The failure of the mediation scheme, if, indeed, it turns out to be a failure, is attributable entirely to the heartless selfishness, and base tears, and short-sighted policy of England, our mother.

The Confederate States will remember England in the future. There was a time when she could have made fast friends of us, but that time, we believe, is going by for ever. We look upon her present Government as little less corrupt than that of the North. The conduct of her Ministers in our affairs has been characterized by sordid lust and base fears. A threat from Seward will silence Earl Russell more effectually than the wails of the suffering poor of his country. Treachery being the predominant characteristic of both the Yankee and the English Premiers, we are not surprised that there is a mutual hostility to the South, and perhaps a tacit understanding to despoil us of the products of our country. Seward is by far the shrewder knave of the two, and his voice seems to be as potent with Earl Russell as it is in the Cabinet at Washington. Certain it is that he has dictated in most supercilious terms the course which he wished England to pursue since the establishment of the blockade and the recognition of the Confederates as belligerents. Up to the consummation of the latter event, the wily Yankee fox had not put his thumb upon the old English Premier. Since then, however, the conduct of England has been directed by Seward,

A LONG WAR.

(From the *Charleston Courier* of Dec. 16th and 17th.)

THE CRISIS.

The enemy is in motion. The campaign he has been preparing for with so great energy and with so immense an outlay of treasure is begun. The clash of arms and the crash of cannon falls upon our ear from two portions of the vast field of war. Battle has been joined by the hostile forces at Fredericksburg and Richmond, and pleasing tidings have come from the generals in command at these important points. Thus far success has crowned our arms, and inspired with a higher confidence, we await with even minds and trustful hearts the results of the great battles that are impending.

The contests that have taken place, though not accompanied with the loss of life that might have been apprehended, have nevertheless cost us three generals, eminent for efficient service and great abilities, and many brave men have shared the fate of Gregg, Cobb, and Hood. The country weeps at the grave of these martyrs of liberty, bewailing her own loss in their premature death, and pouring out her tears in sympathy with the loving hearts smitten by their bereavements.

The work of blood is again begun. Having revived from the crushing defeats he suffered during the summer and fall campaign, with augmented strength and redoubled resolution, the foe is pressing down upon our extended lines. Nothing daunted by previous failures, he aims to wrest from our grasp the capital of our Confederacy, and to cut off direct communication between Richmond and Charleston. To accomplish these purposes he has brought to his aid all his vast resources, and he will attain these objects if they can be compassed by energy, enterprise, generalship, and valour.

We content against large odds. We are inferior to the adversary in numbers and equipments. He will take advantage of his greater strength in these particulars, and endeavour to conquer us by brute force, to overwhelm us by his heavier columns. And that he will do battle with fierce and stubborn courage, we cannot doubt, when we consider that he fully appreciates the momentous crisis. He is aware of the tremendous importance of success, and he will tax to the highest degree the skill of our generals and the pluck of our soldiers.

We oppose to this terrible array of men and the implements of war, generals of unsurpassed genius and talents—men, who combine with perfect discipline and boundless confidence in their chieftains a courage that has asserted itself on many a hard fought field, and excited the wonder and admiration of enlightened nations—a cause, than which none more noble and grand ever moved man to deeds of heroic daring, and in whose vindication desperate fighting and fervent prayers are alike acceptable in the sight of heaven. And there mingle with the potent influences yielded by a just and righteous cause the memories of brilliant victories won in the face of serious disadvantages. The men who now stand up in defence of liberty, honour, home, and every precious interest, are the very men who fought and conquered at Seven Pines, Manassas, and Sharpsburg, and we are certain that, if it be possible, they will repel and discomfit the malignant foe.

As we contemplate their deeds with pride and gratefulness, so we commit our cause into their hands with confident hearts, beseeching the aid of that Power who ruleth in the armies of heaven and earth, that He would vouchsafe us help and send us victory.

A WORD OF CAUTION.

With such generals, and such men, and such a cause, it is reasonable to reckon upon coming out of this terrific contest completely triumphant. But final and glorious success does not preclude reverses and defeats. We may be called upon to bear discomfitures at important points, but these disagreeable events should not impair our confidence in the eventual triumph of our righteous cause. Indeed, when we consider the superior numbers of our foe and his vast resources, we should prepare our minds for those calamities that in all probability will try our fortitude during the course of the present campaign. We have boundless confidence in the abilities of our generals, and in the valour and resolution of our soldiers, but there may be such untoward agencies in operation at some points of our long extended line of defence, that the most brilliant display of generalship and of heroism will be inefficacious in securing victory. In spite of sagacity, vigilance, energy, splendid combinations, and gallant fighting, we may have to retire from some field under the mortification of defeat.

It is the part of wisdom to moderate our expectations. We should not be too much elated by victories, nor cast down by reverses. If we maintain an even mind under prosperity, our spirits will bear us up under the shocks of adverse circumstances. But if we count upon uninterrupted success, and a speedy issue with honour and glory out of this bloody struggle, we shall in all likelihood be disappointed, and those disappointments falling upon us in that frame of mind, we will be fiercely assailed by doubts and fears, and perchance bring reproach upon ourselves by unworthy despondency and injurious crimination.

We wage war with a powerful enemy. He possesses all the means and appliances for carrying on this gigantic contest. His army numbers nearly a million of men, who are completely armed and equipped, and he enjoys great advantages over us wherever his gunboats can be brought to his aid. The larger portion of that immense force have already confronted death on the field of battle, and neither are his generals deficient in abilities nor his men in courage and determination. He is impelled and sustained by the bitterest animosity and the most insatiable avarice. He is resolved to accomplish his base purposes, and he is regardless of the blood and treasure the attempt may cost. We must must reckon upon hard, fierce, sanguinary battles. The foe will do his utmost, and we will have to do our best fighting. It will be no cause for apprehension and discouragement if we meet with some reverses, or if the victories we win are not so signal and decisive as we hoped they would be. It will rather be a cause for wonder if brilliant success, unmarked by a single reverse, mark the achievements of our arms. Heaven may signalize our cause, and reward our valour and endurance by blessing us with uninterrupted victories, but it will be presumptuous in us to expect this mark of the Divine favour.

If we reckon upon success in every quarter, bad tidings will sorely disquiet our spirits, and under the painful sense of the harm we have suffered, we will be disposed to censure the unsuccessful general, and in so doing, we may be guilty of perpetrating a great wrong and injustice. Let us not forget the blunders we have made since this war begun, and the disappointments we have suffered. And while we cherish an abiding confidence in our generals and soldiers, and refuse to permit a doubt of eventual success to enter our minds, let us be prepared for reverses, and if they come, let us show that our patriotism is sustained by a fortitude that discouragements cannot shake. And if we bear reverses with even hopeful spirits, we shall receive victories with hearts reverently grateful and duly humble,

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NOTICE.—This Establishment is closed at six in the evening, and on Saturdays at one o'clock.

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Enquire at the office of THE INDEX.

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THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. II—No. 39.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 22, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The result of the battle, or rather battles, of Murfreesborough is still shrouded in comparative mystery by the Federals. It seems certain that the battle was well contested by the Federals, who fought bravely, and with great resolution. Skirmishing commenced on the 29th of December; the first great battle was fought on the 31st of December, when the Federals were repulsed with terrible slaughter, the particulars of which, so far as they have transpired, we gave in our last issue. The fight was renewed on the three following days, and on the 4th of January the Confederates abandoned their positions, and retired on Tullahoma, on the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway, the last-named place being the Confederate base of operations. It is clear enough that it was not a Northern victory, for the Federals admit a loss of 6500 killed and wounded, several thousand prisoners, and 28 pieces of artillery, and that Generals Willick and Fry were among the prisoners. General Bragg reports that on the 31st of December he took 4000 prisoners, two brigadier-generals, 31 pieces of artillery, and some 200 waggons and teams. We may be sure the Federals have not confessed the full extent of their loss; but it is remarkable that for once they estimate the Confederate loss at less than their own—at 4500 killed and wounded, and 1000 prisoners. Was the battle of Murfreesborough, then, a Confederate victory or a drawn battle? It is admitted by their enemy that they took trains of provisions, a large quantity of artillery, and that they inflicted fearful losses. The only doubt that can be thrown on the Confederate victory is the evacuation of Murfreesborough. Allowing the Federals the full benefit of this doubt, we must remember the Confederates retired in good order with their prisoners and booty; and that though the Federals entered Murfreesborough, they were not able to follow their enemy. We do not find any fact in the Federal accounts that gives any idea that the Confederates retreated—for it is absurd to say an army retreats which retires in good order, with a large booty, from the front of an enemy too much cut up to molest the movement. The conclusion we arrive at, from the imperfect information of the affair, is that the battle of Murfreesborough was a severe disaster to the Federals, even if the Confederates did not gain all they expected by the engagement. We must bear in mind

that, at this juncture, it is of vital importance to the Washington Cabinet to conceal any great disaster; and it is therefore possible that some time will elapse before we hear the truth about the battle of Murfreesborough—just as there was a long interval before the Federal disaster at Shiloh was suffered to transpire.

General Wheeler made a complete circuit of the Federal army with his cavalry. He destroyed 300 waggons, loaded with baggage and commissary stores, captured an ordnance train, and several thousand stands of small arms. Another cavalry corps captured a large supply of waggons and horses.

Amongst the killed are reported, General Rains, Colonels Mc'Nair, Anthony, Black, Fisk, and Lieutenant Thiest. No authentic list of killed and wounded is yet received in Europe.

The Federals report that *all* the negroes captured by the Confederates "were immediately shot." We do not understand how they could know this, even if it were true. If any negroes were shot, it was not because they were acting as teamsters. We repeat, the Federals could not know that *all* the captured negroes were *immediately* shot, and we must wait for Southern reports to know what truth, if any, there is in the rumour.

The attack on Vicksburg was not decided, or, at all events, the result was not known on the 8th inst. at New York. The Richmond papers give the following account of the first assault:—

Vicksburg, Dec. 30.
On Saturday the enemy made four desperate attempts to force our lines on the Chickasaw Bluffs, with heavy loss. The 17th Louisiana greatly distinguished itself, repulsing, unaided, the assault of three full regiments of Yankees. On Sunday morning the enemy again advanced on our lines, and were repulsed with heavy loss. All the troops behaved gallantly, but special mention is made of the 28th and 17th Louisiana Regiments, the former regiment maintaining the ground all day against superior forces. Our loss on Sunday was one killed and two wounded; 8th Tennessee, four killed and six wounded, Captain C. A. Gently, among the killed; 17th Tennessee, two killed and two wounded; 81st Tennessee, one killed, none wounded. One of General Lee's couriers had his leg shot off. Wofford's Artillery lost one sergeant killed. No particulars of the casualties in other regiments. On Monday afternoon 8000 of the enemy advanced upon our regiments on the right wing of the Chickasaw Bayou to storm the works, but were mowed down in large numbers, and upward of 400 prisoners taken, with five stands of colours. The enemy were driven back to their boats, and afterwards sent in a flag of truce for permission to bury their dead, under which some of the prisoners escaped.

It appears that another assault was made, and that the Federals, under General Sherman, fought their way to within two miles of the city, where they were met by General Joseph E. Johnston, and after a severe contest, driven back to the first line of defence. In this encounter the Federal General Morgan was killed. It is not known whether the attack was renewed. The Southern papers seem confident that Vicksburg will be able to hold out against her present assailants, although the opposing force is considerable, General Sherman having 40,000 troops under his command, and the gunboats of Commodore Farragut to co-operate with him. The mail now over-due may bring us some definite intelligence as to this protracted struggle.

In a despatch to General Halleck, dated January 4th, General Grant boasts that "his soldiers have subsisted off the country, and that there will be but little in North Mississippi to support guerillas in a few weeks more." This is not a Southern report, but the admission of a Federal General that he is desolating the country which he has invaded. To stop this barbarous mode of warfare, we see no other remedy than retaliation. If the Confederates were to desolate a few Northern towns, it might teach the Federals a useful lesson.

A body of Federal cavalry 5000 strong has destroyed nine miles of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, burning the important bridges over the Holston and Watauga Rivers. This is a serious loss to the Confederates. The *Lynchburg Republican* says, "It will take several weeks to repair the damages at a time when the road is taxed to its utmost capacity."

Another dash into Dumfries has been made by a detachment of Stuart's cavalry under the command of Major Herring. Some sutlers' waggons and a quantity of public stores were captured. It is rumoured that General Stuart has cut off the telegraph communication between General Burnside's army and Washington.

A Federal official account has been published of the capture of Van Buren, Arkansas. General Grant reports that General Sullivan defeated the Confederates under General Forrest, at Lexington, Tennessee, on the 1st, capturing six cannon and many prisoners. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded is put down at 1400, and that of the Federals at 800. From what has transpired of General Forrest's movements, we are bound to say this report is more than doubtful.

The loss of the Monitor—though a severe blow to the North, for it shows that the most costly ships are only fitted for special services and are coast batteries rather than vessels of war—may be a useful lesson to the maritime Powers of Europe. For home service we may make our ironclads heavy and invulnerable to any battery that can be sent across the ocean to attack them; but for foreign service the armour of our ships must be comparatively light. We now know the exact scope and value of ironclad batteries of the Monitor class. They are substitutes for, or adjuncts to, coast batteries. On the last day of the old year the Monitor, then off Cape Hatteras, sprung a leak, and in spite of every effort to save her, sunk a few hours afterwards. The storm was not particularly severe, but the moderate gale was sufficient to wash the waves over the turret. The water, we are told, entered at every crevice intended for the admission of air, and it is not quite clear, from the accounts, that there was a leak, or that the Monitor did not sink from the weight of water which entered from the turret and air holes. The Rhode Island, a paddle-wheel steamer, went to the rescue of the crew of the sinking ship, but did not save all on board. It is reported that five officers and nineteen men belonging to the two vessels were missing. The Monitor was on her way to Wilmington, North Carolina, with other ironclads, with the design, it is said, "of cutting off the railroad communication between Richmond and Charleston."

The proclamation of President Lincoln has caused great dissatisfaction in the Border States. Officers of Kentucky regiments have, in many instances, resigned their commissions, and the privates give free expression to their discontent. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, remarked, in the Federal House of Representatives, that "there was not one man in three hundred in Kentucky, in favour of the Emancipation Proclamation." The effect produced in New York may prove useful. It has convinced many who were heretofore hoping against hope, that the restoration of the Union is impossible. Even the glowing reports of the Government, of the military operations in the South-West could not relieve the feeling of depression. Mr. Lincoln and his party are regarded by the Democrats with feelings of the most bitter hostility on this account. The proclamation has not freed the slaves, but it has not been inoperative, for it has increased political dissension in the North.

Every day brings us fresh evidence of the intensity of the Abolitionists' hatred of the negro. Mr. Noel introduced a bill into the Federal House of Representatives, which was afterwards passed, to provide for the issue of ten millions of thirty years bonds, as compensation for the emancipation of Missouri slaves, and upon the condition of "the Government pledging itself to the deportation and colonization of the freed men." The freed negro may go to Africa, or to the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico, but he must not stop in the country of his loving brethren—the Northern Abolitionists.

An "Emancipation Jubilee" was held on the 5th instant, at the Cooper Institute. The admission was fifteen cents. The proceedings commenced by the performance of a band of "coloured minstrels"—not Christy's troop. After this, the Rev. John J. Raymond prayed, and the following is the report of his prayer:—

"We thank Thee, O God," he prayed, "that Thou hast seen fit, in Thy good providence, to raise up one Abraham, surnamed Lincoln, whom Thou hast ordained and set apart, and sanctified and inspired in spite of the conflicting occurrences of the time, to dare, after due notice given, to give forth a proclamation, carried into effect on the first day of January, in the year of grace, 1863, by which millions of men and women are for ever set free. ('Bless God!') Glory to God in the highest. ('Amen!') Glory to God for this achievement. ('Bless God!') 'Glory; 'Hallelujah.' Abraham Lincoln has eclipsed all that Washington has done—all that any preaching President has done. ('Amen; 'so he has.') He is a man whom God should bless, and the people delight to honour. ('Amen; 'yes, he is; 'so he is.')

The profane impertinence of the above has never, in our recollection, been equalled. To claim the Divine sanction for the adoption of servile war, as a military measure; to utter a solemn lie about the present effect of the proclamation; to indulge in the political laudation of Mr. Lincoln, were sufficiently disgusting; but the concluding clause, in which the Rev. John J. Raymond coarsely says that Mr. Lincoln "is a man whom God should bless," and to which the audience responded "Yes, he is," is monstrous blasphemy. In order that the anti-christian character of the New England abolition movement may be appreciated, we quote the following verse from a song that was sung by the assembly:—

John Brown was John the Baptist, of Christ we are to see,
Christ who of the bondmen shall the Liberator be,
And soon throughout the sunny South the slaves shall all
be free.
For his soul is marching on.
Glory, &c.

The Rev. Dr. Cheever, said:—

May John Brown's soul come down and animate our generals, and the President, and the Cabinet. His soul is big enough for any twenty of our generals. (Cheers and laughter.) We are willing to vote ourselves in the bosom of Father Abraham now.

The irreverent joker need not have prayed for the soul of John Brown animating the Federal generals; Butler, Turchin, McNeil, and others have already exceeded the brutality of John Brown, the midnight assassin.

Governor Seymour's Message to the Legislature of his State must have disappointed those who expected that it would have been a protest against the continuance of the war; but though it declares "the Union to be indissoluble," it cannot be very acceptable to the Lincoln Government, for it exposes the unconstitutional conduct of the Administration, directs district attorneys and sheriffs to allow no person to be imprisoned without due process of law, and denounces the Confiscation Acts and the Emancipation Proclamation as being as unconstitutional as the "rebellion." The exigencies of the Democratic party, perhaps, need that they should say that the dissolved Union never can be dissolved—that what has happened has not happened, and never can happen; but if the Democrats will insist upon a strict observance of the Constitution, the war must come to an end, for the attempt to subjugate the Confederate States involves a palpable violation of the Constitution. Governor Seymour gives a hint to Mr. Lincoln and his coadjutors which is not calculated to make them feel particularly comfortable. He says that unconstitutional acts cannot be shielded by unconstitutional laws—that is, that the acts of indemnity passed by Congress will not prevent the punishment of offenders at the fitting opportunity.

The decision in reference to the charges against the Police Commissioners is postponed. Governor Seymour cannot get rid of them before April, except by the concurrence of the State Senate, and that body is too evenly divided for him to rely on it for support in any extreme measures against the Republican officers.

Mr. Chase is in want of money, and has applied to Congress for authority to issue some more paper. He asks for \$50,000,000 of greenbacks to pay arrears due to the army. Mr. Wilson informed the Senate that "many soldiers had been waiting for months, and some had gone home into the poor-

house, and their families were paupers, because they had not been paid as promptly as they should have been." A Government must, indeed, be in a fix when it cannot pay its soldiers. Mr. Chase also asked for \$50,000,000 in six per cent. ten year bonds, and \$50,000,000 in currency, to meet the immediate wants of the Government. Mr. Spaulding introduced into the Federal House of Representatives a bill for the issue of \$600,000,000 of Treasury Bonds, "for the payment of the creditors of the Government, and to meet the exigencies of the public service." These demands and bills give us an insight into the omissions of Mr. Chase's financial statement. The indebtedness of the Federal Government is enormous and rapidly increasing. The prospect of their new issues of paper produced a panic which sent up the premium in gold to 37 per cent. At last advices gold was 36 per cent.

General Banks has rescinded many of his predecessor's tyrannical decrees; amongst others that by which the churches were closed because the ministers refused to pray for Mr. Lincoln. Meantime, General Butler is being feted in the North. At a reception in New York one lady observed, "She was happy to grasp the hand of the only man who could manage the Secessionists of New Orleans, and she hoped he would do the same good work in Charleston." The Government has also rewarded his services by appointing him to the command of the Southern Department, to include South Carolina, Georgia, and other States. The infamy of the Federal Government does not lessen the infamy of Butler, and it justifies the Southern detestation of the North to the civilized world.

President Davis, after visiting Mobile, Vicksburg, and other places, passed through Charleston on his return to Richmond.

As was expected, the contest for Speaker in the Albany Assembly has been very close. The votes were told twice, and on both occasions there were 63 votes for each candidate—Mr. Dean and Mr. Sherwood.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of January 7th. says that the Confederates captured and destroyed at Holly Springs property to the value of \$3,000,000. Some accounts give a much higher estimate.

The desire for peace is finding expression in the North. Besides the address we elsewhere reproduce, a pamphlet has been published in New York, which is thus referred to by a New York paper:—

"Peace, Peace!"—This is the title of a small pamphlet from the pen of Mr. Lindley Spring, of this city, which gives vent to the yearning desire on all sides for the stoppage of this wicked, fratricidal, and useless war. God grant that the desire of the writer may soon be realized.

Mr. Spring may (we have not seen his pamphlet) seek for peace on an impossible basis; but whether he does so or not, he represents a wide-spread feeling in favour of putting an end to the war.

In the course of the inquiry into the conduct of General Porter, some despatches were read, in which General Halleck's mistakes and misdirections are exposed. For instance, in a despatch received August 25th, General Porter says, "I do not like to direct movements on such uncertain data as those furnished by General Halleck. I know he is misinformed of the location of some of the corps mentioned in his despatches." General Halleck seems to have been in the habit of sending one corps to look for another in a place where it was not to be found.

It is reported that a force of 500 or 1000 men has been organized by Cortinas for a raid into Mexico. This Cortinas is the same person who has, on former occasions, invaded Texas, having, on one occasion taken the town of Brownsville.

ENGLAND.

The decrease of pauperism in Lancashire still continues, but not at a rate which would justify the sanguine expectations entertained by the less-informed section of the public. There is an apparent diminution of 8600, but the real reduction does not much exceed 3000, as will be seen by the annexed statistics of the Poor-Law Board:—

(a). Six unions have more:—			
	Paupers.		Paupers.
Chorley	100	Manchester ..	160
Chorlton	440	Warrington ..	80
Liverpool	500		
Macclesfield ..	60	Total	1,340
(b). Two unions are in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Glossop, Salford.			
(c). Thirteen unions have less:—			
	Paupers.		Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne	1,100	Rochdale ..	400
*Blackburn ..	5,470	Saddleworth ..	110
Bolton	180	Stockport ..	980
Burnley	110	Todmorden ..	60
Bury	60	Wigan	30
Haslingden ..	940		
Oldham	130	Total	9,960
Preston	390		

* The clerk of the Blackburn Union states that "the decrease this week is owing to the arrangement entered into between the Guardians and the Relief Committee."

NET DECREASE IN THE PAUPERISM OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT.	
Second week of December, 1862 ..	4,320
Third ditto	2,580
Fourth ditto	4,050
First week of January, 1863 ..	7,310
Second ditto	8,620
Total	26,880

It would be rash to venture even yet upon any decided predictions; but we believe that the opinion expressed from the first by those best qualified to judge is still entertained by them, and that they do not look forward to any rapid or extensive improvement. Even the most sanguine of those whose authority carries any weight on this question do not venture to anticipate that the cotton trade will afford during the present year half the amount of the usual employment. At the best, then, we must expect in Lancashire a loss of from ten to fifteen millions per annum while the American war continues. The capital of the manufacturers will waste away; the condition, moral and physical, of the work-people, will steadily deteriorate; the *élite* of the operative class will be removed by emigration; and if the present state of things should last for two or three years longer, it will take a generation to repair the havoc which the American war has made among the richest, most industrious, and most intelligent population in the world. The apathy of English statesmen while this work of ruin was in progress excites the amazement of their thinking countrymen, and provokes the contemptuous astonishment of the civilized world. They manage these things differently, if not better, elsewhere. But in questions of foreign policy the Government of the day is almost despotic; and although Lord Russell has outraged all the favourite prejudices and the deepest convictions of his countrymen—though he has neglected their interests and betrayed their principles—though he has surrendered English territory and sacrificed English honour—though he has insulted the allies and cringed to the enemies of his sovereign—though he has done everything that the country abhors, and left undone everything that she requires—we hardly expect to see him removed from office by any attack directed against the foreign policy of the Administration. Soberly and often as she has been disappointed in him, England has still confidence in Lord Palmerston; and even those who most desire his overthrow do not disguise from themselves that no other statesman has the same hold on the respect of Parliament and the affections of the nation.

The Central Relief Committee held a general meeting at Manchester on Monday. Mr. Farnall read the following report:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I beg to inform you that on the 10th inst. there was a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief in 26 unions of the cotton manufacturing districts, as compared with the numbers so relieved in the previous week, of 3371. Before I explain this decrease I have to state that the union of Blackburn is excluded from the list, for, although a decrease of 5468 paupers took place in that union last week, I find it is mainly attributable to a transfer of operatives in the receipt of parochial relief from the books of the guardians to the books of the local relief committee. The decrease of 3371 is explained as follows:—

There is a decrease at Ashton-under-Lyne of 1105, at Burnley of 228, at Bury of 205, at Clitheroe of 41, at the Fylde of 134, at Glossop of 1, at Haslingden of 141, at Oldham of 134, at Preston of 327, at Freestwich of 102, at Rochdale of 399, at Saddleworth of 111, at Stockport of 981, at Todmorden of 149, and at Wigan of 26—making a total decrease of 4147; but there is an increase at Barton-on-Irwell of 47, at Bolton of 109, at Chorley of 101, at Chorlton of 198, at Garstang of 9, at Lancaster of 18, at Macclesfield of 59, at Manchester of 156, at Salford of 3, and at Warrington of 75—making a total increase of 776; so that there is a net decrease of 3371. On the 3rd inst. there were 253,146 persons receiving parochial relief; on the 10th inst. there were (inclusive of Blackburn) 244,367, so that a decrease of 8837 paupers has taken place, and since the 6th ult. a total decrease of 27,676 paupers had taken place. The percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions is now 12.3; in the corresponding week, of last year it was 3.4. The present percentage of pauperism on the population in the Blackburn union is 14.3; it having been 18 per cent. in the previous week. For the week ending the 6th ult. the expenditure in outdoor relief was £18 728 8s., but the expenditure in outdoor relief for the week ended the 10th inst. was £16,633 15s. 1d.; these is, therefore, a decrease of £2094 12s. 11d. in the latter week. The expenditure in outdoor relief at Blackburn for the week ended the 6th ult. was £1336 8s. 7d.; for the week ended the 10th inst. it was £945 10s. 3d.; there is, therefore, a decrease of £390 18s. 4d. in the latter week.

On the 8th inst. I issued a circular to each of the 155 medical officers in the 27 unions of the cotton districts, requesting them to answer the following questions:—First, are you at present attending cases of typhus fever in your district? secondly, if so, do they exceed those you were attending this time last year? and state the number in excess; and, thirdly, is this typhus fever of a malignant and dangerous character, and does it originate in a want of food and clothing? The medical officers have returned to me 141 of my forms of queries duly filled up, and I am now enabled to report that 111 of these districts are wholly free from typhus fever; that in 17 other districts typhus fever in a mild form exists; and that in 13 other districts typhus fever of a malignant character exists, there being 105 of these cases, of which 27 are in the Fever Hospital at Preston, 24 are in Manchester Fever Hospital, 14 are in the Farnworth workhouse, 10 are in the Hyde district, and 10 are in the Accrington district, while the remaining 20 cases are in eight districts which need not be specified. The excess of these cases, as compared with those in the corresponding week of last year, is 94.

Mr. Ridley, the medical officer of the Preston Fever Hospital, informs me that "the fever has probably originated in

want of food and clothing, and in mental depression," and "that to these causes and its very contagious character may be attributed its rapid spread in low, dirty, and poor neighbourhoods." He also says, "there is a considerable decrease; the number on the books on the 12th of January is 27; on the 29th of November it was 68." Six of the medical officers of districts where malignant typhus fever exists, are of opinion that it did not originate in the want of food and clothing; six other medical officers are of the same opinion as Mr. Ridley, and they state that low diet and insufficient clothing are strong predisponents, and they call my attention to the sanitary condition of the districts in which this form of fever is found. I trust that these remarks will incline every board of guardians and every local committee to take care that the scale of relief, so frequently and so strongly recommended by your committee, shall be invariably adopted and maintained.

A debate subsequently took place upon the extension of relief to persons holding shares in co-operative societies, which are not transferable. Lord Derby expressed his opinion that the general rule, which forbids relief to persons having property of their own, might in such cases be advantageously relaxed.

The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce held its anniversary dinner on Thursday. Responding to the toast of the members for the borough, Mr. Scholefield defended the existing state of the law of maritime warfare. Mr. Bright differed with him altogether; he thought that the Congress at Paris had stopped short at a wrong point, but the remedy, in his opinion, was not retraction, but a further advance. He thought that we ought to give up the right of blockade, and of commercial captures. He found fault with the warlike spirit which induced us a year ago, "to send 10,000 men across the Atlantic to threaten a nation which could put a million of men under arms." He was glad that our statesmen were not quite too old to learn; he rejoiced in the surrender of the Ionian Islands. He would like to see Gibraltar ceded. In return we might obtain from Spain a commercial treaty, and the effectual abolition of the Cuban slave trade. The orator forgot to tell his hearers what security we could have that Spain would keep her future promises better than her past. Adverting to the state of the cotton market, he censured severely the language of Ministers on the American question.

They are, said he, no better informed than the rest of us; but their predictions are supposed to rest on knowledge, and do infinite harm by alarming commerce and confounding speculation. After an angry tirade against the *Times* for its hostility to the Northern States, the unaccredited representative of America prophesied the triumph of Radicalism and Abolitionism all over the world, and sat down amid the cheers of an audience which would cheer yet more loudly the recognition of the Southern Confederacy and a declaration of war against the countrymen of Captain Wilkes.

When Mrs. Beecher Stowe was in this country, a number of ladies of the highest rank got up an address to the women of America on the subject of slavery, which received, we believe, some half million of signatures. Mrs. Stowe has retaliated somewhat late by a reply complaining of the fearful encouragement afforded by England to a slaveholding Confederacy. This reply has elicited a rejoinder from Archbishop Whately expressing the opinions of the majority of Englishmen on this subject; a rejoinder which, courteous as it is, administers a severe rebuke to the insincerity and impertinence of one of the most over-rated of those who imagine themselves strong-minded women. We do not believe, he says, in the sincerity of Northern Abolitionism. We believe that the revolt of the Southern States was at least as just as that of the Thirteen Colonies. We are not conciliated by the railing and threats of the Northern press. We consider that, according to precedent, the Confederacy must speedily be recognized; we think that the negro is better off in the South than in the North. The Archbishop concludes:—

I have now laid before you the views which I conceive to be most prevalent among us, and for which I am not myself responsible. For the safe and effectual emancipation of slaves, I myself consider there is no plan so good as the gradual one, which was long ago suggested by Bishop Hinds. What he recommended was an *ad valorem* tax upon slaves, the value to be fixed by the owner, with an option to Government to purchase at that price. Thus the slaves would be a burden to the master, and those the most so who should be the most intelligent, and steady, and, therefore, the best qualified for freedom; and it would be his interest to train his slaves to be free labourers, and to emancipate them, one by one, as speedily as he could with safety. I fear, however, that the time is gone by for trying this experiment in America.

Dr. Whately ought to have known that such an experiment was never possible, the Federal Government having no power to impose direct taxes in this exceptional manner on a single species of property. In one respect, English opinion has done injustice to the North. If it had wished to abolish slavery throughout the Union, it could not have done so. How often is it to be repeated that the Federal Government has no more power over the institutions of the States than has the British Parliament?

A deputation of nobodies, from a body professing to represent the remnant of the once powerful Emancipation Society, waited on Mr. Adams last Friday, to express their admiration of General Butler, their sympathy with Mr. Seward, their entire faith in Mr. Lincoln, and their hearty approval of his proclamation. The address, which was read by a gentleman of whom no one ever heard before, repeated the old clap-traps which no one wishes ever to hear again. Mr. Peter Taylor—a person known by his proneness to use very extraordinary terms of vituperation in the House of Commons—said that the proclamation would tend to keep the peace between England and America, which he said had been always in danger from slavery—*how*, he did not, and of course could not, explain. Nobody believed him, and the reporters cut him short. Mr. Baptist Noel, a quasi-popular preacher, praised Mr. Lincoln's devoted adherence to the Constitution, which protects property in slaves, and especially forbids confiscation. Dr. Newman Hall, a minister of some Dissenting sect, abused the press after the fashion of Radicals and Dissenting ministers, who are never favourable to any other liberty than their own. Mr. Jacob Bright affirmed that the Lancashire operatives sympathised with the North. Mr. Adams saw the character of the deputation at a glance, and did not trouble himself with sense or facts. He spoke of a majority of the people of the United States as having declared against slavery by electing Mr. Lincoln, who, it is needless to remark, was chosen by about two millions out of five. He thanked them for their sympathy, and he promised to convey the expression of their approval to his Government. If he keep his word, he will waste paper to very little purpose. There is scarcely a newspaper among the many which support the Confederate cause, that does not number among its readers hundreds of gentlemen possessing ten times the influence and repute of all the members of the Emancipation Society put together.

The second Totnes election has resulted in the return of a Liberal, a relative of the Duke of Somerset, by a majority of eight votes.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—M. de Persigny is persisting in the system of *avertissements*. The *Temps* has received one for a very mild article on the Imperial speech, and other journals have shared the same fate. It is proposed that the Liberal press shall abstain from articles on French questions; in fact, as the correspondent of the *Standard* says, send the Government politically to Coventry. We are afraid that the Government would not care.

The Emperor has addressed a letter to General Forey, commanding the forces in Mexico. It may be taken as a declaration of the objects of the French invasion of that country. The city of Mexico is to be taken; a National Assembly is to be summoned, and a stable Government to be established; either a monarchy, if not incompatible with the national feeling, or some other Government which will be able to hold its own. His Majesty says:—

We have an interest in the Republic of the United States being powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole of the Gulf of Mexico, thence command the Antilles as well as South America, and be the only dispenser of the products of the New World.

There can be no fear on this score. The Republic so spoken of has already ceased to have more than a fictitious existence.

GERMANY.—The Prussian Chambers met on the 14th, and the Royal Speech was read by M. Von Bismark Schonhausen. It declares that, in the absence of a legal budget, the expenditure for 1862 has been regulated with strict regard to economy and efficiency; expresses a hope that such expenditure will receive the retrospective sanction of the Chambers, and promises that the budgets of 1863 and 1864 shall shortly be laid before them. It expresses the intention of the King to adhere to the French Treaty of Commerce even at the risk of dissolving the Zollverein, and takes a high tone with reference to the conduct of Austria and her supporters in the Federal Diet. The President of the Chamber of Deputies presented a number of addresses, approving the firm stand made by the Chamber in defence of the Constitution; and it is reported that the reply to be made to the Royal Speech will be in a similar tone.

It is said that the Duke of Saxe-Coburg—Prince Albert's brother—is to be King of Greece. In that case the affairs of the Duchy will be administered by a Council of Regency in his name, at least, until Prince Alfred of England attains his majority. The Duke has no children, and Prince Alfred is to succeed him in the Duchy.

The hostility between the Governments of Austria and Prussia is manifested by the declaration said to

have been made by the President of the Prussian Ministry that, in order to get rid of the obligations contracted towards Austria by the Zollverein in 1853, Prussia would give notice of her intention to withdraw from that famous league. It would seem that the Court of Berlin is bent on isolation, alike from its subjects and its allies.

DENMARK.—The despatch of the Danish Minister in answer to Lord Russell's impertinent lectures has been published in the English papers. The Minister declares that the exclusion of Federal interference from Sleswig is necessary to the independence of the kingdom; and that its endurance in Holstein is an act of grace and not of duty; that the States of the Bund are sovereign independent, and that the Diet has no more right to meddle in Holstein than in Prussia or German Austria; although "material power is an argument less easily set aside than a just claim." Sleswig is non-German; and the King of Denmark has made no engagement with the Diet in regard to Sleswig. The Federal authority, therefore, cannot extend beyond the frontier of Holstein; and the Government of Denmark, warned by the results of the voluntary explanations in regard to Sleswig, by the contradictions of the German Powers and the impertinence of Lord Russell, declines all further negotiation in regard to its non-Federal territories. Lord Russell professes a desire to preserve the integrity of the Danish State, but his advice would destroy it entirely. Finally, Denmark will grant Holstein all that is demanded, but will allow no intermeddling in her non-Federal dominions. The effect of such a despatch—placing England in the position of an ungenerous friend and unfaithful ally, forcing on a small Power unrighteous demands preferred by others for dishonest purposes—is very painful to English feelings. It makes Lord Russell look yet smaller than Nature created him; but the shame which he has incurred is inevitably, though unjustly, reflected on his country.

ITALY.—The correspondence of the French Government with its representatives at Rome and Turin has been laid before the Legislature. Once more Lord Russell has made himself contemptible, and in this country ridiculous. He has been intriguing to persuade the Pope to leave Rome and retire to Malta; and being found out, has got a terrible rap on the knuckles from the French Minister. Also, he has made several complaints against the Pope and Francis of Bourbon, for encouraging brigandism in Naples, which the French Ambassador declares to be unfounded. M. de Sartiges reports from Turin (Dec. 10), that the new Italian Ministry was anxious to keep on good terms with France, and acknowledged the present impossibility of the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. On the 29th of December he repeats a conversation with M. Pasolini, in which the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, while expressing a willingness to waive the Roman question for the present, declared that Rome was the natural capital of Italy, and did not conceal his conviction that France ought ultimately to withdraw her troops, and leave the temporal power of the Pope to abide the decision of the Roman people.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Jan. 21, 1863.

At the date of our last report the cotton market was very excited, under the "Etna's" news, and Fair Dhollerahs could scarcely be bought at 18d.

On Thursday we opened with a good demand from the trade and speculators, but the prevalence of a dense fog restricted business, the advance of 1 per cent. in the bank rate had, moreover, a subduing tendency, and before the day was over, it became apparent that the current of speculation started on receipt of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, had been checked, and that until stimulating news was again received from America or the East, no further advance could be expected. The sales reached 10,000 bales at steady prices. On Friday and Saturday the market was very quiet, with sales of 3,000 and 4,000 bales, with a drooping tendency.

On Monday the "Europa's," news were to hand with Seymour's message to the New York Legislature, wherein he states in the name of the party he represents, "We can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union or the destruction of the Constitution." At Murfreesboro after five days' terrific fighting, the Confederates had retired in perfect order, carrying away a number of prisoners and a large amount of military stores. At Vicksburg the result was still uncertain; the Federals had carried several positions, and a report was current that the town was taken, but this wants confirmation.

Though these accounts were all of a nature to give confidence to holders here, they failed to impart animation to our market, and with sales of 3000 bales prices were barely supported.

On Tuesday the demand was again languid, and Manchester, in sympathy with Liverpool, was very quiet, though steady;

The business here reached only 2000 bales, and Fair Dhollerahs were sold at 17½d.

To-day a shade more tone is perceptible, and the sales reach 4000 bales. We quote Fair Dhollerahs and Omrawuttees 17½d, and Fair Broach 18½d. American has been quite neglected, and is entirely nominal in value; Middling Orleans may be quoted 24d.

The conviction here is pretty general that, even with a certainty of the American war lasting another year, the prices now ruling—say 18d. for Fair Dhollerah—are quite high enough for the present with a stock of 400,000 bales on hand, and though a considerably higher range of prices is confidently looked for late in the spring, yet it is hardly probable that we shall have a material advance for some time. The accounts from India will likely be better by each mail for some time to come, but stocks in Bombay and Calcutta are still so large—estimated by good authorities to be equal to nearly one year's consumption—that we cannot expect the advance there to be such as to lessen the great discrepancy at present existing between their prices and those of Manchester, to such an extent as largely to increase shipments thence.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, January 20.

Notwithstanding the better telegrams from Calcutta, with dates up to the 26th, 29th, and 30th ultimo, advising a daily advance in prices both for yarn and cloth, our market here still exhibits that quietness which has been its chief characteristic during the two previous weeks, caused principally by the slow business going on at Liverpool in the raw material.

Export yarns have been very little enquired for, with the exception of doubled yarns, which have been bought out of stock at, in some cases, less prices than can be got for singles of similar numbers.

Home manufacturers have bought very sparingly, thinking that the dull state of Liverpool would induce spinners to take lower prices, but in most cases the latter remain firm at previous quotations.

Cloth has been much neglected, especially India shirtings, and Jaconets, which cannot be moved at the quotations for which they have been held so long, and speculators in whose hands they are chiefly, seem little disposed to give way feeling confident that a demand for them must set in before long, as the exports to India the last two months, are of such a very small amount as will speedily bring about that result.

To day that we have had another very flat market, which has disappointed everyone who had anything to sell, Liverpool manifesting such an amount of tameness which is astonishing, when we take into consideration that the news per the "Europa" was more conducive to a belief, that the struggle in America would continue for some long time to come, than has been any intelligence received since the commencement of the war.

There has been some small demand for doubled yarns for shipment to Germany, in Nos. from 40s. to 100s., and an advance of ½d. per lb. for the finer qualities has been obtained; other kinds of yarn, whether for shipment or home trade, being entirely neglected. Neither have there been any transactions in cloth.

SALT BUSINESS PRODUCED BY THE WAR.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 16th.)

The amount of capital and industry invested by our citizens in the manufacture of salt, one of the great necessities of the times, justifies a more detailed account of the business than has heretofore been given. From small and almost insignificant beginnings it has now assumed important proportions, and is daily on the increase, both in numbers engaged and the quality produced. From statistics which we are enabled to give below it will be seen that the number of salt works in operation and in course of erection within the city limits alone number 120, giving an average of 11 bushels each, or 1350 bushels per day, and nearly 8000 per week. The number of pans and boilers in use amount to nearly 700 of different sizes, varying in yield from one bushel and a half to ten and twelve. About 4000 cords per week will give a fair average of the wood consumed, and nearly all pine. A few of the salt boilers are using resin. The cost of these works, in the aggregate, has been estimated at the lowest at \$250,000. The cost of the wood consumed daily is averaged at \$8000, or nearly \$50,000 per week. The total aggregate, allowing for hands engaged and other items, would swell the amount to near half a million dollars per week.

The foregoing is entirely exclusive of works outside the city, located on Mount Pleasant, James' Island, and various other places. At the latter place Colonel C. H. Stevens has erected salt works, which supply his own regiment with salt, besides furnishing the Commissary Department with a large quantity. At Fort Johnson Dr. Leiby has some salt works in successful operation, and also the firm of Legare, Sullivan, and Hitchcock. J. and F. Dawson are manufacturing a superior article on Goat Island.

At Mount Pleasant there are several extensive works yielding an average of fifty to seventy bushels per day.

At Rikersville Mr. David Riker has in successful operation extensive works, which are turning out an excellent article of salt, on an average of twenty-five bushels per day. The proprietor is offering his salt at \$18 per bushel.

Near the Four Mile House, Mr. Charles Tavel is erecting salt works, and at the old Magazine Messrs Pressley and Dukes and Mr. E. E. Bradley have works in course of construction.

The results of this enterprise are indeed really astonishing, taking into consideration the difficulties of obtaining material, want of experienced workmen, the high price of wood, and the absence of many almost indispensable facilities. We think consumers, however, may look with certainty in a short time to a very material reduction in the price of the article.

The *Courier* then gives a long list of the works in the eastern and western divisions of the city, in which occur the following:—

COOPER RIVER.

Charleston Salt Works (Proprietor, H. L. P. McCormick).—These works, situated on Southern Wharf, were erected in July 1862. They are turning out about twenty-five bushels per day, first quality, of fine and coarse salt. The number of pans used is ten. About ten cords of wood daily are consumed. Mr. Isaac Brown, agent; Mr. P. Pendergrast, superintendent. Mr. McCormick is extending his operations, with a view to double the quantity now manufactured.

Mills' Wharf Salt Works (Proprietors, P. J. Coogan and Co.).—These works are in course of erection, and a large amount of capital has been subscribed towards their completion. They are intended to be the largest and most complete in their appointments of any works yet built. Average number of bushels calculated to yield per day, forty.

Williams' Wharf Salt Works.—There are three located upon this wharf. Of these the largest are those of Claussen and Kampsen, now nearly finished. They have seven very large pans, which are calculated to turn out twenty-five bushels daily. The others are those of Peter Kennedy, six pans—average per day, six bushels; and Rollin and Aspinall, six pans—average, four bushels.

Hasel-street Wharf.—Mr. F. W. Claussen, one of the earliest in this enterprise, has erected on this wharf the largest works yet in operation. He is turning out forty bushels of salt daily, and employs a large number of men. Additional works are also in progress, from which it is thought the daily quantity of salt made will be increased to eighty or ninety bushels per day, or between five and six hundred bushels per week. Messrs. Fraser and Rusch, whose excellent specimens of salt we have already had occasion to notice, are located at the head of this wharf. They are working with three very large pans, which yield a daily average of eleven bushels. Wood and Roach are erecting some large works upon this wharf, to be fitted up with six pans. Supposed average daily yield, ten bushels. Whilden and Co. have in course of erection upon the same wharf salt works to consist of six pans, with a supposed average yield of ten bushels per day. R. Smallwood, same wharf, with works of five pans. Average daily yield of six bushels.

Bennett's East Bay Mill Salt Works.—These works were commenced in February. The number of pans ten. Average daily yield, twenty bushels.

Wharf, foot of Laurens-street.—Robert Merriweather. Two extra large pans. Average daily yield, twenty bushels per day. Chamberlain, Bowman and Co. Number of pans, ten. Average yield, ten bushels.

Wharf, East End of Calhoun-street.—Messrs. Cook, Wood, and Prothro. Number of pans, six. Average daily yield, five bushels. Forester and Marks: Number of pans used, eight. Average daily yield, seven bushels. Kenny and Fogarty. Number of pans, five, and one large boiler. Average daily yield, twenty bushels. James H. Johnston and Ross Spriggs. Number of pans, eight, and one large boiler. Average daily yield, twenty-five bushels. C. F. Middleton and Co., Middleton's Salt Works. Number of pans, eighteen. Average daily yield, forty bushels. Gannon, Von Dohlen and Heriot. One boiler and five pans. Average daily yield, twelve bushels.

Horlbeck's Wharf (Proprietor, John Horlbeck, T. F. Leiby, Agent).—Number of pans twenty-two. Average yield per day, twenty bushels. The proprietor is extending his operations and erecting new works.

North-Eastern Railroad Wharf.—C. D. Carr and Co., J. S. Schirmer, T. D. Dotter, and others, forming a corporation, have erected on this wharf extensive works, known as the Atlantic Salt Works. The model arrangements of the boilers and pans are worth the close inspection of all who design entering the business. Their largest pan is about equal to ten ordinary ones. The daily average yield at present is about twenty-five bushels, but their operations are being largely extended, which it is thought will enable them to turn out double the present quantity, or about fifty bushels daily. They are producing a superior article of salt, which for whiteness and purity cannot be surpassed. The Bay Salt Works, about 300 yards distant, on the line of the railroad, and belonging to the same company, have also been erected with the same admirable arrangements, and are turning out about twenty-five bushels daily of the same quality of salt. These works afford the most complete evidence of what can be accomplished by skill and energy, combined with a liberal outlay of capital.

Upon the same wharf are the works of Messrs. Jno. Chalk and F. P. Seignious. Number of pans, four. Average daily yield, ten bushels.

Mr. F. A. Due is erecting his salt works upon this wharf. Number of pans six. Supposed average daily yield, ten bushels.

Steinmeyer's Salt Works.—(T. H. Dillingham, superintendent).—These works were erected in September, and are entitled to the credit of the first systematic arrangement for separating the bitter from the pure salt, and the plan of drying the salt in bins built over a ground flue for the chimney. They are well worth the examination of those about to begin the enterprise. Number of bushels daily, twenty.

Cannonboro Mill Salt Works.—P. V. Brandt, foot of Mill-street. Number of pans, twelve. Number of bushels per day, twenty-five. Mr. Brandt is producing a very superior article of fine salt, and also an excellent quantity of coarse salt for curing meat. Pressley and Dukes. Number of pans, three (large) and three boilers. Number of bushels, twenty. These works are making a specialty of the business in the manufacture of crystallized salt. They are entitled to the credit of being the first in the enterprise of salt making, having commenced in June 1862. Marchant and Carmalt. Number of pans, ten, very large, with a water capacity for 10,000 gallons. Number of bushels per day, twenty-five. The proprietors are extending their operations to increase the production to fifty bushels. Martin and Co. In course of erection.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, January 20.

The diplomatic blue book, laid before the French Chambers since I last addressed you, contains a great deal of curious information, and when we reflect that only a selection of the documents received or forwarded by the French Foreign Office are published, the collection must be a very extraordinary one indeed, if, to use a homely French saying, we judge *le sac sur l'étiquette*.

The despatches are well worth perusal to all who are fond of political speculation, but their substance is all that the general reader probably cares for, and may be given in a condensed shape. Regarding Italy, we learn that the French Government soon after the accession of the new ministry at Turin, endeavoured through their Envoy, M. de Sartiges, *did* try and reopen the negotiations on the Roman question, *i.e.* on the basis laid down by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that the possession of the Eternal City, by the King of Italy, should not be contemplated. This attempt only drew from the Italian ministers a reply, which the French Envoy properly enough described as a *non possumus*—"We had rather not negotiate. We thoroughly agree with our predecessors in office, that Rome belongs *de jure* to Italy—we differ from them only as to the expediency of negotiating on the subject." So far the Italians have the best of it, but it is impossible not to admire the skill with which French diplomatists cover their retreat. "Let the Roman question stand still then," says M. Drouyn de Lhuys; "but, above all, the parties at Rome and Turin must not be rash. Do not let them make any premature declaration, but trust to the chapter of accidents." And so the French Government, the Italian Government, and the Papal Government, like the celebrated Mr. Micawber, are waiting for "something to turn up."

The diplomatic papers published under the head "Rome," clearly set forth that M. Drouyn de Lhuys is, and wishes to be, on excellent terms with the Pope. As soon as the French ambassador, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, got out there, he received a despatch instructing him to convey to his Holiness his intention to make himself agreeable to his Holiness—an assurance which must have been very agreeable at the Vatican after the courteous hectoring of M. Thouvenel, and the crisp but equally courteous irony of M. de Lavalette—at the same time M. Drouyn de Lhuys shows himself aware that the position of France at Rome is one of considerable difficulty, and through M. de la Tour d'Auvergne he appeals to the Pope to make that position less difficult—could not his Holiness, by granting some of those reforms, the necessity of which he himself has admitted, enable the Government to shut the mouths of those horrible revolutionists who make a handle of every little abuse that may creep into even the beneficent rule of Pio Nono. The overture was well received, and Cardinal Antonelli promised that he would, before long, transmit to the nuncio of Paris, M. Chigi, but observing that these reforms would be of an "administrative and judicial character"—all moonshine exclaims the *Opinion Nationale*, *Presse*, *Temps* and *Debats*—they are indeed not likely to take any body in. At this stage of the blue book, England makes her appearance, and the tone of the despatches shows the unfriendly terms on which the Courts of Paris and London stand towards each other. Lord Russell accepting as true, a statement forwarded by Mr. Odo Russell, that 500 or 600 banditti in French uniforms, had been despatched from Rome, to carry on their depredations in the Neapolitan provinces, called M. Drouyn de Lhuys' attention to the fact in a despatch, which appears in some slight degree to have ruffled the equanimity of the French Secretary of State. His Excellency seems very indignant at the hint thrown out by the English Foreign Minister, that the "French flag extended its protection to brigandage," and a formal denial, accompanied with sundry cuts at Mr. Odo Russell's gullibility, which is very broadly implied, M. Drouyn de Lhuys states, for the information of M. de la Tour d'Auvergne, in particular, and that of the public in general, that he has lectured the British Government through Lord Cowley, and instructed the Marquis de Cadore to do the same thing in London, on their readiness in grounding scolding despatches on such preposterous *canards*.

The most extraordinary episode revealed by the correspondence on Italian affairs, remains, however, to be told. The Pope, in an interview with Mr. Odo Russell, having jocularly retorted in answer to a warm appeal on behalf of Italian unity, "Who knows? I may, after all, have to claim the hospitality of England." This was actually made the groundwork for a proposal by Earl Russell to take the Pope under his protection, and convey him to Malta on board the Mediterranean squadron! Fancy the writer of the celebrated Durham letter indulging in a diplomatic flirtation with the Pope!

the bitter opponent of "Ecclesiastical Titles" in England, contemplating the removal of the Holy See to English soil! Earl Russell evidently is determined to win distinction in one way, and pre-eminent in nothing else, seems bent to attain supremacy in ridicule.

The despatches relating to Servia, Montenegro, the Holy places and Mexico, contain nothing that is new, and the details they do contain are far from justifying by their interest or importance the space they occupy. Moreover, they are essentially retrospective, therefore, I will pass them over *sub silentio*, and come at once to the American correspondence.

It labours under the fault that a great deal of its interest is done away with by the rapid march of events in America. But every despatch shows that the French Government, though desirous to preserve the strictest neutrality, have long since come to the conclusion that has forced itself upon every impartial spectator of that gigantic conflict, that the Confederates are, at least, perfectly able to hold their own. So long ago as last July, M. Mercier communicated to the Government here his impression that the North were getting heartily sick of the war, and that the time was approaching when European mediation would be gratefully received. The success of the democratic party at the elections, appears to bear out the views of M. Mercier, but he naturally did not take into account the folly, the stubbornness, and the ravenous appetite for plunder of the adventurers, in whose hands chance and knavery have placed the Government of the North.

He could not well put down in a public despatch that there was no hope of a cessation of hostilities until the Staunton's, Cameron's, Butler's, and other leeches were fully gorged.

"Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo."

The French Government appears to have energetically protested against the goings on of the miscreant Butler at New Orleans, and you will see from the despatches I subjoin, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys appears to have had some share in his removal from the scene of his iniquities. The despatches in question also give, you will perceive, some clue to the ultimate destination of Banks' expedition. It seems intended as a marauding trip to carry out Butler's system of plunder on a larger scale.

The French Minister at Washington writes to the Minister of Foreign Affairs under date of

"Washington, November 21, 1862.

"Monsieur le Ministre:—Your Excellency is aware that the Secretary of State has always shown himself very desirous of the European market being able to procure cotton, and that, unfortunately all his good intentions have failed before the exigencies of war, and the determination of the Confederates to burn their cotton rather than let it fall into the hands of the Federals.

"The Cabinet of Washington is now preparing a new attempt. It would consist in seizing the cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar, wherever the Federal forces may penetrate, sending them to the principal Northern markets where they would be sold and the proceeds handed over to the proprietors who consent to take an oath of fidelity to the Union.

This project being in opposition to former engagements, according to which, neutrals were not to be impeded in the export of cotton which they might procure by ports occupied by the Federals; Mr. Seward wished previously to give notice to the French and English Legations, and to hear their remarks on it. After Lord Lyons and myself had consulted together, we told the Secretary of State that we could not say anything which would in the slightest way bind the responsibility of our Governments relative to such a measure; but we asked what would become of such produce which might belong to neutrals. He replied, that those estates would be respected, and that the owners would have the power of having their produce exported at the same time and by the same means as the American property seized by the Federal forces.

"I then asked him if he did not fear that the project in question might not have for result to cause the burning of all the produce which would be liable to seizure. He replied that he felt no uneasiness on that subject."

MERCIER.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington writes in reply:—

Paris, December 11, 1862.

"Sir,—The measures to which the Cabinet of Washington think of having recourse, in order to procure cotton for the European markets, have not appeared to me, any more than to you, as likely to lead to the desired result. The consequence would be fresh rigours for the South; but the planters have hitherto proved that they hesitated at no sacrifice for the defence of their cause, and there is therefore reason to doubt that the success of the combined expedition on the Mississippi and in Louisiana would be sufficient to induce them to deliver up their crops on the conditions which would be imposed on them. As to foreigners and to our fellow countrymen, experience has but too well proved how chimerical it would be to suppose that in such a case any regard would be had for their neutrality. What is taking place at New Orleans indicates clearly enough, the manner in which certain chiefs of the Federal forces, think they have a right to treat them, notwithstanding the different intentions which we doubt not actuate the Cabinet of Washington. Without wishing to any further discuss the projected means of coercion, I must tell you that as far as we are concerned we cannot find in the project or in the explanations which have been given to you on the subject, the guarantees by which we should be assured against the fresh injuries to which our fellow countrymen would probably be exposed from this project being carried into execution. I already know that such is also the impression of the English Government. The objections which at first presented themselves to your mind, are therefore conformable to our view of the matter, and it is consequently important that you should explain yourself very candidly on the subject to Mr. Seward.

I need not tell you that we shall hear with lively satisfaction that General Butler has definitively resigned the dictatorial powers with which it appears he has been invested at New Orleans. His departure will not for us constitute a solution of all the complaints which his administration has led to, but we hope that the proceedings of his successor will at least prevent an increase in their number.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Apropos of Butler, I am glad to see that one paper, at least, has had the honesty to come forward and describe that disgrace to humanity in his proper colours. M. Granier de Cassagnac, in the *Nation*, takes an opportunity to protest against the shameful apologies for this petty tyrant, which have defiled the columns of some of the Paris prints. I am not an admirer of M. Granier de Cassagnac, but on this occasion he has spoken well and manfully, and his article contrasts painfully with the *Debats*, which, partly through ignorance, partly through party spirit, has prostituted its talents to the defence of organized murder, robbery, and outrage. M. de Cassagnac writes:—

Whatever has been or may be, in Europe or in America, the opinions emitted on the causes, the effects, and the actors in the war in America, there is one man on whom a sad and formidable unanimity of sentiments has fallen—and that man is Butler. A lawyer by profession, and a general by chance, Butler in his list of services has only one battle, that of Big Bethell, which he lost. Being considered incapable of conquering men, he went to New Orleans to insult women. He has rummaged up to his elbows in the sack of malice and subtleties called the Anglo-Saxon code; he has derived from it exile of persons, confiscation of property, provocation of families, and outrages on Consuls, until at length the Government of Washington, uneasy at the opinion entertained in Europe, and weakened by the excesses of an agent who appeared charged to excuse the Separatists to the eyes of history, sent him his dismissal in a sealed letter, by the hands of General Banks, and as if fortune wished to prevent men from forgetting that she still has her caprices, she has raised up apologists for this man, who has acquired the hatred of his enemies without having had the esteem of his patrons or of his countrymen, and those apologists are the writers in the *Debats*. Butler would not have found apologists at New York, where the journals formerly published a letter from Mr. Reverdy Johnson, saying that the wrongs of the pro-Consul towards New Orleans, exceeded those of New Orleans towards the Union. He would not have found them at New Orleans, either among the inhabitants or among his own assistants. The population of New Orleans read, on the 8th of June, 1862, in the *Delta*, the official journal of Butler, his reply to the just and noble reclamations of the European Consuls, protesting against the famous general order No. 41, which pretended to make all the members of the foreign colony, so many spies, acting under oath, in the service of the Federal police. There is not a private individual who would tolerate for a moment the half of the sarcasms and insults, heaped more particularly on the French, in that shameful document; it required in order to suffer them the dignity of Governments placed in a sphere where nothing can reach them. Among the assistants of Butler, it is a matter of public notoriety at New Orleans, not one, neither Commodore Farragut, nor General Phelps, nor General Witzell, nor General Shepley, who did not publicly censure his conduct; and if, after having dismissed him the Washington Government, should decide in trying him, the future would show the results of the enquiry with which General Banks has been charged. Recalled by a sealed order, the contents of which he did not know, a quarter of an hour before it was signified to him, the General by chance, as he was designated by the Spanish consul, will be much surprised when he shall, in a few days, read in the *Journal des Debats*, that his army is the only one which had lived on its own resources. He will naturally conclude that people in Paris are ignorant of his General Order No. 91, dated November 9 1862, which declared the confiscation of the magnificent district of Lafourche, which is in Louisiana what Grand Terre is in Guadeloupe, as well as the order to Judge Bell, to Lieutenant-Colonel Kinsman and to Captain Fuller, the Provost-marshal of the district to deliver up to the officers on their receipts, all of whom they might stand in need for the United States' army.

The surprise of Butler will not be less in reading in the *Journal des Debats* that "his army has gained a decisive triumph" which will lead him to suppose that people in France are ignorant of the fact that on arriving before New Orleans and before Baton Rouge, the peaceable inhabitants surrendered, relying on his good faith; that all the efforts of his land and sea forces failed before Vicksburg, and that the troops of General Banks came precisely for the purpose of attempting in Louisiana what those of his predecessor could not accomplish. And if, which is impossible, General Butler thought that in leaving New Orleans when he was unexpectedly dismissed, he has achieved the dignity which the *Journal des Debats* awards to him, that dignity will protest against a panegyric from the nation which has been the most outraged by him.

The *Constitutionnel* to-day makes an extraordinary suggestion—that commissioners from the Northern and Southern States should meet at some neutral town and calmly discuss proposals for peace, whilst the fighting goes on without interruption on the other side of the Atlantic. The article appears in large type, but the plan does not appear to have any of the elements of success about it. The South would assuredly enter into no negotiations without securing as a basis the recognition of their independence, and that once obtained there would be no plausible reason for the continuation of the war.

The year has begun badly for the press. Warnings have been given to the *Temps*, the *Courier des Demanche*, the *Revue Nationale* the *Opinion du Midi* and the *Journal de la Cote d'Or*. There are evidently breakers ahead—and the moderate Liberal party seemed determined to try the issue whether calm, moderate, sensible discussion is finally to be put down by arbitrary caprice. I believe I am not far wrong in announcing that the next few months will witness a revival of political opinion, which mere *avertissements* will not be sufficient to put down.

A PAPER

CONTAINING A STATEMENT AND VINDICATION OF CERTAIN POLITICAL OPINIONS.

By the HON. W. B. REED, late U. S. Minister to China. Philadelphia: Published by John Campbell.

[This paper is meant for my neighbours and personal friends. It may, in the excitement of these times, have a wider interest than I now anticipate, and possibly be read by many of my fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania. Should it provoke hostile criticism, let it at least be understood as telling the truth, as I most sincerely believe it to be.]

With a strong sense of the duty of reserve in times of great public excitement, and the consciousness that a private citizen's conduct and opinions are of no interest beyond a very limited circle, I venture to make a personal appeal within that circle.

I am glad of the chance of speaking to my personal friends, and think it a duty, to my character and to my family, to put in a distinct and permanent form a brief and perfectly candid statement of my conduct and opinions in relation to the troubles of the country. If the irrationalism of the hour should soon or ever pass by, and law and good order, as guaranteed by the Constitution and a healthy public opinion be restored, this paper may serve as a private memorial of feelings and opinions of which my friends will have no reason to be ashamed. If not, and our doom of ruin be realized, it will be of little moment what I or any one else now think or say.

As this justification (if I may so describe it) is strictly personal, no apology is needed—certainly none to those who are interested from familiar and social relations—for referring briefly to the past.

Born and educated in Pennsylvania, my whole active life, excepting brief periods of absence in the public service, has been passed here. I have no private interests or family connections within the limits of the Confederate States. Time and distance and latterly the quick corrosion of civil war, have so completely worn away the few links which once bound me to Southern friends, that I dare call them so no longer. I have never, though a wide traveller elsewhere, crossed the border except once, thirteen years ago, on a professional errand to Norfolk and Richmond. I have no correspondent in the South, and have, since the beginning of the war, neither written nor received a letter to or from any individual there, except one to which special reference shall hereafter be made. The sentiment of local affection and State pride, which is now made matter of reproach to those who think as I do, is not a new one with me; and no man can point to any act or opinion of my life, public or private, inconsistent with this sense of duty.

Returning from abroad in the spring of 1859, I took relatively little part in the Presidential canvass of the next year, though feeling a deep interest, for I saw in the future, as clearly as I see in the ghastly present, that the triumph of the "Republican" party, with its aggressive doctrines and the radical and fanatical spirit which animated it, threatened the disruption and downfall of the Republic itself. The Chicago platform embodied a principle of revolution that has borne bloody fruits. There are those near and dear to me who know, what few out of my family suspected, that a secret fear—a fixed presentiment—of the misery to come, overshadowed my mind as early as October, 1860, when the State elections so surely foretold the Presidential catastrophe of a month later. I thought then that Mr. Lincoln's election would endanger Southern rights and interests, and that the South was in earnest. I hoped sincerely I might be mistaken; it turns out I was not.

In the anxious interval from the election to the inauguration, I was in no position to tempt me to action, or which authorized me to intrude my opinions on any one. According to my judgment, the President tried to do his duty faithfully. No advocate of a coercive policy can fairly blame him. He asked of Congress the means of defending the public property, and it refused to confer the powers which then everybody thought Congress only could authorize or delegate. The idea that any necessity could create or confer Executive power was held by no one. His reward has been denunciation on all sides—generally denunciation without knowledge or inquiry. His consolation must be that he shed no drop of blood, and violated neither the written word nor the animating spirit of the Constitution. By Mr. Buchanan, I never was consulted; and to him, in that interval, I never offered counsel. I wrote more than once to the Secretary of State, Mr. Black, and to the Attorney-General, Mr. Stanton, receiving replies in most instances to my letters; and this correspondence, should it ever see the light, will abundantly prove my fidelity to the Union, and the thorough sympathy then existing between us.

On the 17th of January, 1861, I took part in a town meeting at the National Hall in this city, at which a number of my most distinguished fellow-citizens spoke. Our object was to dissuade and oppose military coercion, and the inauguration of civil war by the act of the Federal Government; and never was there greater enthusiasm or unanimity manifested than on that occasion. There was perfect accord throughout. I did not prepare the Resolutions, though they were altered, and, as I then thought, amended by me. One, however, which has attracted much adverse criticism, was exclusively, in its origin, mine. It embodied my opinions when danger of disruption was at a distance. It expresses my opinions now, when it is a hideous reality. It was adopted with enthusiastic unanimity, and is in these words:

"Resolved, That in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and, so far as we know it, of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union, by the separation of the whole South—a result we shall most sincerely deplore—may release this Commonwealth from the bonds which now connect it with the Confederacy, and would authorize and require its citizens, through a Convention to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom their lot shall be cast; whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our brethren of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own, or whether Pennsylvania shall stand by herself, ready, when occasion offers, to bind together the broken Union, and resume her place of loyalty and devotion."

If the doctrine of this resolution,—if the assertion in clear terms of a local sentiment, and confidence that it alone can avail to protect us in the event of permanent dissolution,—if this be treason, then was I, and the thousands who cheered and voted for that resolution, guilty. It stated a proposition, which I hardly think can be disputed, that the separation, once accomplished, of the whole South, or the whole North, or the whole West, or the whole East, would radically affect the relations of the remaining States. It would dislocate them all. It would affect them as to debt, as to taxation, as to representation, as to foreign nations. Federal relations, thus impaired, are practically Federal relations no longer; and

each State, without any act of its own, but literally by the force of circumstances, would be "released," and, being released, falls back on its own sovereignty. The resolution asserted this, and no more; and the time will come when it will be accepted as truth. I take the responsibility, if it involves censure, of having enunciated it.

From that day to this, I have never attended a political meeting or opened my lips in public.

From Mr. Lincoln's inauguration to the breaking out of hostilities, I was among those who silently hoped against hope. It was hard work to struggle against the discouragements of those days. The Peace Congress, which Pennsylvania, had she not been swayed by passion, might have influenced for good had passed away. The Crittenden compromise was rejected. The Cotton States, one by one, with a solemnity which should have been impressive, had declared themselves out of the Union; and the Republican party prepared to take possession of what was left of Federal authority. The snatches of speeches made by Mr. Lincoln, as he travelled from his home to the seat of government, enlightened nobody. The misty dreaminess of the inaugural depressed every one; and thoughtful men, at home and abroad, stood around like the puzzled questioners of the Oracle wondering what it really meant. The Cabinet was framed of a purely sectional basis, with a controlling influence of extreme men. No selection was made from the Border States, then as truly "loyal" as were New York and Ohio and Pennsylvania and Indiana. Whether there was any foundation for the rumour that Mr. Lincoln intimated a willingness to call a citizen of Virginia (Mr. Scott) to his Cabinet I know not; but I do know that that citizen, a steady, resolute Union man, now lies in his bloody grave at the foot of the Blue Ridge, murdered by one of Mr. Lincoln's German soldiers. So with the diplomatic appointments. All were given to one section,—or, if an exception to this occurred, it was that of some abolition Pariah from a slave State. Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in the distribution of this high patronage, were treated as if they had seceded, or could furnish no citizen fit to be trusted. With what seems to have been characteristic fatuity, political proscription was scornfully brandished in the face of the doubtful States. Mr. Seward long ago boasted that, with his consent, none but anti-slavery men should represent this country abroad,—and, for once, he kept his word. Mr. Giddings was sent as Consul-General to Quebec!

Then, in the months of March and April, 1861 came the interlude, if the word can be so applied, of the negotiations as to Fort Sumter, between the Confederate Commissioners and Mr. Seward. And on this point I feel authorized so far to interrupt my personal narrative as to adduce some unpublished testimony, if for no other reason, in order to do justice to a distant friend. I have said that since the troubles began I have had, with a single exception, no correspondent within the limits of the Confederate States. This exception is the Honourable John A. Campbell, of Alabama, formerly a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, whom I hope there is no offence in describing as an eminent jurist, a sound Union man till the policy of the Administration rendered Unionism in the South impossible, and a Christian gentleman. To him, having been honoured by his friendship previously, I wrote urging him to retain his place in the Federal judiciary. On the 5th of June, 1861, he answered my letter, and thus referred to his own patriotic agency in a last and ineffectual effort to keep the peace:—

"I suppose you must have seen my letters to Governor Seward in some of the Northern papers. There are some facts connected with them that I am glad to have an opportunity to communicate to you. When I visited Governor Seward, I had not had any communication with General Davis, or any member of the Executive Department of the Montgomery Government. The first knowledge I had of the demand of the Commissioners for recognition, or of Mr. Seward's embarrassment, was derived from Judge Nelson and Mr. Seward. I offered to write to General Davis and ask him to restrain his commissioners. I supposed that Mr. Seward desired to prevent the irritation and complaint that would naturally follow from the rejection of the Commissioners in the South, and the reaction that their expression (*sic*) would have at the North. He informed me that Sumter was to be evacuated, and that Mr. Weed said, 'This was a sharp and bitter pang, which he' (Weed) 'was anxious might be spared to them.' Mr. Seward authorized me to communicate the fact to the evacuation to Mr. Davis, and the precise object was to induce him to render his commissioners inactive. I did not anticipate having any other interview with Mr. Seward. I supposed that Sumter would be evacuated in the course of a very few days, and without any other action on my part. When upon the second and third interviews with him I found there was to be delay, I conversed with Judge Nelson as to the delicacy of my position, and it was at his suggestion and by his counsel that I agreed to be the 'intermediary' until Sumter was evacuated. Neither of us doubted that the fort was to be surrendered or abandoned. The first notice of any other disposition was communicated on the 10th of April. Colonel Lamont, the present Marshal of the District of Columbia, came to Washington with the family of Mr. Lincoln, I believe. He was with him at Washington in some familiar capacity. He visited Charleston in March, obtained access to Sumter, and left the impression on the mind of Governor Pickens that he was the agent of the Government, engaged in making arrangements for its evacuation. In the latter part of March, Governor Pickens sent a telegram to ascertain what had become of Lamont. I bore this to Mr. Seward, and he promised to inquire concerning him. His answer was that the President was concerned at any misconception of Lamont's words or visit, and desired me to converse with him; that Lamont did not visit Charleston for him, and was not commissioned to make any pledge or assurance to bind him. Mr. Seward said Lamont would be at the State Department for me to interrogate him. I declined to converse with Lamont, and recommended that he (Lamont) should himself write to Governor Pickens to explain the matter. I asked Governor Seward about the evacuation of the fort. Without any verbal reply, he wrote:—'The President may desire to supply Sumter, but will not do so without giving notice to Governor Pickens.' Upon reading this, I asked if the President had any design to attempt a supply of Sumter. His reply contained an observation of the President. That I pass. But he said he did not believe any attempt would be made to supply Sumter, and there was no design to reinforce it. I told him if that were the case, I should not employ this language,—that it would be interpreted as a design to attempt a supply, and that, if such a thing were believed in Charleston, they would bombard the fort—that they did not regard the surrender of Sumter as open to question, and when they did, they would proceed to extremities. He left the State Department, I remaining there till his return; and, on his return, he wrote these words:—(I am satisfied that) the Government will not

undertake to supply Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens.' This excluded the matter of desire, and, with what had taken place, left the impression that if any attempt were made it would be an open, declared, and peaceful offer to supply the fort, which being resisted by the Carolinians, the fort would be abandoned as a military necessity and to spare the effusion of blood—the odium of resistance and of the evacuation being thrown upon the late Administration and the Confederate States. Had these counsels prevailed,—had the policy been marked with candour and moderation—I am not sure that even before this the fruit might have been seen ripening among the States in renewed relations of kindness and good will, to be followed ere long by a suitable political and civil union, adequate to the security of both sections at home and abroad. The ideas of union and a common country, as applied to all the States, are now simply obsolete."

This simple and precise narrative, introduced here as having been addressed to me, is, in the light of what has occurred since, a sad revelation, which needs no comment. Neither at home nor abroad does the Administration seem to have known that the best policy is fair play. I answered Judge Campbell's letter soon after its receipt, and, as evidence of my feelings and opinions then, I make an extract from my letter. "You speak of the united and resolute feeling at the South. Here it is very nearly as unanimous, and I can discern no signs of reaction. There are (I speak of this city) a few gentlemen who hold, as I do, to the doctrine of recognition and peace, but it would do neither us nor you any good to say so. There is a local sentiment which it is not graceful or proper to defy, and minorities must sometimes be silent. What is most painful is to be made conscious of the insensibility of those around me to the fearful infractions of the Constitution and conceded law which are daily occurring. Professors of elementary law teach their students that the President may suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. Learned and hitherto patriotic men, admitting the acts of the President to be wrong, justify the outrages on the ground of State necessity. This is worse than the other; and this it is which alarms me as a Northern man and one whose lot must be in the North. While, according to Mr. Russell, the South Carolina gentlemen want an old-fashioned monarchy, we, without talking about it, are sliding down into something quite as bad."

So I wrote a year ago; and there has been a fearful decade since. I received from Judge Campbell another long and interesting letter, dated at Warrenton, Virginia, July 27th, five days after the Federal defeat at Manassas, from which I extract a few lines, on which I need make no remark. "The battle-ground of Manassas," he wrote, "is near me, and, both before and since the battle, I have been upon it. I came on the field early on Monday morning, before sunrise. I carried with me water, ice, food, and medicines, to alleviate whatever suffering I could find. I found there wounded soldiers from New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, and New York, in numbers, who had received no attention. I was told of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Connecticut men elsewhere." To this letter I replied in a few lines, there being no interdiction of friendly correspondence; but my letter never reached Judge Campbell, having come into the possession of the Federal Postmaster at Philadelphia, who carried it to Washington, where the seal was broken and the letter read. This piece of gratuitous infamy was at the time made matter of boasting by the individual who perpetrated it. Had one word to or from me offensive to the authorities at Washington been found in this or any other manipulated letter, I presume the supervision would have been still more boldly avowed and justified. As it is, it constitutes an element in the long list of petty and unnecessary outrages of which the police-agents of the Federal Government have been guilty.

With the exception of my correspondence with Judge Campbell, every word of which is at the service of the Government, I have neither written nor received a letter to or from any human being in the Confederate States.

On the 15th of April, 1861, the news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached Philadelphia. The excitement, though great, was not such as the political adherents of the Administration desired, and, in order to promote it, what was called a "loyal" mob was organized, and for two days paraded our streets, visiting the houses of those whom it pleased to suspect, and exacting some absurd profession of sympathy from the inmates. This mob was not dangerous, only because it was contemptible. My house was visited during my absence in court, and I knew nothing of the danger to my family—if there were any—till it was over. A negro servant who had accompanied me to Chiua happened to recollect that a flag was stowed away in the house, and, on his displaying it, the ruffians who had tried to frighten my wife and little children dispersed. I should hardly have referred to this miserable attempt at popular disturbance, had not leading members of the Republican party, stipendiaries of the Government, very recently in public expressed their approval of what was then done, and advised its repetition. I have always regarded this outrage on my home with deep and yet contemptuous resentment, and was willing to attribute it to the agency of misguided and irresponsible men. Now that it has been thus endorsed, I desire to be understood as concentrating and intensifying upon those who approve it the feeling which I have, I hope, intelligibly described. No one with the instincts of gentlemen would have approved of it.

Since that time fifteen months have elapsed, during which there has been a persistent attempt, never for a moment intermitted, to direct popular prejudice against me. I have neither time or inclination (for it is a most painful retrospect) to refer to it, except in this general way. Were the crisis less momentous, or the perils involved less alarming, one might smile at the grotesque variations which my personal and political enemies have played on the one strain of calumny of my conduct, my motives, my opinions. Not a week, certainly not a fortnight, has passed, without my name being printed in prominent type in connection with every species of disparaging imputation, and I have been compelled to see foolish and credulous readers believing, willingly or reluctantly, these allegations. I have been accused of having correspondence with the Confederate Government, or individuals in the Confederate States; of writing to my friends abroad in favour of intervention; of planning treason when alone, or in conjunction with other gentlemen, whose names are occasionally introduced to relieve the monotony of spite; of directing the action of the Democratic party, to which I am proud to belong, but which, in its rising power and increasing energy, needs no guidance of mine; in short, of exercising all the faculties of a mind fertile of mischief to the injury of my country and my State. Little do the men who scatter these venomous slanders care how deeply they wound the helpless and the innocent,—how they disturb family and social relations, and embitter the poor residuum of kind feeling which civil strife permits to exist. They cater to the prevalent prejudice of the hour. They fling their share of detraction, and are content. The graves of the dead, of those very dear to me, are not sacred;

and I have had the feelings of members of my family outraged by insults to the memory of those we love in common. The writer of a pamphlet (for I have had elaborate pamphlets printed about me), a person whom to my knowledge I have never seen, and whom certainly I have never intentionally injured, dragged before the public the character of my dead brother, only to give a sting to his vituperation on me, and tried to make the widow and children of that brother think disparagingly of one whom they are willing to love and trust. There has been no remission of paltry and elaborate malignity; and I regret being obliged to say that the diseased public, even around my own home, have seemed to enjoy it. No word of reply has ever been made by me. No word of defence has been uttered for me. Persons conducting newspapers in Philadelphia who, when we meet, profess to be friendly, have either been afraid to utter one word in my justification, though they knew the accusations were false, or else have been, by jobs and contracts and offices, bought up to connive at wrong. At one time last summer (1861) it was positively announced in the telegraphic columns, then, I believe, as now, under the censorship of the Executive, that I and other well-known gentlemen of Philadelphia had been arrested and put into a military prison—a rumour calculated to do harm in more respects than one, and to alarm distant relatives and friends and business correspondents; and yet to this hour, except in one instance, it has not been contradicted by a single Philadelphia editor. So it has been with everything, till at last, as a natural consequence, a state of feeling has been generated, a currency of calumny created by these coiners of petty and malignant falsehood, which makes this reluctant vindication necessary.

To this torrent of defamation, of suspicion, and dark imputation, I can oppose but this,—an emphatic and most conscientious denial of the truth of any one assertion about me, or the justice of any accusation against me. If I could make it a more comprehensive I should do so. If I could be sure of being able to track out each individual slander, I should be glad to stamp it with indignant or contemptuous denial. It is impossible to do this within ordinary limits. I pronounce them false, one and all, in the aggregate and in detail. I go further, and, with equal emphasis, pronounce them wilfully false. No act, or written or spoken word, can be traced to me during the dreary year which has just expired, or at any time, inconsistent with reverence for the Constitution, and implicit obedience to the law. If there could have been, I do not doubt that long ere this I should have shared the captivity of those who for more than a year have been immured, without a hearing or a responsible accuser, in the military prisons of New York and New England.

It would be affliction to pretend that acquiescence in this great injustice has not required much self-control. I have felt, however, that it was useless to contend with popular passion. It was better to endure all in silence, waiting for the sure reaction, sooner or later, when truth shall triumph, and, unless the great machinery of constitutional government be torn to pieces and we are all crushed in its ruins, the triumphant standers of to-day shall find a fearful and unforgiving retribution.

Desiring this exposition of my acts and feelings to be candid and complete, I desire to refer to the only exception to the self-imposed rule of abstinence from anything like interference in current politics, and to my actual opinions on public affairs. I am not ashamed of what I have done, or of the political faith I most religiously hold and which I now, for the first time, formally express. I rather reproach myself for having done so little. But that I have been raised by the active malignity of my enemies to the distinction which their slanders confer, my opinions would be of interest to no one. As it is, I choose, with a full sense of my responsibility, to make them known.

When Mr. Lincoln's first annual Message was communicated to Congress, it was accompanied, or rather immediately preceded, by a huge volume of diplomatic correspondence, chiefly from the pen of the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward. I read it with curious expectation and with grievous disappointment. The literary execution was, in my opinion, so deplorably bad—its political heresies so redundant—its effect abroad, it seemed to me, so discreditably to our character for scholarship and statesmanship—the ostentatious manner in which, in advance, it was given to the public, was so irregular, the sarcasm implied in its being printed by the English Ministry and laid before Parliament so palpable, and the self-complacency in which, bound and adorned with gilding, it was presented to the Pope, as a rare specimen of American political literature, to be treasured with palimpsests and missals on the shelves of the Vatican, so exquisitely absurd, that I could not resist the temptation to adverse criticism, and wrote and published a "Review of Mr. Seward's Diplomacy," prefacing it with a sentence of almost inspired eloquence from Burke—the awful truth of which haunts me every hour and moment that I watch and mourn over my country's downfall and dishonour. My review was not meant to transgress the limits of fair literary criticism, and I do not think it did. It was begun in a tone of pleasantry, excited by the grotesque rhetoric in which the Secretary indulged: though it became graver and graver as I advanced through what seemed to me the worse than errors of his foreign policy. It was printed privately, and this for the obvious reasons that such criticisms are most graceful if anonymous; and for another, which the course of the Administration in "abridging the freedom of speech" made operative,—a fear of personal inconvenience. There was throughout what I described as "a reserve prompted by considerations of personal safety." The success of this pamphlet was very great. The reluctance of timid or mercenary publishers to circulate it rather stimulated the desire to read it. It was extensively read at home and abroad, and quickly passed through two large editions—a proof not so much of its own merit, as of the readiness of the popular mind to avail itself of free and decorous discussion of public men and public affairs, and its restlessness under the shackles which the Government was trying to impose on it. The popular heart, sick of the wretched trash which, day after day, dribbles through the columns of degraded and mercenary newspapers, turned readily and gratefully to free thought expressed in plain English. Mine, too, was the first of a series of Philadelphia essays which soon after appeared, showing that the love of liberty and law, and the talent to make it known and felt, was as active as ever, at least among my professional brethren. My little pamphlet, imperfect as it was, (and no one saw its blemishes and shortcomings more plainly than its author), led the way in what I sometimes fear was the forlorn hope of a subjugated community. It proved the truth might be safely uttered; but it did not abate the bitter animosity which had been directed against me.

In that pamphlet I used these words, which then, as now,

embody my flickering hope in the dreadful crisis at which we have arrived:—"If by any method of war the Government can be restored to what it was before this fearful strife began, let us pray for the early consummation with the least possible bloodshed, and with every merciful appliance of pardon and amnesty and reconciliation that can be devised; and if it cannot—if peace and separation be inevitable—let us hope for the coming man amongst ourselves who shall have the mental and moral elevation to see the reality soonest, and not shrink from its recognition; who will bend all the energies of a great mind (for such must be his) to let the separation be made without further convulsion or more ghastly fears."

More than six months have rolled by since these words were written. The methods of war, developed with all the energy which money, and men, and evil passions, and individual courage supply, have been exhausted. At least a quarter of a million of Northern men (without any computation of Southern victims) have perished on the field or in the hospital, or returned mutilated to their homes. Millions of hopeless debt, national or local, have been piled up. Private fortunes are tottering on the edge of ruin; industry is palsied, and public bankruptcy at hand. Voluntary enlistments are not stimulated by bounties; and the tax-gatherer, and what for want of better word I must call the press-gang, stand ready to start on their relentless errand. More than this: every day dissipates some theory of conquest or submission, widens the awful chasm that separates us from our brethren of the South, and renders more probable the stupendous shame of European intervention,—not merely recognition, but active military interposition, which at once settles the contest to our ignominy, and adds bitterness to the cup of degradation, for the surrenders we have made to avert it.

Why, then, in this agony of our republican and American faith, may not words of counsel for peace be tolerated? Why must they be crushed out as treasonable? Why should a Northern man be mobbed, and insulted, and proscribed, and imprisoned, because, with the experience of the bloody past and the prospect of the bloodier future, he speaks out in favour of peace? There are thousands who think exactly as I do, who are timid and silent; men of families dependent or dispersed, capital endangered, industry threatened; fathers and mothers who are praying, too often, alas! in vain, for the return of their children from the battle-field and camp; there are hundreds of thousands of these, silent and anxious now, who will rejoice in ecstasy beyond control when the word of pacification is spoken and the flag of permanent truce be displayed at Washington and Richmond. I am old enough to remember the peace of 1815 and the joy it gave; but that joy was as nothing to what it will be when this sad fraternal strife is over and peace be made. It will brighten the crest of the statesman who accomplishes it.

These I frankly avow to be my wishes and opinions as to the immediate future. They aim at once at Peace; and when, without offence or disrespect, the questions are put to me whether I would give up without a struggle the Union and Government which two years ago existed, and how, if the power were mine, I would arrange the terms of recognition and separation, I now have no difficulty in answering.

In the first place, I think there has been a struggle with at most a questionable success; and if the choice be between the continuance of the war, with its attendant suffering and demoralization, certain miseries and uncertain results, and a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, I am in favour of recognition,—of course, making the Abolition party responsible for this dread necessity. The blood of the Union is on them.

If it be a choice between the slow, but ultimately successful conduct of the war, the subjugation of the Southern States, their tenure as mere military provinces, involving of course a radical change in the political organization of the triumphant North, so as virtually to abrogate State rights, and create a centralized domination with all the heresies of the day engrafted and peaceable recognition, I still prefer recognition.

To continue a war to the bitter end of mutual ruin for a mere point of honour, or from temper, is mischievously absurd. The moment a practical result becomes impossible, as I think it now is, the war ought to cease; and it is the part of true statesmanship to discern in advance when the moment is coming.

If the inquiry be further pressed as to how I would arrange the terms of pacification and recognition, and adjust the difficulty of boundaries and river rights, my answer is, I would begin by a cessation of hostilities and armistice for a fixed period, not too short. It is the idlest of delusions to imagine that in the heat and smoke of actual conflict we can make our plans for the future, or even see what that future is likely to be. If arms were laid down for a time, there would be a repugnance to take them up again, which of itself would be favourable to satisfactory adjustment. This, I am quite aware, is but postponing the inevitable decision which sooner or later must be made; and I do not hesitate to say that, dodge and defer it as we may, in my opinion the decision—I mean as to limits, and possibly as to debt—must be made by the States and their citizens, acting as they did when seventy years ago they entered into the Federal compact. There is no other conceivable mode. Maryland and Kentucky, after all, each for herself will have to determine where her lot shall be cast, and what her pecuniary liability must be, whether for a share of the Federal or of the Confederate debt, or whether to be exempt from both. What Maryland and Kentucky do, Pennsylvania and Ohio have a right to do. This settles the question of boundaries, and nothing else will; and if the decision involves the abandonment of Washington, and leaving it a monument of what was once the capital of a great Republic, be it so. I would rather see it a ruin than what it is now—the garrison town of an uncertain frontier, a mere barrier-fortress,—a huge encampment of half-tenanted houses, deserted by respectable inhabitants, and given up to the occupation of jobbers and contractors, and disreputable men and women of all descriptions. These are sad realities, but they must be looked at. Our mistake all along has been a reluctance to look realities in the face.

If this were to be the action of the several States as to limits, and the two Confederacies are, by the voluntary action of the States, ultimately established and defined, surely to them may be left the really international question as to the navigation of the Mississippi. The citizen of the North-West would, it seems to me, be better content, and have greater security for unimpeded commerce than he has now, or can have for a long time to come, with New Orleans under stern martial law, held by one belligerent, and Vicksburg by another, and when no craft but a ram or an iron-clad gunboat dare venture from Cairo to Baton Rouge. One of the first legislative acts, yet in full force, of the Confederate Government, was to declare the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi free to the citizens of any of the States on its border or the borders of any of its tributaries.

There was once another hope of peaceful solution, which I record here merely to show how anxiously my mind has dwelt on this one subject of pacification. It rested, like all else, on the postulates of armistice and recognition. That a National Convention, or, more properly, Congress, should convene at Annapolis, or some other central point, under State authority, into which the States should come as independent Powers—South Carolina and Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York—and deliberate on matters of common concern, deciding them by the processes which regulate the action of such bodies, subject to ratification. I once hoped that, could such a body be convoked, the pressure from without, to say nothing of the sentiment within, which, when the war is over, and not till then, will have free scope, would compel some sort of reconstruction, or new Federal relations. The necessity of a provision for the public debt, South as well as North, creates an influence that might be operative. This, I repeat, was once a hope; but it has been washed away in a torrent of blood. Still, a National Convention, or State Conventions, with that view, ought to be the watchwords of the Conservative North from this time forth.

Should, however, all appeals to reason and gentleness fail and the iron determination be adhered to at any cost to carry on and perpetuate this desolating war, does it occur to any mind, as it has like a phantom to mine, what may be the consequence? The tides of war—the ebb and flow of victory and defeat—are very uncertain. There is a pause in the current just now; but who can tell at what moment it may burst upon us in aggressive hostilities, made unsparing by the example we have set? The horror and inevitable suffering of such a reverse I do not care to allude to. I never read the truer rhetoric with which our Northern newspapers describe the devastation of Virginia without a thought of possible misery here at home. And has not the idea occurred to other minds, that, in the course of events—the character and tendency of which no one can venture to foretell (for the sealed book of our revelations we are not worthy to open)—discontent—the sense of weariness and perplexity—the sinking of the heart at sounds, and sights, and news even, of distant woes, the restlessness of an agitated and saddened people, may find utterance, and portions of the Middle and all the Western States, if not now, by-and-by, wearied with sorrow, and shame, and bloodshed, and debt, weary of the recruiting sergeant and the tax-collector, of the ambulance of the wounded, and the hearse of the dead, may become reconciled to changes more momentous still? The very Union sentiment which has been so sedulously cultivated—the idea of indissolubility—of one nation and one government that cannot be loosened or broken asunder—may suddenly take this form of expression; and the fanatics of the North, who, when the day of terror comes, will be glad enough to let the South go may find a Government and a Union they little dream of. As I write these words of sombre forecast, I am deeply impressed by what was recently said in Dublin by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, who is not only, in the current phrase of the day, a loyal man, but has been recently in the service of the Federal Government. "In this difficulty," said Archbishop Hughes, "the country that was one, not more than three years ago, is now divided into two—that is, on the battle-field—but not two in civil order. It is one country still, and must and shall be one. No matter what may occur—no matter what the foreign interference, whether military or naval, that may destroy the cities round the borders of that country—no matter what may occur, the question must end as I have described, that people shall remain one; and if the party that is nominally called rebel—the term I don't use in respect to them at all—if that party shall triumph, then I will transfer my allegiance to that party; not as a party, but as the legitimate Government of the United States." These are not my words, nor words of the class of thinkers to which I am supposed to belong. They are the bold expression of the inner thought of an eminent man of high intelligence and extended forecast; and who shall say that there is not a wide sympathy throughout the North which some day may find fearful utterance? Then may come anarchy and internecine strife; then comes to us our share of those awful miseries which now afflict Kentucky and Tennessee and Missouri, where brother is literally armed against brother, and child against parent.

These are solemn, perhaps perilous, truths, and I write them with hesitation; but they have struck me deeply and painfully, and my task is to write the truth. They imply, I am quite aware, a distrust of the permanence and genuineness of the present excitement in the North, and a want of confidence in what is now known as Northern patriotism,—comprising in that word not merely transient enthusiasm, but the elements of official integrity and public virtue. I regret to say I have no such confidence; and the conviction which most depresses me, and makes me turn sadly away from any hope of remedy, is, that there will be no anchorage when the storm is over. Let any one look back on the legislative history of most of the Northern States for the last twenty years—each year worse than the one that went before—and, if he care for truth, he will admit what I have said. And if it be contended that this rich iniquity, running through every branch of administration, is but the canker of a long peace, let him look to the record of war, its catalogue of rascality and peculation, its novel nomenclature of crime, its "shoddy," its gun and blanket and ship contracts, and say if it is any better in war than in peace. The Indiana bond forgery occurred in the very agony of the war, and was concealed, if not compounded, in order to protect Federal credit, and not to discourage subscriptions to the loans of the Government; and will any man, the veriest optimist who lives, tell me that in his conscience he looks with faith to the payment—even to the extent of its appalling interest—of the war debt, which we are rolling up so fast—its thousands, or hundreds of millions, funded and unfunded,—without counting the millions by-and-by for claims and damages and pensions, or the contingent cost of negro deportation and colonization? It is a grave subject, this of public credit, on which no one should talk lightly. Its abuse and its disparagement are alike, though not equally mischievous. But the fear and the belief of every thoughtful man must at this moment be that, unless some limit to new debt be soon imposed, when payday comes there will be a race among the States of the North as to further disintegration, and an effort in this way to escape from the overpowering burthen of desperate indebtedness. If things go on as they are now doing, there will be no law by that time to guard contracts and pecuniary rights. Foreign capitalists see this; and, from violations of the Constitution in one direction, draw the natural inference that it will not avail as a security in another. The home victims of passionate credulity will awaken to this reality by-and-by, and those who have stabbed the Constitution, and their apologists, will have no right to complain if the lawlessness they have initiated returns to plague its inventors in the form of gigantic repudiation or bankruptcy.

This sounds like despair. It is kindred to it; and it is what every thinking man feels. Even thus despondent, I am quite willing, within my limited sphere, to act, to bear my share of the burthen, however heavy, and scrupulously to obey the law. Hence it is that, even in this hour of gloom, I yet cling to the faith embodied in the Philadelphia resolutions of January 1861—that possibly the independent or concurrent action of the great Middle States, swayed by a sentiment of local fidelity—especially the action of Pennsylvania—may be invoked to save us, not from present disunion, for that cannot be averted, but from the anarchy which is at hand—closer than we imagine—or from some new form of consolidated government alien to our habits and education, which is sure to be conjured out of the seething cauldron of civil war.

In common with all considerate men, I look forward with deep solicitude to the elections which are to occur this autumn. Should the thirteen voting States exhibit a unanimous revolt from the policy of the Lincoln Government, it may in some mode, inscrutable, I admit, to my perplexed vision, lead to a revival or restoration of the Union. It assuredly will, to a termination of this bloody war. No Administration can resist such a warning or stand against such an alienated constituency. But it is well to look to the alternative result: of a divided North—divided, I mean, in opinion—with New York and New England, or even isolated New England, voting one way, and the great Middle States another. Proud, then, may be the position, solemn the responsibility, of those who live in the belt of territory extending from the Northern line of Pennsylvania and the Lakes to the Potomac and Ohio—from the Atlantic to the Mississippi—citizens of the great central sovereignties, New Jersey, (bravest and truest of them all) and Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, if, resisting the blandishments and the threats of Executive authority they shall assert by their votes loyalty to the Constitution in its strictest sense and closest obligation, and their determination to arrest the raging course of fanaticism, and a resolution that the tide of aggressive war shall sweep over them no longer. The Middle States may save themselves, if they will.

W. B. REED.

Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia, August 14th, 1862.

The text of the preceding pages was written at the time it is dated. Three months have since rolled by, and we are no nearer a military result than we were then. One hundred thousand Northern men—or, on an average, since the 14th of August, more than a thousand a day, gathered in fearful heaps—have died, or been sent sick or wounded home. The funded national debt—to say nothing of local indebtedness—growing at the rate of sixty thousand dollars every waking and sleeping hour, reaches now to some uncertain line between six hundred and sixteen hundred millions. Pennsylvania's share of the Federal interest alone, counting the Confederate States back again in the Union, is more than half of the principal of her own debt at the beginning of the war. The precious metals still fly openly or stealthily away—the paper currency having sunk twenty per cent. in the last two months; and yet, as it seems, we are no nearer to restoration by the process of war, no nearer to conquest, to subjugation—certainly not to reconciliation and peace. A bloody victory tomorrow will bring us no nearer. A winter campaign wastes energy, but chills no animosities.

One or two supplementary remarks the lapse of time enables, and the course of public events requires, me to make. They are in part gloomy and in part consolatory. The reader acquainted with my habits of thought may wonder why, in these pages of adverse criticism, I have not dwelt more on the infractions of personal rights and liberty which have occurred. It is not, I can truly say, from insensibility to their enormity, but rather because they have been so freely and boldly exposed and discussed by others. There are two, however, affecting citizens of this Commonwealth, which I must, in passing, notice, though without elaborate comment or illustration. One is that of Mr. Winder, who for fourteen months has been imprisoned in a distant fortress on a simulated warrant of arrest—which had it been genuine would have been illegal—and who is still kept there, in flagrant defiance of adjudicated law. The other is one which cries loudly for redress, and to which, as it seems to me, sufficient attention has not been paid. It is the more momentous because it involves the State authorities in grave responsibility. On the 6th August, 1862, James Wadsworth, of New York—a Federal military officer and titular Governor of the District of Columbia—came with a guard to the capital of Pennsylvania, and, without warrant or authority of law, seized at night, and carried away to prison out of the State, four well-known and respectable and, as the result showed, innocent citizens, and this, too, under the very eye of the Governor and his Cabinet. They were taken, imprisoned, and discharged, and, so far as the public is apprised, no one word of remonstrance or protest, or even intercession, has been uttered in their behalf. Their wrong remains unredressed to this hour.

Proudly, even in this hour of gloom, may we turn from this picture of individual wrong to that of great Commonwealths rising, as did Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana a month ago, and by unbought and unterrified suffrage speaking out in behalf of the ancient Constitution. It makes one hope against hope. As I write, the results of the elections North and East are not definitively known, but, be they what they may, I reiterate the hope I have already endeavoured to make intelligible, that while a united North may yet save us from the gulf, on the perilous edge of which we stand, yet should, in the providence of God, the spirit of topical fanaticism which has brought all this misery upon us still maintain its sway, it may be the destiny of these great Middle States to speak, and, if need be, to act in self-defence, and in maintenance of all that is left of constitutional liberty in the fragmentary and shattered Union which survives. They may act together, or they may act separately. Within each of them is the perfect machinery of Government; and all that is wanted is an animating and practical spirit of local loyalty. It may be that one man can supply that spirit; and it is in the hope that these fugitive words of earnest suggestion, rather than of counsel, may find an answer in the heart of the people, that they are given to the public. "How often," wrote a great man, amidst the awful social convulsions of the last century, "how often has public calamity been arrested on the very brink of ruin by the seasonable energy of a single man. Have we no such man among us? I am as sure as I am of my being that one vigorous mind, without office, without situation, without public functions of any kind (at the time when the want of such a thing is felt), I say, one such man, confiding in the aid of God, and full of just reliance in his own fortitude, vigour, enterprise, and perseverance, would first draw to him some few like himself,—and then that multitudes, hardly thought to be in existence, would appear and troop about him."

November 5, 1862.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1863.

What Prevents the Recognition of the Confederate States?

Does any one doubt that if Government were to meet Parliament with a proposal to end the American war by the recognition of the Confederate States, the proposal would be received with acclamation? Does any one doubt that if the leaders of the Opposition were to give the signal, either Government would offer no resistance, or the triumphant majority would be swelled even from the Ministerial benches? These are admitted facts, which have become elementary maxims in all considerations of the American question, from whatever point of view. The members in either House who desire the success of the North, or would oppose the recognition of the South, if proposed by competent authority, can be counted on one's fingers. On this question men are not divided into hostile camps by party lines. There is no public sentiment arrayed against it; on the contrary, nine-tenths of every great party and of every really influential class are sincere well-wishers of the South, and anxious for the termination of a useless contest. Other measures, of less imperative urgency and less momentous in their consequences, have, within our time, convulsed the country with agitation and roused the bitterest and most relentless enmity. This measure, the most important of the day, and the most necessary, would scarcely raise a ripple on the surface of public opinion, would surprise no one, and would encounter serious opposition nowhere. What, then, prevents the recognition of the Confederate States?

Arguments in favour of this most simple and only effective mode of ending a disastrous war suggest themselves to every mind, are in everybody's mouth, and are naturally and logically deduced from obvious principles of policy, humanity, and justice. It exhausts the skill of ingenious casuists to show any reasons, approaching to the dignity of arguments, why the Confederate States should not be recognized as a nation. Is it because these States lack the population, the territorial extent, or even the historic character, which entitle them to be considered as a nation? They have a population one-third as large as that of Great Britain, they occupy a territory many times greater than that of the most powerful Continental monarchy, they have for nearly two years maintained vast armies in the field and made the world ring with brilliant deeds by land and by sea. Is it that the stability of their Government, its hold upon the loyalty of its citizens, or its ability to defend itself against all attacks, have not yet been exposed to a sufficient test? Few Governments have ever had to call upon a people for similar sacrifices of blood and treasure; few have ever met with so unanimous and devoted a response; loyalty has been unshaken even in conquered cities, and resisted alike the influence of bribes and threats; a million of armed men have been hurled against this Government, hundreds of millions of money have been expended to overthrow it, and to-day it is stronger, morally and physically, than when the attempt was first made. Is it because the Confede-

rate States have municipal institutions repugnant to us that we should not recognize them as a nation? We treat as diplomatic equals Spain and Brazil, who both maintain the same institution in a far more repugnant form; Russia, which but yesterday had forty millions of white serfs; we are close allies of Turkey, whose manners and religion are crimes in our eyes; we even hold official intercourse with the savages of Dahomey and Ashantee. The admission of a political fact is a very different thing from the admission of a moral principle, or the approval of a governmental theory. As well might we refuse to recognize the political existence of France because trial by jury is not administered according to our ideas of justice, or that of Russia because the use of the knout and the *pléte* prevails with undiminished cruelty, as to make the civil status of a portion of its population the cause of our refusal to recognize the political existence of the Transatlantic Confederation. By an exact parity of reasoning we should refuse to recognize or hold converse with the United States even at the present day. Is it because the war in America has not lasted long enough, has not brought evil and misery sufficient in its train, that we should not exercise the power we have of ending it? The most fanatical champion of the North cannot deny that the patience of England heretofore has been at a cost less only than that incurred by the combatants themselves.

It is seldom that now, in the second year of the war, any such objections as these we have recited are seriously advanced against the recognition of the Confederate States, at least by men who value a reputation for common sense. More usually the admissions are freely made that the new Confederation has exhibited all the conditions of a vigorous and self-sustaining nationality; that its overthrow by any efforts its adversaries can bring against it is no longer within the range of probability, or indeed of possibility: even Mr. John Bright admits that the question of slavery does not enter into the political relations of Governments; it is further admitted on all hands, that in remaining a passive spectator of the war, this country resists the promptings of the most powerful motives of self-interest;—yet, when all these admissions are made, we stop short of the irresistible logical conclusion. To escape this conclusion the opponents of recognition take refuge in certain vague and contradictory assertions. Thus it is said that recognition is dangerous, that it is useless, and sometimes even, that it is unnecessary. It does not appear to occur to these special-pleaders that the first duty of a great nation is to be just, that an act of justice can never be unnecessary or useless, and that it is weakness or cowardice to delay it because it is dangerous. To this plea of danger, a strange one to set up for the acceptance of the English people, we have, however, already replied more at length elsewhere. Suffice it here to say that it would surpass all precedents of human folly, were a man, whose left arm is palsied, to cut off voluntarily his right arm as well,—were the North, having failed in its enterprises by land, to shut itself out from the high seas. The plea of uselessness is, with characteristic inconsistency, always made by those who are most forward in threatening the British empire with the wrath and vengeance of the Yankees. If those threats be well founded, recognition must, in the opinion of those who make them, result in an instantaneous abandonment of all attempts upon the South, for the most bigoted of worshippers of the "Model Republic" will not believe it capable of making war at the same time in the South and in Canada, against the armies of Jefferson Davis and the fleets of Great Britain. Recognition cannot be at once dangerous and useless; but it may and will be neither. If it were useless the South would not so earnestly desire, nor the North so zealously deprecate it. We need not here recapitulate the arguments with which our readers are familiar, which show that recognition by foreign Powers must be the inevitable preliminary to any proposals of peace from either of the belligerents. An able writer has aptly paraphrased and compressed them by saying, "Recognition is the cut which

severs the mortified limb from the suffering body. The patient will resist the operation so long as he can, and must not be expected to perform it himself; but when it is over he thanks God for it."

The last plea, that recognition is unnecessary, deserves special examination, since it is intended to impose upon many whose sympathies are active in behalf of the South. It is argued that recognition is unnecessary, because the independence is already secured beyond all hazard, and the object of British policy is therefore attained without the necessity or risk of further action. But why should the independence of the South be a British object? Primarily, because the consummation of that independence opens to British industry and commerce the most lucrative and necessary market of the inhabited globe. So long as the Southern ports are sealed, the plantations wasted and abandoned, what matters it to British interests whether the authority of Jefferson Davis is spontaneously obeyed, or that of Abraham Lincoln enforced, in Nashville or New Orleans? Secondly, it should be a British object, in the adjustment of the balance of power in the New World, to secure a sincere friend and a powerful ally. Can we expect to find the friend in the people of the South if we alienate their affections by pertinaciously withholding, and causing others to withhold, in this great crisis, a simple act of justice? And further, if this war smoulders on, as unquestionably it will if not extinguished by Europe, until it shall have consumed the vitals of the South as well as the prosperity of the North, shall we find in a pauperized country either a powerful ally or a profitable customer? The cotton fields of America have yielded to England a richer harvest than they have to their owners. If England can forego the wealth these fields have brought to her, can at the same time be deaf to the appeals of justice, humanity, and kindred blood, and abdicate her proud position among the Powers of the earth, then indeed is it unnecessary to recognize the Confederate States of America.

History will ask what prevented the natural termination of so cruel a war, and the statesmen of England will find it difficult to answer the question. They cannot plead that they lacked the power. They cannot plead that party necessities frustrated its exercise, or that a great outside pressure of public opinion overawed their superior wisdom and foresight. They cannot even plead that grave reasons of foreign policy fettered their free agency. With Europe at peace, with all the other Powers, ready to follow their lead, public opinion ripe for this step, free to act, and all the world waiting for their action, the statesmen of England can only say to posterity that in 1863 they deemed it dangerous, useless, and unnecessary to stop the American war.

The Fear of War.

What delays the recognition of the Confederate States? Why—when her interest points so decidedly in that direction—when her ally, with whom her American policy has been concerted, waits impatiently for her consent—when her own sympathies are strongly with those who claim at her hands admission into the family of nations—does England still hesitate? All the difficulties which seemed at first to environ the question have been gradually cleared up by the discussions that have taken place during the past year. The right of this country to recognize the Confederacy, if it were ever seriously doubted, must now be held to have been conclusively established. Decisive precedents, and the most distinct declarations on the part of American jurists, establish, as against the Americans, our right to recognize any fragment of the Union that may contrive to break off its connection with the rest, and maintain for a while a *de facto* Government. No one denies Mr. Gladstone's statement that the South has become a nation. No one desires that she should, or believes that she can, cease to be an independent Power: no one, that is, whose opinion has the slightest influence on English politics. No

one questions that the acknowledgment of the Government at Richmond by England, or by England and France, would be the heaviest discouragement that could befall the war party at the North. Every one professes the utmost anxiety to discourage that party, and to induce the aggressor to abandon his impracticable designs, and submit to a peaceful separation. And yet the English Ministry refuses not only to mediate in conjunction with France, but even to recognize the achieved independence of the Confederacy; refuses with an obstinacy that not merely injures the interests of the country, but exposes the Cabinet to considerable peril, if at the eleventh hour the Opposition should take heart of grace, and give utterance to the wishes and the requirements of the nation. Their riddle is hard to read. They are alienating a kindred and friendly people; they are thwarting the policy of a Power with which they cultivate the closest relations; they are allowing Lancashire to sink deeper and deeper towards absolute starvation and irretrievable ruin; and they are imperilling their own tenure of office—and all for what end? What is the explanation of conduct apparently so unaccountable? We can name none other than that which is given by many fair and impartial critics, by some of their friends, and by a majority of their adversaries—that they are afraid lest the recognition of the South should involve England in war with the North.

Not afraid, of course, with the mean and vulgar fear which the North attributes to them; not afraid lest the fortune of war should go against England; or lest she should suffer serious injury at the hands of such an antagonist. To entertain a fear of this kind they must be at once fools and cowards. If the strength of England and the weakness of the Northern States be hidden from President Lincoln and Mr. Seward, they are well known to the English Ministry. American journals may talk of over-running Canada, and sending an army to revolutionize Ireland; of meeting the English fleets in battle, and driving English commerce from the seas; but the most nervous woman in Ireland would not sleep less soundly if war were declared to-morrow, nor would the rate of insurance range as high in Liverpool as it now does in New York. Lord Palmerston and his colleagues know that on the seas they can have nothing worse to fear than the depredations of a few privateers, who would be chased and caught much more speedily than the Alabama; and that on land the worst danger to be apprehended would be a border war, and a series of marauding expeditions. Canada can take care of herself. We know, from the highest and most unexceptionable authority, that her present militia law suffices to give her a force which, with the assistance of 20,000 regulars, would repel any invading army that could possibly be sent against her; and the commerce of Great Britain would suffer far less by war than it is now suffering for the sake of peace. Peace starves Lancashire; robs her of some \$100,000,000 per annum; war would give her cotton and prosperity, materials, and a market. Therefore it is not the consequences of war that the Ministers fear; it is war itself. Many of them are, by natural temper and conscientious scruples, passionately averse to it; some fear it as inevitably deranging their schemes of financial economy; some regard with peculiar horror a war with the United States, as partaking of the nature of a civil war. All of them, as men on whom lies a great and terrible responsibility, as men who will be answerable for every life that is lost, every misery that is inflicted or endured, in case of war, and who must justify the necessity of war not only to their country but to their conscience, are anxious, if possible, to avoid war; over-anxious, perhaps; but such is the habit of English statesmen, whose anxiety to keep the peace on any terms is thought by many to have landed them in wars which would have been avoided by Ministers of a less pacific temper.

Holding such views, and feeling, as we have said, a strong apprehension that the recognition of the Confederate States by England, or even by England and France conjointly, would be made a *casus belli* by the Government at Washington, the British

Cabinet continues to postpone, from time to time, a step which, though admittedly just and expedient, might yet have such serious consequences. We feel assured that this apprehension is altogether groundless, and we propose briefly to show that Mr. Lincoln cannot and will not, under any circumstances, make the recognition of the Confederacy the ground of a declaration of war against England. We waive altogether the fact that the American Government has supplied precedents in abundance, and that American jurists have one and all uttered the most distinct and peremptory dicta, to justify such a measure. Jurists and precedents are likely enough to be repudiated. But there are present authorities against war with any Power acknowledging the Southern Confederacy too strong to allow of repudiation; there are facts so stubborn that Mr. Lincoln and his advisers can neither ignore them nor set them at defiance, which forbid the Government of the Northern States to take on its hands a quarrel with a great maritime Power, so long as such a quarrel can possibly be avoided.

For what would be the consequences of such a war, even as they must present themselves to the eyes of a President blinded by ignorance and dazzled by the magnitude of the military preparations he has called forth, and to the senses of a Cabinet composed of the most ignorant men that ever disposed of the destinies of a great nation? We grant that the Americans have never appreciated the difficulty of getting hold of Canada, and the impracticability of keeping it; we admit that the Government at Washington may very probably be altogether unaware of the aptitude of the Canadians for self-defence, and of the means of Great Britain to support them. But it must be aware of its own inability to invade Canada; it must know that in order to encounter even 20,000 British soldiers and 40,000 Canadian militia, it ought to send 80,000 or 100,000 men across the frontier; not raw recruits, but drilled and disciplined soldiers. It has no such army to spare, and never will have. It cannot spare a man from the South-West. It cannot send away the shattered and demoralized army of General Burnside, leaving the Federal capital open to Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson; and if it did, it must have some idea of the amount of desertion that would reduce that army to a skeleton before it reached the Lakes, and of its utter unfitness to cope with a force of Canadian volunteers, sustained and encouraged by the presence of a British army. Mr. Lincoln may allow his hangers-on to bluster in the press and on the platform about the annexation of Canada; but he and his Ministers must know perfectly well that they have not and cannot procure the means of making such an attempt. They cannot be ignorant, moreover, that within six weeks of the declaration of war their squadrons would have struck to the British, or sought refuge in Northern harbours; that their blockading vessels would fall an immediate prey, inasmuch as most of them are utterly unfit to cope with regular men-of-war, however efficient they may be against defenceless merchantmen; and that, deprived of supplies and support from the sea, every Federal garrison along the Southern coast, from Galveston to Fortress Monroe, would be speedily compelled to surrender at discretion. What would then be the position of the two present belligerents? The North, which now with difficulty maintains the offensive, would then be deprived of its only advantage; the South, now almost able to contend on equal terms with the invaders, would have the invaluable co-operation of the British marine. All hopes, not merely of conquering the Confederates, but of forcing them to peace on other than their own terms, would be at an end. Always inferior on land, the Federals, by quarrelling with Great Britain, would find themselves excluded from the sea. To punish the recognition of Southern independence, they would make that independence at once secure and absolute; to avenge themselves on England for recognizing the hopelessness of their present struggle, they would throw away their last means of maintaining it. In fact, they would show themselves simply and entirely mad; and, foolish and wicked as they are, they have

not yet entitled us to think them mad enough for this.

But, granting that the Administration would not willingly plunge into a European war, may not the passion and ignorance of the people force it to do so? Hardly, as we think. The only portion of the Northern people which could so act in masses, and with striking effect, as to compel the Federal Government into such a peace of suicidal folly, would be the populace of New York city and of the New England States. Now the New England States showed, in 1813, their extreme distaste to a war with Great Britain; even to the extent of refusing to render any assistance to the Federal Power in the prosecution of that war, and menacing secession if peace were not made. Now, as then, war with the Mistress of the Seas would be ruin to Connecticut, Maine, and Massachusetts; and much as those States love their own way, they love their own interests better; much as they hate the South, they hate still worse such a commercial crash as would follow a quarrel with England. Rhode Island is in the same position; New Jersey shares all their reasons for objecting to war, and is, into the bargain, hostile to the party now in power at Washington. The whole Northern Atlantic seaboard requires peace with England. As for New York City, half-ruined by the war with the South, nothing is wanting to consign all her merchants to bankruptcy, all her minor men to beggary, all her working people to starvation, but a war with this country, her chief customer, and her most formidable enemy. Nothing in the world would be so perilous to the Empire City, or so unpopular therein, as a war against England on such a pretext as the recognition of the South. Great Britain would take her ships, blockade her harbour, cut her off from her trade, and destroy the little remnant of her once enormous and lucrative brokerage business. So far from forcing the President into war, New York would burn him in effigy if he allowed himself to be dragged into it.

Another, and by no means an insignificant, consideration would serve to deter both Government and people from resenting the recognition which England has a right to accord to their enemy. A maritime Power can inflict fearful injuries upon them. Every Northern seaport and accessible town, from Washington to Portland, would be at the mercy of the British fleet. Every one *would* be blockaded, any one *might* share the fate of the Southern towns along the Mississippi, and be laid in ashes by the guns of the Warrior or the Resistance. Again, California is wholly defenceless. Troops cannot be sent there by land, in time to be of any use; and Great Britain would have no difficulty in occupying the Isthmus of Panama, and thus cutting off the communication entirely, even if troop-ships could escape the vigilance of her blockading cruisers. The impossibility of injuring England seriously; the certainty that war with her would involve complete defeat by the Confederates; the terrible loss which it would cause to the commercial States on the Eastern coast; the power of the British navy to inflict additional injury, to an indefinite extent, on those States and on California: these are considerations which must make the wildest demagogue in New England tremble, in the midst of his menaces, lest he should be taken at his word; and might assure English statesmen that never, while they are allowed a chance to escape it, will the Northern Government incur the fearful calamity of a war with England.

"Historicus" on the Recognition of Texas.

The ingenious writer who undertakes the defence of Sir G. C. Lewis's historical paradoxes in the columns of the *Times*, has, through the same channel, favoured the public with a reply to an article in our last week's impression on "The Recognition of the Republic of Texas." He triumphantly proclaims that "the advocates of the immediate recognition of the Confederate States seemed to have

felt the pressure of the (his) argument, and to have virtually abandoned the precedents on which they formerly relied." This is a repetition of the same boastful error into which the writer was once before led by the notorious exclusion of all replies to his former letters from the columns of the journal in which they appeared.

It is a peculiarity of the reasoning of "Historicus" that he rejects, as "evil examples," all precedents which do not square with his theory, and that he persists in treating an abstract principle of his own invention as an elementary maxim of international law, which is but an aggregation of precedents. In this instance he does not impugn our facts, though the animus of the writer is sufficiently shown by the gratuitous suspicion he throws out that the rebellion or secession of Texas from Mexico, an event abundantly explained by the circumstances, was instigated by the intrigues of Southern politicians; while he makes the important admission that, even according to his own reading of the *jus inter gentes*, the Government of the United States, administered by a Southern President, violated no obligation in recognizing the Republic of Texas. Seizing upon the single fact that Mexico was at the time too much distracted with internal commotions to prosecute the struggle vigorously, he claims the recognition of Texas as a complete illustration of his former arguments. He takes no notice of our quotation from the *Annual Register*—good authority, since he himself chiefly relies upon it for his facts—which shows that in the opinion of the time the recognition by England was regarded as the best means of settling the disputes still existing between the contending parties. We cited the case of Texas to show how, in that case, recognition was readily granted to a feeble, scarcely settled country, not one of whose adult inhabitants had been born on its soil; a country which at any time might be reconquered by its former Sovereign, which had no national or historical identity, and against the recognition of which many powerful reasons of State policy might have weighed; while in the present case the same act is withheld from a country having no less claims, and the conditions of which present in every respect the most striking antithesis to those of Texas. "Historicus" ignores this view of the subject altogether.

According to him, the recognition of a new country is not a question of justice and humanity, or even of expediency and policy; it is decided wholly by a dry formula, which he states thus:—

The recognition of a community which has severed itself from its ancient sovereign, is not permissible until its *de facto* independence is established; and, further, both in practice and in principle, it has been clearly defined that the only legitimate test of the establishment of a *de facto* independence is the cessation of a substantial struggle on the part of the former Sovereign to assert his authority.

To the first part of this formula we offer no objection, and even if it could be said—what even "Historicus" would hesitate to say—that in withdrawing from its union with the North the South had severed itself from its "ancient Sovereign," it may be fairly held that the Confederate States have established their *de facto* independence. But what "Historicus" lays down as the only legitimate test of *de facto* independence is a strange perversion of words indeed. Let the pretensions of the "ancient Sovereign" be ever so unjust, let the struggle on his part be ever so hopeless, let the interests which the world has at stake in it be ever so great, still, so long as a "substantial struggle" exists, justice, humanity, the world's interests, must wait in silence; but when the "ancient Sovereign" pants a moment for breath, the "substantial struggle" lulls for a while, then, no matter what the right or wrong, what the motives of policy, or what the interests of the world at large, recognition is permissible and proper. For so startling an innovation on the established usages of nations we have a right to expect an array of precedents. "Historicus" has none, except the recognition of the Spanish-American colonies, in which the cessation of the "substantial struggle" was an incident and not the motive, since England was prepared to recognize these colonies before the substantial struggle had ceased if it should so suit

her policy, and actually threatened Spain with such recognition. The precedents of Greece and Belgium, where England recognized just as the "substantial struggle" was about to end in the complete destruction of the recognized Government, are conveniently set aside by "Historicus" as not in point. The precedents of other countries, and those of our own, except the isolated one which accidentally suits his purpose, are held up only as vicious examples to be shunned. Since the advent of this great expounder, international law consists no longer of precedents, but of formulas of his invention, and statesmanship is simplified into rules of arithmetic.

"Historicus" himself seems to feel that though his plausible sophistry may confound the reason of some of his readers, it cannot warp the judgment, or convince the heart of a British audience, for in concluding he finds it necessary to fortify himself with what is the stock-in-trade of less able men—the dim and shadowy phantom of war. Has it come to this, that England must tremble before a disrupted and agonized Republic, and that even the champion of her War Minister must needs cast the warning into her teeth?

The English View of Federal Abolitionism.

Mrs. H. B. Stowe is a true and thorough New England Puritan—that is, she is unscrupulous, smart, and spiteful. Some years ago she gulled the English public with her *Legree* and *Uncle Tom*, just as the equally moral and professedly religious Mr. Barnum gulled the American public with the *Feejee mermaid*, and Washington's negro nurse. She presented such a picture of slavery in the South as made the horrors of the Middle-Passage appear comparatively trifling. Her book came out at a period when the English people were suffering from the *ennui* that results from a long peace, and the absence of political excitement; so "Uncle Tom's Cabin" became the rage. No one took the trouble of inquiring into the truth of the story, and what is more, no one was at the pains of considering whether the Southerners would be such arrant fools as to injure their property in the way set forth by the authoress. So deep an impression did the sensation tale produce, that certain noble ladies presented an address to Mrs. H. B. Stowe, in which they insisted on the duty of American wives giving their husbands certain lectures about the wickedness of the *Legree* system of slavery. The response made to this appeal in the Northern press was a not very courteous request to the noble English ladies to mind their own business, and to discontinue their wicked practices of starving their milliners, torturing their female servants, and making the lives of factory children a hell upon earth—for the mob in America is under the impression that the English working-classes are ground into the dust by a brutal aristocracy, just as the English mob thinks the Southern people ill-use their slaves. The war in America has proved conclusively that the *Legree* horrors of Southern slavery have no existence, except in New England prayers, sermons, books, and lectures; and yet Mrs. H. B. Stowe turns upon her former patrons, and not content with having once taken them in, reproaches them with their former emancipation sympathies and their present coldness. The story that roused the English ladies to address their American sisters is proved to be "a concrete lie," and, besides, the most devoted Abolitionists in this country—perhaps we ought to except that man of peace, Mr. Bright—have never counselled emancipation by fire and sword and the desolation of the South. However, Mrs. Stowe's exhibition of fanatical spitefulness may do good, for it has brought forth a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin that is a fair exposition of English sentiment, and which very briefly but forcibly portrays the hypocrisy of the North; and plainly intimates that we are not to be caught by specious pretences to sympathize with rapine, murder, and lust.

His Grace does not enter into any arguments, but

states some facts that cannot be denied, and which demolish the plea for sympathy on the ground of abolition. He observes that the war is waged ostensibly for the restoration of the Union, an assertion which, we presume, no one on either side of the Atlantic will gainsay. So far from its being an emancipation war, if the Confederate States had chosen, on or before the 31st of December last, to have returned to the Union, Mr. Lincoln would not have issued his 1st of January license to the slaves to "work out their actual freedom"; and now he only emancipates the slaves over whom he has no control, and retains in slavery those over whom he has control. So far from condemning slavery, his proclamation strongly sanctions it. The right to hold slaves is a privilege to be enjoyed by loyal citizens, and a right of which "rebels" are to be deprived, as a punishment for their rebellion. We really cannot sympathize with Northern abolition, seeing it is a mere and an avowed excuse for the attempt to subjugate and despoil the South.

Archbishop Whately refers to the ill-will of the Northerner to the negro. The black man is a brother who must not ride in the same carriage, walk on the same side of the street, worship God in the same house of prayer, or even live in the same country with Northern Abolitionists. The negro must not labour as a slave, nor must he enter into competition with free labour. Mr. Lincoln, with jocular frankness, admitted the Northern hatred of the negro, and does his best to propitiate the Abolitionists by seeking for the means of transporting their black brethren to some insalubrious spot of earth. The irrepressible conflict in the North between the races may, or may not be, justifiable and natural, but it certainly exists, and it is too much to expect that we should sympathize with that zeal for the negro which aims at depriving him of home and country. We do not understand the benevolence of hate, nor are we fascinated with a brotherhood of expatriation.

The clauses in Archbishop Whately's letter which will most excite the indignation of New England are those which refer to the ultimate recognition of the Confederate States. His Grace tells his correspondent, that sober-minded people think that we have shown great forbearance in not saving our Lancashire operatives from dreadful distress by recognizing the Southern Confederacy and breaking the blockade, and that many think this state of affairs cannot continue much longer. And further, he says the recognition of the Confederate States would be according to the precedent observed by Europe in respect to the Anglo-American and Spanish-American colonies, and Hayti and Belgium. This expression of opinion by the closest reasoner in Europe will have more influence than all the clever sophistry of "Historicus," who contends that a precedent means a perfectly analogous case, when, in fact, no two cases ever were identical in all their features; and it has vastly more weight than the suggestion of Sir G. C. Lewis, who asserted that we should not, or ought not, recognize the Confederate States until, contrary to all precedent, the United States had done so.

Archbishop Whately truthfully remarks that he is not responsible for the prevailing view in this country with regard to the struggle in America. Public opinion in England is not based upon theories, but upon incontrovertible facts. In this matter we believe what we see. We cannot help perceiving that Secession is *un fait accompli*. We see the disruption of the late United States, and no discussion or explanation of the cause or causes of a palpable effect will induce us to ignore it. Some of us may think the disruption was avoidable, and others, that it was the inevitable result of the national differences between the North and South; but, disagreeing on this point, no one pretends that the late Union is not broken. Some of us think that the day is not far distant when the West will secede from New England, but we are all agreed that the South has seceded from the West and from New England. We know that for two years the South has maintained its independence against great odds, and under peculiarly trying circumstances; and this is a

fact that cannot be denied even by the few who believe that if the war lasts long enough, the North may possess itself of the South by exterminating the Southerners. We are no more responsible for seeing that the South is separated from the North, and that the South has maintained its independence, than we are for seeing that the sea separates Great Britain from France, and that the Sultan of Turkey is not the liege lord of Prussia. And supposing we had chosen to shut our eyes to facts, and based our views upon the reports and assurances of the Lincoln Government, what good would it have done? Would it have captured Richmond? Would it have made Confederate balls and bayonets harmless? Would it have stayed the ravages of sickness? Would it have made the outrages of Federal commanders less execrable? Calling a sword a ploughshare will not make it a ploughshare. Our blindness would not have helped the Federals any more than our knowledge of the facts has helped the Confederates. For all the good we have done the South we might as well have been the meek disciples of Cassius M. Clay and Horace Greely.

Then why are the Northerners so angry that we have not been duped into sympathizing with the hopeless and wicked aggression on the South? The Northern leaders are conscious that our sympathy with the South must, sooner or later, lead to the recognition of the Confederate States, the termination of the war, and their ruin and disgrace. They fear they cannot conceal from us the utter hopelessness of the war they are waging, and to divert our attention from the true issue, they urge the plea of a sham emancipation; even though a *de facto* emancipation of the negro would not justify the attempt to subjugate the white race. We are not to be caught by such clap-trap. We know that if the South were to emancipate the slaves to-morrow, the thirst of the clergy of New England for Southern blood would not be assuaged, the Lincolnites would not consent to a separation without further warfare, and the North would not, without a further effort, give up the monopoly of Southern wealth; and we also know if the South offered to come back, it would be received with delight, and the most stringent laws would be passed to protect the institution of slavery. Can the boldest partisan of the North deny this statement? We are, then, not to be blamed for treating with silence and contempt the hypocritical pretences of the North. We are not responsible for our knowledge of facts, but we are responsible of the use we make of our knowledge. Undoubtedly, at one time or other, we must officially recognize the Confederate States; on this we are all agreed. The sooner we do it the sooner will the war end. Upon the action of this country, under Heaven, depends the continuance of the war, or the advent of peace. We cannot get rid of the grave responsibility to both North and South and to Europe by pleading that it is not of our seeking.

The Pamphlet of Hon. W. B. Reed.

We reproduce *in extenso* a pamphlet by Mr. W. B. Reed, a leading member of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, and late Minister of the United States in China. The moderation of its language, the calm, deep sadness of its tone, the absence of all violent expressions or extreme opinions, cannot fail to strike the reader, and impress him with the sense of the folly of the Government which, at the gravest crisis of the national fortunes, drives all men of this stamp into resolute and irreconcilable opposition. From Mr. Reed the English public may learn what those citizens of the North whose convictions constitute what would be the public opinion of any country not cursed with democratic institutions and democratic ideas—the sober, thoughtful, educated men, who have studied political affairs and lived among statesmen—think of the war which the Federal Government is waging for the subjugation of the South, of the frantic folly which hurried the North into that war, and of the stratagems by which that frenzy was stimulated by those who intended

to turn it to their own advantage. He is a fair type of the best class of the Constitutionalists; not so wedded to legal forms as to ignore political necessities, not so bitter a partisan as to do injustice to the adversaries of his party, but a citizen who loves his country before all things, who cares more for her interests than for her passions, and more for her honour than for her aggrandizement, who abides by and defends the law, and who clung to the hope that law and the Union might yet be maintained as long as such a hope could be cherished by any reasoning man. Mr. Reed belonged to that section of the Democratic party which supported the candidature of Mr. Douglas for the Presidency; a candidature advocated by a majority of Democrats at the North, in the hope of averting secession altogether, and by a minority at the South, in the endeavour to postpone it as long as possible. He writes as if the breaking-up of his party at the Charleston Convention, which made the triumph of the Republicans certain, and left the preservation of the Union to depend on the sense, resolution, discretion, and patriotism of their nominee, had well-nigh broken his heart. From that hour he saw what must come, though to the last he conceived it possible that the breach might be healed, and that, if a collision were avoided, the Union might ultimately be restored. He defends, and we believe justly, the conduct of Mr. Buchanan. That statesman was in a very unfortunate situation. He remained President for four months after he had obviously ceased to possess the confidence of the country; he did not wield its moral power, and Congress refused to place its physical force at his disposal; he could do very little, and it was his deliberate conviction that he had no right to do what he is now reviled for not doing. Writers who are reckless of truth, and confident in the passions or in the ignorance of their audience, speak of the secession of the Southern States as a rebellion, and revile the late Administration for not at once taking measures to crush it. But an educated statesman, a responsible magistrate like Mr. Buchanan, knew better. He knew that every eminent jurist in America, every leading statesman of the party to which he belonged, and which had still an immense majority throughout the Union—nay, the framers of the Constitution and the Conventions which adopted it—if they had not all justified the right of secession, had unanimously denied to the Federal Government the right to coerce a recalcitrant State. He was not capable of that marvellous hypocrisy, that sublime impudence, which breathes in the proclamation of war by his successor, who could see in State Government, State Legislatures, State troops, and a Confederacy established with every form of law, only riotous assemblages of seditious persons, and who coolly “read the Riot Act to seven sovereign States.” He saw only one thing permitted to him—firmly to hold the forts and property of the Federation within the seceding States, until the question between them and the rest of the Union should be settled by the incoming Government, and this he had not, and could not obtain, the means to do. But, under the circumstances, he did all he could. He made no terms; he surrendered nothing; he betrayed nobody; and he has been rewarded by furious and unfounded denunciations from all quarters.

This denunciation is the more unjust, because, at the time, almost every statesman or lawyer, almost any Legislature, Convention, or public meeting in the Northern States would have endorsed the President's assertion, that neither he nor Congress had any right to coerce the Southern States. Every one who uttered an opinion advised that, as a matter of right and as a matter of policy, the seceders should be allowed to depart in peace. Lawyers believed in the sovereign rights of the States; politicians recognized the popular right of revolution. Both recalled a speech made in the House of Representatives in January 1848, broadly asserting this right:—

Any people, anywhere, being inclined, and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope

and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing Government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a majority intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. It is a quality of revolution not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both, and to make new ones.

These words might well be remembered at that juncture; for they were the words of Abraham Lincoln.

The speeches of the President-elect, if they were not calculated to dispel all hopes of moderation, prudence, and peace—indeed, they were hardly distinct enough to convey any decided idea to those who heard or read them—did not tend to promote confidence in the man to whom the destinies of the nation were to be entrusted. And after the formation of his Cabinet, those who still strove to believe in the possibility of peace did indeed “hope against hope.” Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware—seven Southern States out of fifteen—still adhered to the Union, and were striving to reconcile their seceded sisters with the North. But not one Southerner received a seat in the Cabinet. Its chief was the man who had preached the “irrepressible conflict”; its other members were, with scarcely an exception, Abolitionists of a still more rabid type. And they acted on the principle that “to the victors belong the spoils.” Every public appointment was reserved for some one noted for his hostility to slavery and to the South. Sectional animosity and anti-Southern fanaticism had raised Mr. Lincoln to power; Sectionalism and Abolitionism were visible in his every act, speech, and appointment. Still there seemed to linger one faint gleam of hope—hope, not for reunion, but for peace. Mr. Seward pledged himself privately to Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court, through whom he negotiated with the Southern Commissioners, that Fort Sumter should be evacuated. The understanding seems to have been, that the Federal Government should attempt to provision the fort, should be repulsed in this endeavour, and should then evacuate it. We know how the promise was kept. An expedition was secretly prepared to attack Charleston; it sailed; and only after it had sailed was notice given of its approach. South Carolina did the only thing she could do; after two days' bombardment, Major Anderson hauled down his flag; and from that moment peace became hopeless and reunion for ever impracticable.

With the hope of peace perished the liberties of the North. Mr. Reed was not among those whom the lawless tyranny of the Federal Administration sent to wear out weary months of captivity in the casemates of its fortresses; but we can hardly concur with him in attributing his escape merely to his perfect innocence. Scores of men were hurried off to prison who never spoke a word against the Constitution or the Union. But he did not escape annoyance. His correspondence was detained by the Post-office authorities; his house was entered by a Republican mob, fortunately during his absence to the great terror of his wife and children; and the dominant faction frequently commended this outrage, and menaced its repetition. He was reviled over and over again by the press; accused of every species of treason, and assailed even in his private character; and not a word was spoken in his defence by those who knew the utter falsehood of the charges against him. On one occasion his arrest was actually announced in the papers—and though, of course, soon known to be false, the announcement was never contradicted. Only the gradual reaction provoked by the excesses of Republican tyranny, and the revival of the spirit and courage of the Democratic party, which for eighteen months lay crushed and despairing beneath the heel of the Federal Cabinet, gave liberty to Mr. Reed and to men like him to write and publish their views on the position and the prospects of their country.

Those views are gloomy in the extreme. Mr. Reed is as emphatic as the severest European or Southern critics in his expressions of contempt for

the capacity and conduct of the Government, and sees nothing in store for the North but financial collapse, commercial ruin, and military disaster. There is no hope but in peace—no peace but through separation. Such is the conviction of those who most idolized the Union; the leading conservative politicians of the North. The best that they can dare to desire is the dissolution of the Federal bond, already shattered by secession, and an ultimate reconstruction under which the Western and Middle States may once more join their fortunes with those of the South. Such is not our wish; such is not the will of the Southern people; such will not be the event; but such is the best hope which remains to the best and soberest Unionists in the Northern States.

New England is beginning to be aware of this; beginning to feel her moral, and to apprehend a political, isolation. Hence the cry so often raised—if secession be once triumphant, where will it end? The South, which recognizes the right of secession, has no such fear. United by affection, by interest, by institutions, by nationality, by common traditions, and the memory of common sacrifices, the Confederate States have no doubt of the perpetuity of that bond whose purely voluntary character they safely proclaim; and they neither choose to admit, nor would desire to retain, associates whose antagonistic interests and distinct character might probably lead them one day to repent and retract their adhesion. The Northern States feel the absence of any coherence in their political system; they know that their conflicting interests must tend to sever them, and that they have no ties of race or sentiment strong enough to hold them together. They—especially those among them which have made the Union a means of preying on the rest, the commercial States of the Atlantic seaboard—see clearly enough that the disruption of the Union must involve its dissolution; that when the Confederate States are completely and confessedly lost the West can hardly be retained, and the allegiance of the Middle States will become exceedingly doubtful. This is one of the reasons which explain the obstinacy with which those States support a war so ruinous to their material prosperity. They are fighting, not only for the hopeless purpose of regaining their monopoly of Southern trade, and of the Southern markets, but also for the more rational and practical object of retaining their right to plunder the West. They would give up Abolitionism to-morrow, if they might retain protection; they would let the South go, if they could bind it by the Morrill tariff; nay, they would look on its loss with far less dread, if they did not know that the same day which frees the Southern ports from the blockade must inevitably liberate the agricultural States of the North from protective tariffs imposed for the benefit of New England. When the Western States see all these things as clearly as their Eastern sisters, the war and the Union will terminate together.

Amid the smoke and din of battle they will not see this. War, even when unsuccessful, has a cohesive power in so much as it tends to strengthen the Executive and centralize the functions of Government. From Europe alone can come the signal at which the strife must cease, and even the eloquent voice of Mr. Reed will not be heard, unless on this side of the Atlantic it serve to convince those who have the power to end the war, that the hour for its exercise has come.

The French in Mexico.

An exaggerated importance has been attached in certain quarters, where no opportunity is ever lost for rousing the national jealousy against our neighbours, to the letter of the Emperor Napoleon to General Forey. Scrutinized by the most malevolent criticism, it would be difficult to find in this document, now six months old, any avowal which had not been fully and frankly made before, both by words and acts. What should the French do in Mexico, and why should they spend men and money in this distant enterprise, unless the objects were precisely those which the Emperor explains in his instructions

to the commander of his armies—to rescue that distracted country from the anarchy which has so long preyed on its vitals, establish a strong Government there, which shall have some chance of stability, and as a recompense for such onerous services, to add to the glory and extend and confirm the moral and material influence of France? These were the professed objects of the expedition on its inception, and the instructions of General Forey are no more than what a wise and judicious ruler would have prescribed as the line of conduct best calculated to ensure success. This success has of late attended the enterprise more largely than was expected, or perhaps desired, in some quarters; but the document just published reveals nothing new, and gives cause for no umbrage which, if existing at all, did not exist before. The Emperor speaks of the destinies of the Latin race as we in this country are in the habit of talking more loudly of those of the Anglo-Saxon race; and with this, again, we cannot justly find fault. A generous emulation between these two master races has been the motive spring of our civilization, and the New World could not but derive similar benefits from a more nearly even balance and more equal contest between them.

Be the interference in the internal affairs of Mexico just or not, England has given it her tacit sanction. If it succeed in regenerating that beautiful country, the world will be the richer by the development of its unbounded wealth, and the cause of humanity and civilization be subserved. If French influence in America be strengthened thereby, we have only ourselves to blame, for we have purposely abstained from participation in the work, and if we cared for any influence in America, we might long since have found more than a counterpoise to that of France in the warlike Confederation which we have so studiously neglected. Indeed, the northern neighbours of Mexico may well regret that the head of the Anglo-Saxon race is not animated by an equally zealous or equally far-sighted care for its future as that which animates the leading nation of the rival race.

In America, the Emperor's Mexican policy is of course received very differently by the two belligerents. To the North it is another blow at the delusion of "Manifest Destiny" so rudely shaken by the secession of the South, and therefore received with mingled rage and mortification, the expression of which is only restrained by the more intense hatred of England. The South has every interest in seeing lawful order established on its southern frontier, whence for the last ten years predatory bands have made inroads upon its territory. The South has no dreams of conquest on the other side of the Rio Grande, and cares little whether the Government of Mexico be monarchical or republican, so long as it is friendly and a good neighbour.

Earl Russell's Foreign Policy.

The French Government has just disclosed to the gaze of an irreverent public a marvellous scheme, devised by Earl Russell, for the solution of the Roman question. The Foreign Secretary invited—enforcing his invitation with a menace—the Pope to retire to Malta, there to await, in the enjoyment of the protection and hospitality of the British Government, the determination of the Italians, or more correctly King Victor Emmanuel and his advisers, as to his future position. Of course the story has been received with shouts of laughter. When it first got wind, through some Continental papers, it was set down for a clever caricature of Earl Russell's diplomacy. The notion of proposing to the Pope—who had just received the most distinct assurances from the Emperor of the French that he should never be abandoned, and that France would allow no settlement of the Roman question which had not for its basis the maintenance of the temporal power—to leave Rome and submit himself to the merciful consideration of the Italians, is so absurd that no one was willing to credit even Earl Russell with its adoption. It seemed impossible, too, that any English statesman could be so blind to the immense

difficulties which the acceptance of such a proposition by the Pope would have occasioned to England herself. Once at Malta, and by our invitation, we must have maintained, in a style corresponding to his position, the Pope and his whole train. The most violent religious controversies would have instantly arisen in England, Scotland, and Ireland upon this score, and we should, besides, have found ourselves involved in very great embarrassments with the Catholic Powers. What to do with his Holiness would have soon become the most urgent and awkward consideration of the Government. Absurd and preposterous as the story seemed, it was perfectly true. The French Ambassador at Rome evidently writes with a full knowledge of the facts, and the organs of the English Government are unable to do more than suggest some slight "inexactness" in his narrative.

Absurd, however, as this project was, and incredible as it generally seemed, the story cannot have proved any very startling surprise to those who have studied the character and watched the career of Earl Russell. This readiness—as, for want of a better word it may be termed—to believe in any tale of folly committed by the noble lord, does not, moreover, preclude a very full recognition of his political ability and honesty. The explanation of the absurdities which this statesman of great intelligence and long experience commits, is to be found in the mastery which one characteristic has gained over him. Many years ago the overweening confidence of Earl Russell in his own abilities was the subject of much satirical comment. It often, doubtless, stood him in good stead, as it does at this day tens of thousands in every walk of life. Everybody has read the sharp, graphic language in which Sidney Smith described this assurance. The noble lord, said the witty canon, would not have the slightest hesitation in undertaking the command of the Channel Fleet, or performing an operation for the stone. That confidence has grown with his years, until it has at last developed into an all-engrossing, morbid vanity. Earl Russell believes that he is the one statesman of Europe, and he tries to prove that he is so by trying his hand in every question. His activity is all the greater because of late years he has been sadly discredited, nay, almost shelved. His former subordinate has become the leader of the Liberal party. Reform, which was his special property, is nowhere, and his only way to signalize himself is by his brilliant management of foreign affairs. Hence his restless activity in rebuking all the courts of Europe, his eagerness to undertake the solution of questions of which he is quite ignorant. Hence the absurd mistakes which make him the laughing-stock of the world, and hence, too, that painful mismanagement of our foreign relations which has cost the country so many losses, and so much humiliation, and threatens to cost the Ministry, of which he is a member, its existence.

The object which Earl Russell has in view in his Italian policy is, no doubt, that of the great majority of Englishmen. There are but few persons who will give any serious consideration to the grave difficulties which this question really presents. The multitude clamour for the evacuation of Rome and the unity of Italy, and as Earl Russell agrees with the multitude, it is fair to judge him by his success or failure in promoting these ends. No doubt it was in his power to do much for them. No doubt he has seriously impeded them. His vanity has been the bane of the Italians. He could not content himself with lending the Italian Government an unostentatious support, with announcing his sympathy with its aims, and his readiness to do all that England consistently could do to promote them. He has been fired by the ambition of settling the Roman question, and he has made several different suggestions to France, without effect,—some almost as ridiculous as the Malta project,—the cold refusal of which has greatly irritated him. The *cacoethes scribendi*, which devours him like so many other bad writers, has produced a number of despatches, addressed to the French Government in language so utterly regardless of the difficulties of the French position, and so arrogant in their asser-

tion of what he believes to be the doctrines of international law, that the French Government has been grievously offended, and at last, by the tone of these despatches and the tone of his speeches, he has rendered it quite impossible for the French to evacuate Rome. To do so now would be, to all appearance, to yield to the dictation of England; and that is the very last thing France would do. She would infinitely rather seriously injure her own interests than seem to follow the behests of England. He has encouraged the different Italian Governments to waste their energies upon the attempt to possess Rome, and to neglect the reorganization and reform which ought to have been undertaken long ago. He has thus contrived, by his blundering interference, to encourage a passion the gratification of which he has himself rendered impossible.

To the same consuming passion to make himself notorious, the same ridiculous confidence in his own judgment and knowledge, must be ascribed his lordship's sudden abandonment of Denmark and energetic support of the German projects for the dismemberment of that monarchy. Whilst supporting Denmark, and lending her his good offices, his lordship played but an unimportant and undistinguished role. Whether it was artfully suggested to him at Coburg by the Schleswig-Holstein coterie which surrounded him there, and well knew his weakness, we cannot say; but immediately upon his return he undertook to immortalize himself by settling a question which had puzzled and perplexed Europe for fourteen years. So, utterly regardless of his past pledge, of the many obligations of his country, in defiance of common decency, which suggested that the moment of the announcement of the marriage of the Prince of Wales to a Danish princess should not be chosen for the attempt to force Denmark to commit political suicide, he made that famous proposition which has had the singular fortune of finding no apologist in the country from which it emanated. Too vain to admit the possibility of an error, the quiet rebuke of the Danish Government only stimulated him into backing up his scheme by a despatch which showed a most disgraceful ignorance of all the facts of the question upon which he had pretended to pronounce as arbiter. And thus, for the gratification of this diseased craving of our foreign Minister, England has been completely disabled from giving her aid to Denmark, in a struggle where the success of Denmark is of the utmost importance to England herself. The intervention in Mexico is Earl Russell's work; he thought he could prevent France and Spain from interfering with the form of government in Mexico, or from establishing any special influence there. The only result of his interference was to precipitate, and, at the same time, give a much larger scope, to that intervention. The Greeks have been sacrificed to his love of displaying his diplomatic skill. There never was the slightest chance that the Duke de Leuchtenberg would be elected to the throne; but his lordship chose to suppose that there was, and encouraged the Greeks to elect Prince Alfred, that he might thereby obtain from Russia the abandonment of pretensions which never had the slightest chance. To appease the indignation of the Greeks, he has proposed to give them the Ionian Islands, and thus not merely to endanger English power in the Mediterranean, but to lend the most effective encouragement to those projects of the Greeks for a Greek empire, and the destruction of the Turkish Power, which he but a short time ago denounced as dangerous and criminal in the highest degree. And in order to carry that cession through, he is now making the greatest exertions to impose a King of his own choosing upon the Greeks.

Earl Russell may be traced through the world by his blunders. He has touched nothing which he has not spoiled, for the simple reason that his leading idea has always been, not the success of English policy, or the triumph of the cause he adopts, but his own glorification. Engrossed by that one thought, he has been blind to the absurdities and impossibilities involved in the plans which he has adopted; he has been so intent upon glory that he has failed to see that he was ensuring himself contempt.

The same reasons which explain his perpetual intermeddling in Europe, when the interests of England did not in the least prompt it, explain also the unwillingness of Earl Russell to intervene in America, where those interests imperatively demanded intervention. Mr. Seward is his match in conceit and arrogance, and nothing was to be gained by writing epigrammatic despatches to Washington when the replies, if not epigrammatic, were sure to be offensive. There were good reasons why England should not take the lead in intervention, which his colleagues would take care to enforce against him, and he is not disposed himself to have anything to do with a project in which he must play second fiddle. The French proposal of intervention was, therefore, unacceptable, and we are inclined to believe all action in this question will be equally unacceptable. The question is only one which involves the lives of hundreds of thousands, and the welfare and happiness of millions; it affords no scope for a diplomatic *tour de force*, no foundation upon which to erect a monumental column to the genius and the virtues of John Earl Russell. Energetic intervention, although it would be acceptable to the great majority of the nation, would bring down upon the Minister who proposed or acceded to it the wrath of a party which, though small in number, is strong in abuse; the party, too, from which Lord Russell yet expects his elevation to the Premiership. Vain, too, as he is, he has yet the sagacity to see that whilst upon all other foreign questions the public is grossly ignorant, it has made itself well acquainted with the American one. In the former class of questions, therefore, he feels that he can disport himself at his ease; in dealing with America he must exercise a caution which is so foreign to his nature that his natural resource is to do nothing. Restless—resultless—activity where interference is invited by no interests in England; craven and criminal apathy where those interests ask for prompt and energetic action—these are the characteristics of the foreign policy of Earl Russell.

The Great Swinfen Case.

It is a common assumption that all clergymen are religious and that all lawyers are eminently shrewd and cunning. No doubt the teachers of religion ought to be religious; but, unfortunately, profession does not altogether control practice, and many excellent preachers do not act up to the precepts they inculcate. Lawyers ought to be shrewd and cunning—we do not mean in the pettifogging sense—but if we may believe the accounts of defeated clients, they are frequently devoid of the shrewdness necessary to defeat the stratagems of their opponents. If there were any doubt about the matter the *Cause Célibes* of Kennedy *v.* Broun would remove it. Here we have a man of great learning, eloquence, and perseverance, completely foiled and beaten by a woman.

The case, though it has occupied so much time and attention, may be stated in a few words. Mr. Swinfen, a gentleman of fortune, married Patience, his servant, and dying, bequeathed to her his valuable property. The will was disputed by the heir-at-law, and Lord Chelmsford, then Sir Frederick Thesiger, who was Mrs. Swinfen's counsel, entered into a compromise by which his client was to have a handsome annuity, and the bulk of the property was to go to the heir-at-law. Mrs. Swinfen repudiated the agreement, declared it was made without her consent, and adopted legal measures to set it aside. The case was remarkably complicated at this point; for, besides having to prove her right to the property, Mrs. Swinfen had to prove that she was not bound by the act of her advocate. To make it more interesting, the advocate became Lord Chancellor. The chances seemed very much against Mrs. Swinfen, and now all the facts are before us, we may safely assert that she never would have gained her cause except for the lucky accident of meeting with an advocate of fine talents, indomitable perseverance, and who was contented to give up his then practice to devote all his time and interest to his fair client's interests, and to stake his hope of emolument and his legal reputation upon the uncertain issue.

Mr. Kennedy deserted his Birmingham clients, and fought the Swinfen battle with a zeal that bordered on indiscretion. Recklessly did he browbeat our judges, and boldly attacked no less formidable a personage than the Lord Chancellor. Month after month, and year after year, he carried on the unaided contest, and those who found most fault with his indiscretion, bore willing testimony to his zeal, ingenuity, and legal acumen. He fought hard, and though often repulsed, ultimately won a decided and complete victory, and his client became the lawful mistress of Swinfen Hall. So ended, the public thought, the great Swinfen case; but, as it turned out, Mr. Kennedy's success only concluded one act of the drama.

Some months since there were rumours of a dispute between Mr. Kennedy and his late client, who had lately contracted a

second marriage with a Mr. Broun, and the neighbours of that lady were somewhat startled by the receipt of a handbill, in which Mr. Kennedy referred to her in anything but complimentary terms. And the cause of this exhibition of ungentlemanly anger was made public by the trial of Kennedy *v.* Broun.

It appears that Mr. Kennedy conducted the Swinfen case without the intervention of an attorney, and that instead of receiving his fees with his briefs, he gave his client credit, and made of it what is called a lawyer's action; that is, if he did not gain the day his labour was to go unrequited. The price of his services was fixed at £20,000, an amount that considering the work he did, and the risk he ran, was, we think, not excessive. The payment of this money was to be secured to him by a mortgage on the Swinfen property. During the long litigation Mr. Kennedy and Mrs. Swinfen were on intimate terms, and indeed the intimacy, as it appeared on the trial, was of a very affectionate character. Mr. Kennedy was a married man, but that did not prevent him paying frequent visits to the widow in her loneliness. Upon this part of the affair we shall not dwell, and we only refer to it because it explains why the clever lawyer did not obtain indisputable security for his remuneration. Of course no provocation can justify the conduct of Mr. Kennedy in introducing this feature into the trial; and it deservedly lost him the public sympathy. Mr. Kennedy, who perhaps counted, certainly erroneously, upon a passion even stronger than gratitude, as a guarantee that Patience Swinfen would more than fulfil her compact and more than redeem her promises, must have been considerably annoyed when he heard that the widow had again entered into the bonds of wedlock. He pressed for his bond, and his demand was refused. It is not very surprising that Mr. Kennedy should determine to take what steps he could to get possession of the £20,000, and to punish his late client for what he considered her serpent-like conduct. He could not seek to damage her reputation without damaging his own, but revenge in prospect was too alluring to be put off with the pleadings of self-interest.

Mr. Kennedy gained his action. The jury gave him a verdict for £20,000, and, indeed, they could not come to any other conclusion, but the verdict was entered subject to an appeal to the judges in *Banquo* upon certain points of law, the chief of which was decided last week, and that decision, subject to an appeal to a Court of Error, finally bars Mr. Kennedy's claim. By a beautiful fiction it is assumed that English barristers labour for love and not for money, that they have no claim on their clients, and that their fees are merely free-will tokens of gratitude. Everybody knows that in practice this is not so, and that the eloquence and services of barristers, like cheese and butter, can only be had for money. Mr. Kennedy, in a speech of great ingenuity and learning, argued that a barrister can legally claim his fees; but after mature deliberation, judgment has been given against him.

We do not, in the least, excuse Mr. Kennedy's imprudence, but on the other hand, we cannot repress a feeling very near akin to disgust at Mrs. Broun's ingratitude. Mr. Weller, senior, pathetically warned his hopeful son about the danger of widows. The practical moral of the great Swinfen case seems to us to warn all whom it may concern, of the imminent danger they run by having anything to do in the way of business with strong-minded widows. Mr. Kennedy has paid pretty dearly for his folly, and if we have heard the last of the Swinfen case, many charitably disposed, forgiving people, will not be sorry to hear that he is finding solace for his disappointment in a prosperous professional career.

Reviews.

THE INVASION OF THE CRIMEA.*

We propose, from the two massive volumes before us, to give an account of the origin and progress of an event, so far as they bring the narrative, which, but for the second war of independence in America, would have been probably classed as the most important incident in the history of the present generation, and which, though dwarfed by the terrible convulsion in the New World, will occupy a prominent position in the annals of this century, for it has exercised a deep and lasting influence upon the destiny of Europe and the advance of civilization. We do not profess to present an exhaustive and complete summary of the book, for that would need more space than we have at our disposal. All we can offer is a brief and connected recital of the leading points of our author's highly finished and carefully elaborated work. Mr. Kinglake's literary reputation is an all-sufficient warranty for the literary excellence of any book to which his name is appended; and in the present instance he has enjoyed the inestimable advantage of having the most abundant materials. The whole of Lord Raglan's papers were placed at Mr. Kinglake's disposal, and these were not only voluminous but carefully arranged and of easy reference. They embrace the whole of his official correspondence, and include many confidential communications from high personages. In addition to this treasure-trove, Mr. Kinglake has been

* The Invasion of the Crimea—Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Vols. I and II. (London: William Blackwood and Sons.)

aided by French officers, by Russian generals, and by other well informed persons both at home and abroad. Under such circumstances—a grand and interesting subject, minute and profuse intelligence, and a talented author—one has a right to expect a book that is worthy to be classed with the English classics. Nor are we altogether disappointed. There are passages in this work of unsurpassed beauty and power, and which even enhance the literary reputation of the author of "Eothen." His portraits are wonderfully minute and elaborate, and yet so skilfully drawn that the art of the artist is concealed. The Emperor Nicholas is described by a multitude of vigorous strokes, until the reader almost unconsciously acquires a wonderfully vivid perception of the character of that potentate. Mr. Kinglake has, in an eminent degree, that mental quality which enables a writer to grasp a vast subject, and to make all the parts of it subservient to his purpose. He is never embarrassed by details, but finds for each one its appropriate place. Our author's diction is copious without being inflated and pretentious, and idiomatic without any commonplaces, or Carlyle affectation. His story is told with vigour, and his digressions are introduced with too much skill to tire the patience of the reader, or induce him to skip them. But Mr. Kinglake, though a philosopher, is no more free from prejudice than men of less pretensions, or rather he is, despite his intellect, probably the most prejudiced person in this country. As everybody knows, Mr. Kinglake hates the French Emperor and all his friends with a most bitter and malignant hatred; and to gratify this passion he has done that which will increase the sale of his work now, but which will discredit it with posterity. We never remember such an instance of the blindness of hatred; for here we have an accurate reasoner, and a person of refined and gentlemanly taste, prostituting his fine talents and, let us add, being unfaithful to a public trust—for when he received Lord Raglan's papers, and sought information as the historian of the Crimean War, he undertook a public trust—for the purpose of giving vent to his Napoleon venom, and shows it, too, in such a way that no one can be deceived by his virulence. It was not our intention to criticise this work, but we must protest against our author's version of the *coup d'état*, which led to the people of France electing Napoleon III. to be their Emperor.

The reference to the Emperor of the French is not incidental, for the chapter devoted to it consists of 111 pages; the volume itself being 520 pages. The tone throughout is grossly insulting to Napoleon III. and his friends. One by one the Ministers and Diplomats of the Empire are represented by our author as ruined gamblers and spendthrifts, who conspired together to plunder the French nation. A dozen times over Napoleon is sneered at as a literary man devoid of that courage which is commonly supposed to be peculiar to prize-fighters and private soldiers. The Prince who has led the most daring enterprises, the most astute statesman in Europe, the commander who won Magenta and Solferino, is represented as a moral coward, and unequal to any great crisis; afraid to hear the truth; a trembling puppet in the hands of ruined and desperate men. With unpardonable vulgarity, Mr. Kinglake cannot mention the late St. Arnaud, or the Count Persigny, without repeating their family names *ad nauseam*, just as the orators of pothouse discussion clubs always speak of Lord Overstone as the late Jones Lloyd. Mr. Kinglake, if we credit his narrative, must be ubiquitous. He knows everything that has happened everywhere, and at all times. The hon. Member for Bridgewater tells us, with all the flourish of a penny-a-liner, how Prince Louis Napoleon looked and trembled at Strasbourg and Boulogne. He does more wonderful than this. He relates, with the utmost exactness, how the Emperor Napoleon and his colleagues passed the memorable night of the *Coup d'état*. It appears that Napoleon, who had turned green with fear, was shut up in the *Elysée*, and kept from communion with the outer world by his friends; but the hon. Member for Bridgewater can see through any number of stone-walls, and tells us what Napoleon did and thought. In short, Mr. Kinglake, blinded as we have said, by his hatred, has believed the tales of the reputable habitues of the parlours of Leicester-square, and has written a most palpable romance, a kind of sensational tale, as reliable as the revelations of Court secrets that grace the pages of *Reynolds's Miscellany*. The passage about the Presidential oath must, we think, have been inspired by the late learned M.P. for Marylebone, who has left his country for his country's good.

However, Mr. Kinglake is honest in his fanaticism. He does not resort to any device to make his fiction seem like truth. For example, he is particular in telling us that the "conspirators" of the *Coup d'état* were men who would not be satisfied with a less stake than the

Government and riches of France; and that until 3 o'clock in the morning of the 2nd December, or a few hours before the arrests were to be made, not even a subordinate officer was let into the secret. Grant this. Then how does it happen that Mr. Kinglake knows all the secret transactions of that night? We presume it is not likely that any of the "conspirators" have confessed to Mr. Kinglake, or that, if they had, he would record the unsupported testimony of faithless accomplices and such vile characters. Our author is in this fix—if his story is true, he could not have heard it. In fact, Mr. Kinglake knows as much about the secret doings of Napoleon III. and his Ministers on the night of the *Coup d'état*, as Sir Walter Scott did about the visit of King Richard to Friar Tuck. Again, Mr. Kinglake says his cold hash of Victor Hugo and Leicester-square is not a digression, but nevertheless, the omission of the 14th chapter would not spoil the rest of the narrative. Upon the same pretext Mr. Kinglake might have given us a fancy sketch of the first French revolution, and have declared it was not a digression, because the first revolution led to the rise of the Napoleon family, and the Napoleon family was connected with the last Russian war. If our author had been entrusted with public papers to make a history of the Indian Mutiny, he could, with equal appropriateness, have introduced his veracious attack on a Prince who is respected by his friends and feared by his enemies. We need hardly remark that we do not come forward as the advocates of the Emperor of the French. That is not the business of an English journalist. If the Emperor wanted an advocate, he might well take Mr. Kinglake, and republish his attacks. The quick-witted French people would laugh *aux éclats* at the absurdity of the details, they would appreciate the unbiassed fairness of a writer who dilates on the "massacre" of the 4th of December, and forgets to allude to a previous massacre, when Prince Napoleon did not preside over the government of France; and they would marvel at the perverted judgment of the man who can hope to persuade the world that a Prince who has made France powerful and prosperous, is the cowardly puppet of a band of sharpers. It is enough to reflect upon the present condition of France—to see how rapidly her influence in Europe has advanced, to see how considerable has been her national progress, to see how statesmanship has succeeded in eluding the machinations of the demons of discord—to appreciate the absurdity of Mr. Kinglake's slander. We shall now proceed to give a brief account of the origin of the Crimean War. We shall not turn aside again to expose the sensational slanders of Mr. Kinglake. But we should have been wanting in duty, in that honourable fairness which is at once the strength and the glory of English journalism, if we had not censured the breach of good faith—the breach of a public trust—of which Mr. Kinglake has been guilty. He used his public position to get the necessary information for writing a history of a European war; and under cover of that history he has published an unscrupulous attack upon his political antipathies, Napoleon III. and his Ministers. We defy any one to read the work before us, and fail to perceive that the author's object was to indulge his mania against the Emperor of the French. We have not replied, we shall not reply to charges which are altogether unsupported by facts. We believe that, except, amongst the assassins who hate Napoleon III. for putting an end to their hopes of revolutionizing France—except we say, amongst the Leicester-square refugees—there is not a man in England who will not condemn this covert and unscrupulous attack on the Government of France.

In 1851 it was the common boast in England that whatever European complications might arise there would be no great wars, and especially, that this country might rest upon its laurels, and, except in India and in other distant parts, sheathe the sword for ever. Yet, at that time a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, was upon the horizon, which the ambition of Russia was to make the excuse of an attempted spoliation, only to be prevented by a bloody war.

The discussion about the Holy Shrines was a contest between Russia, as the representative of the Greek Church, and France as the representative of the Latin Church. The custody of a key, or the right of entrance through a particular door, were unimportant incidents, and could have been, as indeed they were, satisfactorily arranged. But the Emperor Nicholas was bent on obtaining a protectorate over the Greek Christians in the Sultan's dominions, and this was an influence which the Western Powers were, very properly, determined he should not enjoy. Nicholas also had ulterior views that would give him possession of Constantinople; these he rather incautiously revealed to the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a conversation that has become famous. He proposed a disruption of the Turkish Empire, and a division of the spoils between England and Russia; but the English

Government firmly repudiated his offer of a "gentlemanly understanding." Upon this, he resolved to get possession of the much coveted territory without the co-operation of England.

The time seemed to him ripe for the undertaking. He dreaded no combined opposition from the great Powers. Austria was under particular obligations to him, and was not in a position, without the aid of this country, to oppose any force to his scheme of conquest. Prussia was in the hands of a feeble King and a Government of philosophical do-nothings. With regard to the German Powers, Nicholas was right, for Austria did not put forth her strength to preserve the peace of Europe, and Prussia adhered to her old policy of not fighting unless she could secure some territorial advantage at a moderate cost, or until, as under the First Napoleon, she was bullied and beaten into resistance. With regard to France, Nicholas felt himself doubly secure. He did not understand that the establishment of the Empire, so far from being a revolution, was a strong conservative movement, and that France had not been so powerful for aggression and defence since the palmy days of the first Empire, as she was in 1853. He was pleased to look upon Napoleon III. as a usurper who would need all his force at home to guard his throne. Not less patent was the blunder into which he fell with respect to this country. He thought Messrs. Cobden and Bright and the Peace Party represented England, and that, under no provocation short of the actual invasion of our territory, should we go to war. And our moral influence to prevent war was, as Mr. Kinglake forcibly points out, greatly weakened by the way in which Lord Aberdeen ostentatiously gave his adherence to what are erroneously called peace principles. As long as it is known that a powerful nation is ready to resist a breach of the law of nations by force, there is some power in moral suasion. So soon as it is known that there is no penalty attached to a breach of the law, the law is certain to be disregarded. There is no question that the Peace Society and Messrs. Cobden and Bright did very much to encourage Nicholas to persevere in his aggressive policy.

The Emperor of Russia was also deceived on another matter of great importance. He thought there was a hereditary and ceaseless enmity between this country and France, and deemed it incredible that Queen Victoria and the successor of Napoleon I. could enter into an alliance against the pretensions of Russia. He thought that men of Mr. Kinglake's stamp were representatives of English sentiment, and therefore nothing more surprised or dismayed him than the cordial alliance between the Western Powers. If England and France had been foolish enough to have remembered their old enmity instead of their joint interests, Russia might have been able to carry her ambitious project to a successful issue.

Thus deceived, Nicholas proceeded in his work by despatching Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople on a mission to bully Turkey into a concession that would have made the Russian Emperor the virtual Sovereign of the Greek Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Russian Envoy was baffled by the tact of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whose influence with the Turkish Government was almost supreme. Our Ambassador did what he could to preserve peace. To the just, or rather to the plausible, demands of Russia, he induced the Sultan to give a favourable answer—to the inadmissible requests he advised the most respectful refusals; and so well was this managed that all Europe was convinced of the moderation of the Sultan and the utter injustice of the demands of Russia. Mr. Kinglake tells us that the Emperor of Russia was further infuriated, because he looked upon Lord Stratford as his personal enemy and rival. Prince Menschikoff, who was nothing loath, did his best to fasten a quarrel upon Turkey, in obedience to instructions from St. Petersburg, and at length took the extreme step of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Porte, and removing the legation from Constantinople. After this the great Powers made every effort, conjointly and severally, to prevent a rupture, short of an unanimous declaration of war, in the event of an aggressive step on the part of the Czar, which could alone have prevented war. Nicholas, nothing moved by these representations and still relying on the faithfulness of Austria, the selfish policy of Prussia, the imaginary difficulties of the Emperor of the French, the improbability of England, the land of Peace Societies, going to war, and doubting the possibility of an alliance between England and France, took the next step in his enterprise, and on the 2nd of July, 1863, crossed the Pruth and occupied the Principalities. Still Europe did not believe in hostilities, and by the manifest anxiety to preserve peace, encouraged Nicholas in his warlike policy. He paid no heed to the just remonstrances of the four Powers, and meantime England and France entered into an understanding to act in concert in the affair, whatever turn it might take; and,

whether or not Austria and Prussia should draw out of their engagements, to check at all hazards the attempt of Russia on the dominions of the Sultan. This agreement was announced in the Queen's Speech at the close of the session, in August 1853.

Although the prospect had become somewhat more gloomy, and the combined fleets of England and France had been despatched to the Dardanelles, the conference of the four Powers at Vienna was unceasing in its efforts to bring about a pacific solution; and to this attempt the Emperor Napoleon gave all the aid in his power. Meantime Turkey could not submit to the continued occupation of the Principalities, and, therefore, duly gave notice that if Russia did not retire from her territory in fifteen days, the occupation would be considered a *casus belli*. Russia did not comply; and on the 23rd of October, 1853, there was formally a state of warfare between Russia and Turkey.

And now we come to an incident that reflects disgrace on Russia, and that made the nations of Europe eager for a contest which until then they had deprecated. On the 31st of October, after the declaration of war, Count Nesselrode issued a circular to the representatives of Russia at foreign Courts, in which he declared that Russia would still abstain from assuming the offensive, and content herself with holding the Principalities. On the 30th of November a Russian fleet bore down upon the Turkish fleet lying at anchor in the port of Sinope, destroyed the ships, and massacred the crews—for such an attack is no better than a massacre. The Turks, under these trying circumstances acted with a heroism that won for them the respect of Europe. Mr. Kinglake, who can see nothing wrong in what Russia does, excuses this barbarous act, by saying that some fighting had been going on, on the Lower Danube. He further says, "The honour of France was wounded; England was touched to the quick." Those nations would have been for ever disgraced if they had not revenged such a violation of the laws of civilized warfare. The further efforts to avert war were not likely to succeed, though people still believed in them. It was determined by England and France to protect Turkey from the repetition of such a butchery as that of Sinope; and that if Nicholas were still willing to negotiate, he must, while the negotiations were proceeding, consent to keep his fleets from Turkish waters. Nicholas, not yet crediting the possibility of a sincere alliance between the two Western Powers, or that Lord Aberdeen, despite his peace proclivities, would faithfully defend the honour of his country, refused to listen to these equitable and reasonable terms, and withdrew his Ambassadors from London and Paris. England and France retaliated, and on the 21st of February, 1854, diplomatic relations between the Western Powers and Russia ceased. Still, more than a month elapsed before there was a formal declaration of war, and if the Czar had been faithfully informed of the state of public feeling in England and France, he might, perhaps, even at the eleventh hour, have embraced the opportunity that was offered him of retiring from his hazardous adventure.

(To be continued.)

MR. LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

(From *The Morning Post*, January 15.)

The Federal Government have been as good as their word, and have, in defiance of the united protests of all Christendom, attempted to crush a foe they cannot themselves subdue, by invoking the aid of a servile insurrection. Mr. Lincoln has pronounced the States in arms against the Federal Government to be in rebellion, and has declared all slaves within their confines to be now and for ever free. Neither motives of humanity nor of prudence, neither respect for the Constitution he was pledged to support, nor regard for the censure of the civilized world, which he was certain to provoke, has prevented the Executive of the United States from committing a crime which, in the annals of the world, is probably without a parallel. That the emancipation proclamation may, and in all probability will, prove inoperative, constitutes no excuse for the Federal Government. The incendiary, who sets fire to a house in the hopes that the inmates may perish in the flames, is not the less guilty because his intended victims manage to effect their escape. If a servile war does not arise in the South—if women and children, the old and the young, the weak and the helpless, are not sacrificed to the fury of a race to which, when its passions are aroused, pity and mercy are utterly unknown—it most assuredly will not be the fault of a Government calling itself Christian, and claiming to be considered civilized. In pronouncing judgment on Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, we can only regard the object which it has in view, and not the contingencies on which the realization of that object depends. It is a universal principle of law that every one is presumed to intend the natural consequences of his own acts; and, applying this principle, it is clear that Mr. Lincoln and his advisers must have contemplated the ordinary results likely to spring from the sudden emancipation of the slave population of the South. It is conceded by the Federal Government that the emancipation scheme is a war measure—that it is a "thunderbolt" specially devised to crush the rebellion. It is not for the sake of liberating four millions of slaves that this proclamation has been issued, but with the object of annihilating six millions of those who, till within the last two years, were recognized by the North as fellow-citizens. This should be especially understood, as from the terms in which the proclamation is couched it will, no doubt, be urged by many that sympathy for the "poor slave" mainly dictated its comprehensive provisions. However, to prevent misconception, we will once for all scatter to the winds the flimsy arguments of those who would desecrate the name of philanthropy by alleging that its principles had ought to do with the composition of this atrocious manifesto.

It is observable, in the first place, that, by virtue of the powers which he has assumed, the President of the United States has emancipated the slaves which inhabit those terri-

ties alone in which the Federal authority is disputed, or cannot be enforced. Wherever the banner of the Union floats, there the slave still remains in absolute subjection. In Maryland, the state in which is situated the capital from which this proclamation issued, slavery continues to be upheld. In the other Border States it remains equally unaffected. In Western Virginia, where the Federal authority is still recognized, and at the mouth of the Mississippi, where until lately General Butler ruled with such benignant sway, and where his successor now vindicates the Federal supremacy, the slave still pines in those fetters with which platform abolitionists delight to invest him. In a word, in every region of the United States where the President could have given practical effect to his emancipation policy, he has studiously abstained from doing so. But elsewhere, how limitless is the sphere of his benevolence! Wherever the Confederate flag is unfurled, wherever Mr. Lincoln's authority is denied, wherever after two years of continuous fighting he has failed to make his power felt, there he has solemnly declared slavery to be abolished, and has conferred upon the subject race the inestimable boon of liberty. Is it possible that any one can be deceived by this parody on philanthropy? However galling servitude may be, it must be borne by the unhappy negro whose master acknowledges the authority of the Federal Government. Freedom is, no doubt, the greatest blessing in the power of man to confer, but it can only be granted to those whose masters are the enemies of the dispenser. Mr. Lincoln generously manumits the slaves of others, but his own must still remain in hopeless subjection. Never, assuredly, since the time when man first alleged his right to hold property in his fellow-man has the world witnessed an example of such self-denying philanthropy—such comprehensive benevolence.

The object of this proclamation being to hamper the South, if not utterly to exterminate its free population by the instrumentality of the emancipated negroes, we confess that we should have had a better opinion of Mr. Lincoln if he had abstained from the hypocritical rhodomontade in which he has thought proper to indulge. If he had told the slaves whom he liberated to rise against their masters, and anticipate all attempts to coerce them by murdering all who came within their reach, we should at least have complimented him on his candour. But when we read Mr. Lincoln's injunctions to the emancipated slaves to abstain from violence, and to offer their services to their late masters for reasonable wages, the only feeling excited in our minds is one of unmitigated disgust. Does Mr. Lincoln really believe that a single slave in Virginia or Georgia, or the Carolinas, could secure his freedom without employing violence or that his previous owner would engage him as a labourer for hire without having in the first instance exercised every means in his power, violent or otherwise, to retain him in a state of servitude? Of course, no one knows better than the President of the United States that the proclamation which he has issued can only operate by exciting a war of extermination between the dominant and the servile races. He cannot expect that a Confederacy which treat with scorn the countless hosts he has arrayed against them will yield implicit obedience to the simple manifestation of his will. He knows that if a slave were, in conformity with the tenor of his proclamation, to assert his freedom, he would, as a matter of course, be delivered over to the civil authorities of the State in which he was resident, to be dealt with according to its laws; and he also knows that a large number of slaves could alone benefit by the advantages which he confers by subverting those laws, and exterminating or reducing to subjection those who administer them. It seems a gratuitous outrage on common sense when Mr. Lincoln tells the slaves of the Southern States to vindicate their freedom, but at the same time to abstain from violence.

It is some little consolation to feel that the crime in which the Federal Government have been willing participants will never be consummated. There are, we venture to say, as many slaves to-day in the Southern States of America as there were a fortnight since, when the proclamation was issued. If the love of liberty would not in itself afford sufficient inducement to a slave to endeavour to secure his freedom, neither would the edict of a lawgiver who admits his inability to give effect to his proclamation. If the Southern slaves have hitherto manifested no inclination to shake off their fetters for their own sakes, it is not probable they will attempt to do so for the sake of a Government they have been taught to hate, and of a population they have never seen. The great bulk of the servile population of the South know as little of the Government of President Lincoln as they do of that of Queen Victoria, and might readily confound the one with the other. We cannot see therefore, why a decree of the American President, emancipating the slaves, would prove more effective than an act of Parliament passed with the same object. To use the President's own language, it will prove as efficacious as a "Papal bull against a comet." In one respect, however, it will prove not altogether inoperative. It will widen the breach already existing between the North and South; it will banish, even from the minds of the sanguine citizens of New York, all hopes of future reunion, and may thus become instrumental in shortening the war.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON ON THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF MEXICO.

The following is a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to General Forey, Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Mexico:—

Fontainebleau, July 3, 1862.

My dear General.—At the moment when you are about to start for Mexico, charged with political and military powers, I think it useful to make you well acquainted with my ideas.

The line of conduct you will have to follow is:—1. To publish on your arrival a proclamation, the principal points of which will be indicated to you. 2. To receive with the greatest kindness all the Mexicans who shall present themselves. 3. Not to espouse the quarrel of any party; to declare that everything is provisional, so long as the Mexican nation shall not have expressed its opinion; to show great deference for religion, but at the same time to tranquillize the holders of national property. 4. To feed, pay, and arm, according to your means, the Mexican auxiliary troops, and make them play principal parts in the combats. 5. To maintain among your own troops, as well as among the auxiliaries, the most severe discipline; to vigorously repress any act or word insulting to the Mexicans, for the pride of their character must not be forgotten, and it is important for the success of the enterprise to conciliate the good feelings of the people.

When we shall have reached the city of Mexico, it is to be desired that the principal persons of all political shades who shall have embraced our cause should come to an understanding with you to organize a Provisional Government. The Government will submit to the Mexican people the question of the political régime which is to be definitely established. An

assembly will be afterwards elected according to the Mexican laws.

You will aid the new Government to introduce into the Administration, and particularly into the finances, that regularity of which France offers the best model. For that purpose capable men will be sent to second its new organization.

The object to be attained is not to impose on the Mexicans a form of Government which would be obnoxious, but to assist them in their efforts to establish, according to their own wishes, a Government which may have a chance of stability, and can secure to France the settlement of the injuries of which she has to complain.

It follows, as a matter of course, that, if the Mexican prefer a monarchy, it is for the interest of France to support them in that path.

There will not be wanting people who will ask you why we expend men and money to found a regular Government in Mexico.

In the present state of the civilization of the world,—the prosperity of America is not a matter of indifference to Europe, for it is that country which feeds our manufactories and gives an impulse to our commerce. We have an interest in the Republic of the United States being powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole of the Gulf of Mexico, thence command the Antilles as well as South America, and be the only dispenser of the products of the New World.

We now see by sad experience how precarious is the lot of a branch of manufacture, which is compelled to procure its raw material in a single market, all the vicissitudes of which it has to bear.

If, on the contrary, Mexico maintains her independence and the integrity of her territory, if a stable Government be there constituted with the assistance of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race on the other side the Atlantic all its strength and its prestige; we shall have guaranteed security to our West India colonies and to those of Spain; we shall have established our friendly influence, in the centre of America, and that influence by creating immense markets for our commerce, will procure us the raw materials indispensable for our manufactures.

Mexico thus regenerated will always be well-disposed towards us, not only out of gratitude, but also because her interests will be in accord with ours, and because she will find support in her friendly relations with European Powers.

At present, therefore, our military honour engaged, the necessities of our policy, the interests of our industry and commerce, all conspire to make it our duty to march on to Mexico, to boldly plant our flag there, and to establish either a monarchy, if not incompatible with the national feeling, or at least a Government which may promise some stability.

NAPOLEON.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MRS. H. B. STOWE.

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin has addressed the following letter to Mrs. H. B. Stowe:—

Palace, Dublin, Jan. 6.

Dear Madam.—In acknowledging your letter and pamphlet, I take the opportunity of laying before you what I collect to be the prevailing sentiments here on American affairs. Of course there is a great variety of opinion, as may be expected in a country like ours. Some few sympathize with the Northerners, and some with the Southerners, but far the greater portion sympathize with neither completely, but lament that each party should be making so much greater an expenditure of life and property than can be compensated for by any advantage they can dream of obtaining.

Those who are the least favourable to the Northerners are not so from any approbation of slavery, but from not understanding that the war is waged in the cause of abolition. It was waged, they say, ostensibly for the restoration of the Union, and, in attestation of this, they refer to the proclamation which announced the confiscation of slaves that were the property of secessionists, while those who adhered to the Federal cause should be exempt from such confiscation, which, they say, did not savour much of zeal for abolition.

Many, who have a great dislike to slavery, yet hold that the Southerners had at least as much right to secede as the Americans had originally to revolt from Great Britain. And there are many who think that, considering the dreadful distress we have suffered from the cotton famine, we have shown great forbearance in withstanding the temptation to recognize the Southern States and break the blockade. Then, again, there are some who are provoked at the incessant railing at England, and threats of an invasion of Canada, which are poured forth in some of the American papers.

There are many also who consider that the present state of things cannot continue much longer, if the Confederates continue to hold their own as they have done hitherto, and that a people who shall have maintained their independence for two or three years will be recognized by the principal European powers. Such appears to have been the procedure of the European powers in all similar cases—such as the revolt of the Anglo-American and Spanish-American colonies, of the Haytiens and the Belgians. In these, and other like cases, the rule practically adopted seems to have been to recognize the revolvers, not at once, but after a reasonable time had been allowed to see whether they could maintain their independence, and this without being understood to have pronounced any decision either way as to the justice of the cause.

Moreover, there are many who say that the negroes and people of colour are far from being kindly or justly treated in the Northern States. An emancipated slave, at any rate, has not received good training for earning his bread by the wages of labour; and if, in addition to this and his being treated as an outcast, he is excluded, as it is said, from many employments, by the refusal of the white labourers to work along with him, he will have gained little by taking refuge in the Northern States.

I have now laid before you what I conceive to be the view most prevalent amongst us, and for which I am not myself responsible. For the safe and effectual emancipation of slaves, I myself consider there is no plan so good as the gradual one, which was long ago suggested by Bishop Hinds. What he recommended was an *ad valorem* tax upon slaves, the value to be fixed by the owner, with an option to government to purchase at that price. Thus the slaves would be a burden to the master, and those the most so who should be the most intelligent and steady, and, therefore, the best qualified for freedom; and it would be his interest to train his slaves to be free labourers, and to emancipate them, one by one, as speedily as he could with safety. I fear, however, that the time is gone by for trying this experiment in America—with best wishes for the new year, I remain, dear Madam, yours faithfully,

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 29, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

President Davis's Message was delivered on the 14th inst. The telegraphic summary indicates that the President was very emphatic on the subject of recognition. He said, though peace will be hailed with joy by the Confederacy, it can only be accepted with the recognition of her independence. The neutrality of Europe he construes into a decision against the South. He complains that the European Powers declared neutrality without acknowledging the sovereignty of the seceded States, thus injuring the South and prolonging the war, by admitting the doctrine that the Federal Government had a right to coerce the seceded States. If these States were independent, the refusal to entertain the same international intercourse with them as with the North was unjust—no matter what may have been the motive prompting it. He does not complain of any treaty being concluded between the United States and Europe for the abolition of privateering, although the prohibition to either belligerent to dispose of its prizes in European ports operated with intense severity against the South, by depriving her of the only means of maintaining, with some approach to equality, a struggle on the ocean. He denounces the conduct of the Union armies as atrocious and cruel. Referring to Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, he says he may well leave it to the instincts of the common humanity of men of all countries to pass judgment upon a measure by which millions of human beings of inferior race, peaceful and contented labourers in their sphere, are doomed to extermination, while they are encouraged to commit assassination by an insidious recommendation to abstain from violence—unless in self-defence. Commissioned Federal officers attempting to execute the proclamation will, if captured, be delivered to the State authorities, to be dealt with according to the State laws for the punishment of criminals exciting insurrection. He pronounces the progress of the war thus far satisfactory.

We also learn that President Davis delivered a speech on the 3rd inst. at Raleigh, North Carolina, in which he declared "that the whole people of the South-West as well as the South were determined to resist the North in its war of subjugation and emancipation, that the new year had found the Confederates victorious at all points, and that their

enemies were at last beginning to feel those miseries which the people of the South had borne so patiently. He exhorted them to stand firm, and assured them that in the end they would enjoy an amount of prosperity they never could attain in connection with the Yankee nation of extortioners.

A week since we recorded that gold in New York was, at the then latest advices, 36 per cent. premium. An extraordinary advance has taken place since then. The Government Bill for the issue of \$900,000,000 of United States' Bonds has caused great speculation in Wall-street, but not a panic, and on the 15th of January gold was at 50 per cent. premium. Those who have sent up the price of gold, and consequently sent down the price of Government paper, have done so with the hope of gain. They "bull" the market one week, that they may "bear" it the week after. When the panic comes, as come it must, we may be sure that there will be no speculation, but a host of sellers seeking in vain for buyers. Now the price of gold may recede; then it will be impossible to put off the evil day any longer. Sooner or later the speculators will think the Government is (financially) on its last legs, and the general public will find that greenbacks are worth little more than autumn leaves; and then, when all are sellers, the Chase bubble will burst. The rapid rise in gold may lead to a panic, but there does not seem to have been any panic up to the 15th of January. The calmness of the public is so remarkable that it can only be accounted for by the supposition that there is no intention of paying the debt, and that repudiation is looked upon as a legitimate and necessary sequence of the present prodigious expenditure. If the Northerners were versed in political economy, they would know that repudiation does not compensate for prodigal waste. The man who runs through his fortune and gets into debt may obtain a certificate of bankruptcy that will protect him from the claws of his creditors, but that certificate will not save his credit or restore to him his fortune or capital. The North must pay the penalty for its folly. It cannot cheat other nations, because other nations will not trust it, and so the novel and curious idea is entertained of cheating itself. If the Federals understood that repudiation will not retrieve the past, will not replace the waste of war, the advent of peace would be near at hand. Gold being at 50 per cent. premium will not stop the war so long as Congress will give the Government as much paper as it demands, for the increase in the premium on gold only necessitates a larger production of paper money. But if gold being at 50 per cent premium should bring about a panic, and the panic repudiation, and it should be found that bankruptcy and repudiation do not repay the terrible cost of war, then, indeed, the Federal contractors and their co-partners—the clergy and fanatics of New England—may feel assured that their day of plunder and bloodshed is over.

Certainly, the statement of Mr. Spalding to Congress of the financial position of the Federal Government is rather alarming. He said that the Government needed immediately \$150,000,000. All the gold and silver in the banks of the loyal States was \$87,000,000. Bonds could not be sold, because there was no redundancy of currency. \$1,117,000,000 were required, in addition to the receipts from the customs and taxes, to carry on the Government until July 1864. It is necessary to borrow in some form \$1,900,000 every day, Sundays included, between this time and the 1st of next July. The public debt in July 1864 is estimated at \$2,000,000,000. Mr. Spalding explained that the only hope of success in financial schemes depended upon military success, as from the Southern declaration, the war must continue. "All is lost if victories are not achieved, because the Southern Con-

federacy depends upon force to sustain it. No compromise can be made." The only thing to be done to help the North is to continue a costly and hopeless war! But Mr. Spalding is so far right, that nothing can make the schemes of the Government go down, but such victories as may enable it to gull the public that the debt is to be paid by the confiscation of the South. He is right in saying, "No compromise can be made."

A joint resolution, authorizing Mr. Chase to issue \$100,000,000 worth of greenbacks for the payment of the army and navy, has passed both Houses, thus giving him double the amount he asked for that purpose. In like manner, the Missouri Emancipation Aid Bill, which proposes an appropriation of \$10,000,000, has been reported back by the Judiciary Committee, with a recommendation that it be increased to \$20,000,000. People who live on credit are generally liberal.

When it could be no longer concealed, the Federal repulse at Vicksburg was admitted. After a week's fighting the Federals were driven back to their transports, "in no condition to renew the attack." In fact, they had retired up the Mississippi. The assailants were finally worsted by the force under the command of General Joseph Johnston. What the losses were is not yet known. The Federals confess their loss exceeds 5000; that among the officers slain are Generals Morgan and Smith; and that 1500 Federals sent to execute a special order are supposed to be captured. The casualties of the week's fighting will probably prove to be double the Federal estimate. In our experience of Federal calculations we have always found the expressions "not less" and "exceeding" to mean that the losses are not less or exceed double the number stated. For the time, at all events, Vicksburg is free from the foe.

Admiral Farragut could not pass with his flotilla beyond Port Hudson to co-operate in the attack on Vicksburg. It was therefore determined by the Federals to attack Port Hudson, which is strongly defended. It was to be a combined operation of land forces under General Banks, gunboats, and ironclads. Whether the attack has been made was not known in New York, though on the 14th of January there was a rumour on the New York Stock Exchange that General Banks and Commander Farragut had been repulsed on the Mississippi. Reports circulated by stock-jobbers must, under the circumstances of the New York Exchange, be received with great caution. Although we have some days' later news this rumour is not confirmed. Whether it is true or false, we know that Port Hudson is prepared for attack, and will be defended to the last extremity.

The Federals have punished their commander for his non-success at Vicksburg. General Sherman has been superseded by General McClelland. Before the assault upon Vicksburg General Sherman was regarded by the Federals as one of their best and most reliable generals.

On New Year's Day General Magruder recaptured Galveston, Texas. The attack was made by sea and land, and the naval operations were remarkably successful. The Confederates, not having cannon, protected their gunboats by cotton bales, and used their rifles. The Federal war steamer Harriet Lane, heavily armed, was captured, with 200 prisoners. This vessel was named after a niece of ex-President Buchanan, and used by the Prince of Wales during his tour in America. Two vessels laden with coal were also taken. The steamer Westfield was blown up. Two other Federal gunboats escaped to South-West Pass. The rifles of the Confederates were effective; Commodore Reushaw and

several officers perished, and altogether the Federals admit a loss of 160 killed. General Magruder is reported to have captured 600 prisoners, and a large quantity of stores and arms. By this victory the blockade is broken, and the Federal navy again thoroughly and unexpectedly beaten. The Harriet Lane is a valuable prize, and probably may aid and assist the Alabama in her task. If so, the New York Chamber of Commerce will not have any excuse for abusing England, for the Harriet Lane was fitted out by Federal contractors, irrespective of cost.

Although General Rosecrans was not able to follow the Confederates, the Confederates will not let him rest. The Federal commander is already anxious about the safety of his supports, and represents that Generals Forrest, Wheeler, and Stearns, with three full batteries of cannon, are advancing to capture them. Perhaps so; but, generally speaking, the Confederates effect their captures without suffering their intentions to transpire. The Confederate detachment, however, means work, for it has burnt a steamboat and captured some prisoners. The extent of the Federal defeat at Murfreesboro is evident from the inactivity of General Rosecrans and the activity of his victorious adversary.

General Bragg has been superseded in the command of the Confederate force in Tennessee by General Longstreet.

It is reported in New York that "on their retreat after the battle of Vicksburg the Federal gunboats proceeded up the Arkansas River. On the 11th they assailed Arkansas post, 100 miles from the river's mouth. The post was defended by 7000 men, who, being attacked in front and rear, surrendered unconditionally, after a short and sharp struggle, and a loss of 550 killed and wounded. The Federal loss is reported at 200 killed and wounded."

It is rumoured that General Burnside has made a new movement across the Rappahannock, but no details are known.

General Sweeny, with 1000 men and a section of artillery, is reported to have defeated 1400 Confederates, with four cannon, under General Roddy, at Cane Creek, Alabama, capturing 82 prisoners and \$50,000 worth of cotton, grain, horses, &c.

General Grant has fallen back to Oxford, Mississippi, and for the present has abandoned his movement upon Grenada.

The Alabama is actively engaged in the West Indies. She captured two vessels in Mona Passage. One of them, the Parker, of Boston, was destroyed; the other, the Union, from Baltimore, was released on giving a bond of \$1500 for the vessel. The cargo was not touched, being owned by British subjects.

Great excitement prevails in Albany on the question of the Speakership. More than 100 ballottings have resulted in ties. The Republicans, fearing an ultimate defeat, have changed their nominee for a war Democrat. The Democrats are making every effort to elect their candidate.

Colonel J. W. Wall, who was arbitrarily sent to Fort Lafayette, by Mr. Simon Cameron, a few months ago, has been elected Senator for New Jersey. Mr. Cameron, who was himself a candidate for the same position in Pennsylvania, has been rejected.

The President's letter to General McClellan, dated in April last, produced before the McDowell Court-martial, admits that he interfered with McClellan's plans, and prevented McDowell from co-operating with him in the peninsula.

It is reported that 6000 Confederates were repulsed in an attack on Springfield, Missouri. We need not add that, according to the New York papers, the Confederates "are actively pursued."

The Confederate General Morgan is reported to have re-entered Kentucky.

According to the New York journals, Richmond papers to the 8th inst. contain a Mobile despatch of the 7th, reporting the capture of Trenton, Union City, and Humboldt, with over 2000 prisoners, two cannon, and a large amount of commissary stores. The attack on Jackson, Tennessee, was a feint to cover the Confederate operations. The railroad from Jackson to Columbus has been destroyed.

Amongst the military news of the North we must give place to the following paragraph:—

General Wool, late of Baltimore, has been appointed to the military command of the Eastern Department, including New York and the New England States. His headquarters will be in New York city.

Do the loyal New Englanders need military supervision? or are they in any danger of attack?

There are many signs that in the North people are tired of the war, and are anxious to make peace with the South, but as yet it does not seem to be distinctly understood that the South is now a foreign and separate Power, and that negotiations can only be opened by the recognition of the fact. A resolution has been introduced in the New Jersey Legislature proposing an armistice and a convention for discussing the terms of an amicable settlement between North and South. In the Federal Congress on the 14th inst., Mr. Vallandigham "expressed himself strongly in favour of foreign mediation. He said it was the speediest and easiest mode of suspending hostilities, and that the present was the auspicious moment. By mediation he did not mean arbitration, but a reference of the subjects of controversy between the two belligerents to Switzerland, Russia, or any other impartial Power or State in Europe. The final arbitration of the quarrel, he believed, lay with the people of the North-Western States." The *New York Tribune* says that if foreign mediation was offered to and first accepted by the South, the North should take it into earnest consideration, with a desire to find its acceptance compatible with their imperative duties. This is very kind of the *Tribune*. May we suggest that the South is willing to make peace at any moment; that the Confederate States is waging a purely defensive war, and only demands its imperative rights—that is, to be let alone?

The Richmond press, of all shades of opinion, repudiate all thought of such overtures. The *Richmond Enquirer* says, "the separation is eternal." The *Richmond Examiner* says:—

The time for Peace Congresses is past. So long as the States were component parts of the same Confederacy, it was both lawful and proper that the representatives of their sovereignties should confer upon and discuss questions and affairs affecting them all. Nothing in the Constitution forbade such a conference, or deprived its recommendations of respectability and authority. But such a Convention is impossible now. It is predicated upon the idea that the late Union still exists; that the Southern Confederacy does not exist; that the men of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, &c., are fellow-citizens of the men inhabiting Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. To admit the possibility of such a Convention ignores the legitimate function of the Confederate Government. The States of the Confederacy have delegated their authority over their foreign affairs to a common Executive and Legislature. They cannot now take a single step in any dealing with foreign nations without violating the solemn compact by which they created that Government. The States of the Union are in precisely the same attitude toward the Government of the Union. They have no authority or power to treat with the Southern States or any other foreign State.

The *Richmond Despatch*, of the 10th inst., is discussing the peace propositions of the New York Democratic Association, says the only wish of the South is to be separated from the North for ever; that the South is fighting for separation, and will have it if it cost the life of every man in the Confederate States; and that President Davis truly expressed the sentiment of the South when he said the people would sooner unite with a nation of hyenas than with the detestable and detested nation of Yankees. English colonization, French vassalage, or Russian serfdom—each or all were preferable to any association with such people.

The Lincoln Administration is not "thorough" enough for the Republicans. "Thirty-six Republican members of the Senate, forming a clear majority of that body, have presented a memorial to the President expressing a want of confidence in the Administration. They assert that the President is not aided by a Cabinet Council agreeing with him in political principles and general policy, and urge that he make such changes as will secure a unity of purpose and action. They also admonish him that it is unwise and unsafe to intrust any important military operation to any officer who is not a cordial supporter of the Government." Only ultra-Republicans are to be trusted with office, and a minority of New England fanatics is to trample over the majority in the North.

General Butler, who was rather coolly received at New York, met with an enthusiastic reception at Boston. New England clergymen and fanatics—the Cheevers, Beechers, and that set—naturally sympathize with a person who is execrated by the civilized world on account of his inhumanity, and his barbarous treatment of helpless women. We are not surprised that Butler should be honoured in Boston; and we doubt not the pious preachers of that city will gloat over the general's description of the sufferings of his New Orleans' victims. Butler made a speech, in which he said "that his plan for paying the war debt was the introduction of free labour into the South, by which abundant crops of cotton could be produced with profit, at 10 cents per lb. He proposed to lay on this a tax of 10 cents, thus raising the price to 20 cents per lb., which France and England would be obliged to pay. This tax alone, he said, would pay the interest on a debt three times as large as has been contracted for

the prosecution of 'the war.' Such a plan would be very acceptable to New-England. An export duty on cotton, and an import duty on cotton fabrics would make the riches of the South the monopoly of the East. Butler's plan is not original. He only announces the intention of his party to make England and France, as well as the South, contribute to the war debt of the North. Such an incident may, however, serve to remind us that the free-trade South is fighting not only for independence, but incidentally, for the commercial interests of Europe.

In the Federal House of Representatives a resolution was offered of thanks to Butler for his humane administration of affairs in the Department of the Gulf.

Resolutions were introduced into the Federal Congress, censuring General Grant for expelling the Jews from his department. General Grant's order has been revoked. It seems as if the Federals had determined to insult every people on the face of the earth.

The *Richmond Whig* states that the Federal officers captured at Murfreesboro will be confined until Butler is given up to the Confederate Government.

The *Richmond Examiner* thinks that the Emancipation Proclamation in its effects upon the rebellion or the slaves is not worth the paper on which it is printed. But the Federals will do what they can to make it bear fruit. The Federal Colonel Clusseret writes that he had posted the Emancipation Proclamation on the walls of Winchester, and scattered it among the farms in Virginia. A bill has been introduced in the Federal House of Representatives for the enlistment of 150,000 negro troops. The resolution to lay the bill upon the table was defeated by 83 to 53. The Confederate Government will not hesitate to punish all practical efforts to incite a servile war; and in so doing it will be only acting humanely as well as justly.

Governor Letcher's annual Message to the Virginia Legislature was seven columns long. In relation to the division of the State by Congress, he says:—

I cannot suppose in any treaty of peace that may be agreed upon Virginia will ever recognize the division of her territory, or even consent to a treaty that will strip her of any portion of her domain. It is better that this war should continue for an indefinite period than that Virginia shall be even partially dismembered.

He accuses the North of Vandalism without parallel in the history of warfare, and reiterates a long list of indignities, outrages, and wanton destruction. He estimates the balance in the Treasury, October 1, at \$434,000. The total paid for the war is \$7,337,000. He advises that all the free negroes now resident in the portions of the State overrun by the enemy be removed and put at work on the fortifications, as they have it in their power to tamper with other slaves, and give valuable information to the enemy. 118 men captured by the Virginia State line at Petersburg and Pikeville, in Kentucky, are confined at Richmond, and the Governor has announced to the President the terms upon which such exchanges can alone be made. He has placed at hard labour in the penitentiary Captain Graham and Lieutenant Wade, as hostages for Captain Dusky and Lieutenant Vanner, now confined in the District of Columbia penitentiary.

It is rumoured that the McNeil massacre has been punished.

The Governor of Virginia has called out the militia in the counties bordering on North Carolina, in order to resist the invasion.

It is again in Washington asserted that General Burnside has finally resigned the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that he is succeeded by General Hooker.

The steamer Giraffe has arrived at a Southern port.

The State Capitol at Baton Rouge has been burned, with all its contents.

ENGLAND.

Lancashire still suffers; the improvement in her condition being very slight and slow. It is probable that a few more mills will open every month during the spring; and a decided Federal victory, rendering it apparently certain that the Southern supply of cotton will not come forward this year, and thereby encouraging the manufacturers to use what they have, might perhaps give employment to about one-third of the operatives. More than this cannot be hoped for, is indeed impossible, unless the ports of the South should be reopened, and the normal relations between the prices of cotton and of cloth re-established. Until that time the dependence of Lancashire must be on the charity of the empire. The following figures exhibit a decrease of 4500 in

the number of paupers, but present no features requiring comment:—

(a). Nine unions have more:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Bolton	110	Saddleworth ..	20
Chorlton	410	Warrington ..	20
Glossop	80	Wigan	20
Liverpool	280		
Macclesfield ..	80	Total	1,090
Preston	70		

(b). One union is in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Chorley.

(c). Eleven unions have less:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne	840	Rochdale ..	380
Blackburn	1,750	Salford	560
Burnley	230	Stockport ..	370
Bury	200	Todmorden ..	150
Haslingden	130		
Manchester	550	Total	5,580
Oldham	420		

NET DECREASE IN THE PAUPERISM OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT.

Second week of December, 1862 ..	4,320
Third ditto	2,580
Fourth ditto	4,050
First week of January 1863	7,310
Second ditto	8,620
Third ditto	4,490
Total	31,370

From this total we must deduct all the paupers who have merely been transferred from the Poor-rates to the Relief Committees—probably one-third of the whole, as they amount to 6000 in Blackburn alone. These, and several others, were formerly relieved both by the Unions and the Committees, which have now in some cases divided the business of relief between them, the Guardians undertaking the sole charge of a fixed number, and the Committee taking on them the support of all above that number who are or may become dependent on charity.

The Central Executive Committee held its usual weekly meeting at Manchester on Monday last. A letter was read, addressed by one of the local Committees at Manchester to the Lord Mayor, recommending a better concert between the two central distributing agencies; to which letter no answer had been returned. Subscriptions continue to come in liberally; the amount reported during the week being nearly £20,000, including £500 from Bermuda—a colony very far from wealthy. Mr. Farnall, the Commissioner of the Poor Law Board, read his usual report:—

Manchester, Jan. 26.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I beg to inform you that on the 17th inst. there was a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief in 27 unions of the cotton manufacturing districts, as compared with the number so relieved in the previous week, of 4907. This decrease of 4907 is explained as follows:—There is a decrease at Ashton-under-Lyne of 843, at Barton-upon-Irwell of 39, at Blackburn of 1,747, at Bolton of 143, at Burnley of 471, at Bury of 204, at Chorley of 18, at Haslingden of 133, at Leigh of 29; at Manchester of 553, at Oldham of 421, at Prestwich of 71, at Rochdale of 384, at Salford of 639, at Stockport of 370, and at Todmorden of 94, making a total decrease of 6159. But there is an increase at Chorlton of 413, at Clitheroe of 439, at the Fylde of 97, at Glossop of 77, at Lancaster of 21, at Macclesfield of 78, at Preston of 72, at Saddleworth of 20, at Warrington of 23, and at Wigan of 21, making a total increase of 1252; so that there is a net decrease of 4907, and since the 6th ult. a total decrease of 32,583 paupers has taken place. There were on the 17th inst. 239,400 persons receiving parochial relief in the 27 unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 70,136 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 169,264 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 241.2 per cent. The total weekly cost of out-door relief on the 17th instant was £16,263 14s. 11d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £3513 9s. 7d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £12,750 5s. 4d., or 362.9 per cent. The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions on the 17th instant was 12.1; in the corresponding week of last year it was 3.5. The average amount of out-door relief per head per week, both in kind and in money, in these unions on the 17th instant, was 1s. 5d. The amount of money in the hands of the treasurers of the above unions on the 17th instant was £53,931 5s. 1d. I have received the remaining 16 forms of queries which I issued to the medical officers of the cotton manufacturing districts, and I have now to report that in seven districts there are 18 cases of typhus fever, not of a malignant character, and that the remaining 9 districts are free from typhus fever. I have reason to believe that the following unions are now in a position to avail themselves of the provisions of the Rate-in-Aid Act—viz., Ashton-under-Lyne, Blackburn, Glossop, Haslingden, Manchester, Oldham, Preston, Salford, Stockport, Rochdale, and Todmorden. The returns from Burnley and Bury have not yet been received.

The Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and of Liverpool have held meetings in reference to the cotton supply. At Manchester, Mr. H. Ashworth and some other gentlemen, numbering all the believers in Indian cotton in the trade, had the field pretty much to themselves. A good deal was said about Australia, Egypt, and Italy, but every one seemed glad to turn from so hopeless a prospect to the more congenial topic of India. Nothing was said to show that India could furnish us with a sufficiency of cotton; no notice was taken of the overwhelming evidence given by merchants and statesmen acquainted with India, to prove that she cannot. All the old topics of complaint against the Government were raked up, and Mr. Hugh Mason

proposed an invocation to Mr. Bright to set everything to rights. Mr. Cheetham, a very large manufacturer, and once M.P. for South Lancashire, had the sense to differ from his colleagues, and declare that he looked on the prospect of a cotton supply from India, with doubt and despair. At Liverpool, both the members, Mr. Horsfall and Mr. Ewart, cautiously hinted opinions favourable to the recognition of Southern independence.

Mr. Peter Taylor, M.P.—“Hell-hound Taylor,” as he was nick-named by one who had heard his extraordinary burst of abuse in the debate on Mr. Lindsay’s motion for the recognition of the Confederate States—has been delivering himself of a similar burst of fury before his Constituents at Leicester. Let us charitably suppose that he was not, on the last occasion, in a condition to be responsible for what he said. He talked about “an oligarchy of 30,000 or 40,000 slaveowners,” (we quote from the organ of the Americanising faction) governing the Southern States, and over-ruling six or seven millions of “mean whites.” The fact is, that all white men have equal rights in the Southern States; that there is no such class as that signified by the appellation of “mean whites”; that one-half the fathers of families in the South own land, and one-fourth own slaves. What has possessed these Abolitionists that they cannot even understand a plain matter of figures? He repeated that the North was fighting against slavery; that it was the South, and not the North, that had always been hostile to England (how comes it, then, that since the South has seceded the Federal press and Government have been more outrageously insolent to England than ever before?); that the South seized Texas, and wanted the North to seize Canada (which would have destroyed the balance that Texas served for awhile to maintain), and that Southern slavery was the worst that ever existed on earth (which only proves that Mr. Taylor has not a schoolboy’s knowledge of Roman history). He wound up with the same angry abuse of “Southern chivalry.”

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The Parisian police have been guilty of a very stupid piece of tyranny. M. Levy had announced a work by the Duc d’Anmale, on the House of Condi in the 16th and 17th centuries, and had obtained the sanction of the authorities for its publication. Recently, it is said, at a picture sale, the agent of the Duc d’Anmale outbid a chamberlain of the Emperor, and obtained a valuable work for about £3750, upon which a cheer was raised by the bystanders, which is supposed to have alarmed the Prefect of Police or his superiors. However that may be, certain it is that just before the publication of the book in question, the whole edition was seized at the publishers by the police. Neither M. Levy nor his employer are disposed to submit quietly. The Prefect has been summoned to deliver up the confiscated property; and an application will, it is said, be made for leave to prosecute him. The worst feature of the present system in France is that no functionary can be prosecuted for wrongs done by him in an administrative capacity without permission of the Council of State. Acts of needless repression like this cannot but damage the Imperial Government, and give an idea of instability and insecurity which is not justified by facts.

The distribution of rewards to the French exhibitors in the London Exhibition of 1862 took place on the 25th. The Emperor presided at the distribution, and delivered a speech of great significance, pacific and liberal, in which, after congratulating the exhibitors upon their success, their energy, and their perseverance, in upholding the honour of France, His Majesty said:—

That redoubtable invasion of British soil has, then, been realized;

And continued:—

I am happy to have to reward the bravest of the brave. In fact, we have crossed the Channel and invaded English soil, not with arms which carry ruin, but these which confer prosperity and comfort.

The Emperor afterwards observed that treaties of commerce drew nations nearer to one another and improved their condition, and said:—

If foreigners have to envy us many useful things, France must have seen that she can borrow many moral conquests from England. We have, in fact, borrowed from England that spirit of liberty which, being extended to all opinions, insures the development of all interests.

His Majesty further said that liberty, as understood in England, does not destroy, but improves; and continued:—

Private industry acts for itself. The Government leaves to every one the responsibility of his acts. This system has not been followed without contributing to the industrial and maritime prosperity of our neighbours.

The Emperor further stated his conviction that France would attain the same result when she had

completed the bases indispensable to the establishment of public liberties, and concluded by appealing to all to unite in order to arrive at this result.

The note addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to M. Mercier, the French Minister at Washington, dated the 9th. of January, in reference to fresh proposals for peace to be submitted to the Federal Cabinet.

ITALY.—Father Passaglia, the well-known Liberal priest, whose pamphlet against the temporal power of the Popes attracted so much attention, and commenced such a protracted controversy, has been elected to the Chamber of Deputies, by a district in Parma. Alberto Mario, a Mazzinian, and the husband of Miss Jessie M. White, who served under Garibaldi, has been elected by a Sicilian constituency. The ex-Jesuit is already famous; Signor Mario, we believe, will prove himself both an abler and a wiser man than he is supposed to be. Of the sect denominated “strong-minded women,” we know none so womanly and with so much real strength of mind as the lady whose alliance with him is as yet his principal claim to the notice of an English journal.

GERMANY.—The Liberal majority in the Prussian Chambers, the Moderates holding aloof, has caused an address to the King to be drawn up, reflecting severely on the recent conduct nominally of the Ministers, but really of the Crown. The following are the most important passages:—

We begin our work under sad auspices, and feel it our duty to make respectful representations to your Majesty concerning the state of public affairs.

Since last Session the Ministers have carried on the public administration against the Constitution, and without a legal Budget. The supreme right of the representatives of the people has thereby been attacked. The country has been alarmed, and has stood by its representatives.

A small minority of the people only has, encouraged by the Ministers, carried the worst calumnies against the Chamber of Deputies to the foot of the Throne in the form of addresses.

Abuses of the power of the Government are now taking place just as in the sad years which preceded the Regency. Your Majesty recently declared that nobody should doubt your intention of maintaining the Constitution, but the Constitution has already been violated by the Ministers.

Our position imposes on us the most urgent duty of solemnly declaring that peace at home and power abroad can only be restored to the Government by its returning to a constitutional state of things.

M. Bismark von Schonhausen was present at the deliberations of the committee which drew up this address, and declared that he would not advise the King to accept it. He showed his ignorance of constitutional principles by complaining that the Deputies drew a distinction between the King and the Ministers, as if the former had been absent, and did not know what the latter had done.

The proposition to establish a representation of the peoples of Germany in conjunction with the Federal Diet has been rejected by that body. The representative of Prussia declared himself in favour of some form of popular representation, and declared his willingness to yield extensive legislative powers to a Federal Parliament in which a national representation should be included.

POLAND.—There is terrible news from Poland. Russian oppression and patriotic passion have at last driven the people of that unhappy land into another hopeless insurrection. The accounts received come, of course, from Russian sources, or sources friendly to Russia; the character of the insurgents is blackened, and the importance of the insurrection deprecated, as far as possible. But its dimensions are evidently alarming. It broke out simultaneously, on the night of the 22nd, in many different parts of the kingdom. At Warsaw, and in the neighbourhood, the soldiers billeted in private houses, or cantoned in detachments, were first attacked and many of them killed; afterwards the insurgents came into collision with a body of troops, and were worsted with heavy loss, after killing and wounding some hundred of their adversaries. At several other points the Poles have appeared in force; and in one case have compelled a Russian detachment to “retire for fear of being surrounded.” Hundreds, nay thousands, of conscripts have disappeared; some to join the insurrection, some to escape across the frontier. The insurrection can have no prospect of success; its duration depends first on the attitude of the educated and reflecting classes, and secondly on the hope of foreign intervention. We fear that many men who know that the cause is already lost will feel compelled to espouse it, and that the insurgents will trust in aid from France so long as to provoke the Russians to extreme severity. The affair is a terrible mistake, and will prove a fearful calamity to Poland. Hundreds shot, dozens hanged, scores flogged to death, thousands drafted into the army of the Caucasus, or sent to Siberia—this is all that a Polish insurrection means for Poland. Death for

those who are fortunate enough to find it; a lifetime of unspeakable misery for those who fail to die; brutalities to women of which Haynau would have been ashamed, and which Butler would not have dared to perpetrate—this is what Poland must expect from her victorious master, *Vae Victis!* Terrible as is the guilt of those who drove this miserable people into hopeless rebellion, we cannot but think that those are scarcely less guilty who, with the opportunity of judging its chances and the means of knowing it to be hopeless, have commenced such a struggle, and exposed their countrymen to massacre, and their countrywomen to punishments worse than death by an attempt which has not the faintest prospect of success. And terribly will they atone for their error; terribly one day will Russia pay for the crimes of which that error is begotten.

The Czar addressed the officers on parade at St. Petersburg, using the following language concerning the Polish rebellion:—

Even in presence of these atrocities I will not accuse the whole Polish nation. I see in these events only the work of the revolutionary party, desirous of overturning legal order everywhere. I know that this party reckons upon finding traitors in our ranks. It will, however, not shake my belief in the faith and devotedness of the army, which will now, more than ever, fulfil its duties. Should circumstances require, you will prove that I can depend upon you.

Some reports represent the insurrection as a mere rising of the peasantry, instigated by hopes of seizing on the landed estates of the gentry, and state that many of the latter have taken refuge in Warsaw. The Polish provinces of Prussia are quiet.

The insurrection at Warsaw is said to have been provoked entirely by the severity with which the conscription has been pressed. Men are no longer taken by lot; they are now selected by the police from the most intelligent of the population of the cities. A razzia commenced in Warsaw on the night of the 14th instant, and some thousands of young men were seized—some of them married. If the object of the seizure had made his escape, his parents were made prisoners in his stead. Hence the outbreak; for, in despite of prudence, and of the remonstrances of all who retained their self-command, the people could endure no longer.

GREECE.—The question whether the Duke of Saxe-Coburg will or will not accept the throne of Greece, whether Greece will choose him, and whether the great Powers will acquiesce in the choice, are still undecided. The Duke's acceptance is said to hang on the consent of the Powers to certain terms now proposed by him, as formerly by his relative, Leopold King of the Belgians, and on the consent of his people to allow him to retain the nominal sovereignty of his Duchy, and appoint a Regent. The following letter explains the probable feeling of Greece:—

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir,—It is possible that some of your readers may imagine there is an insuperable obstacle to the elevation of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg to the Greek throne, in the resolve which the Greek people have so perseveringly manifested to accept no other than Prince Alfred for their King. Fearing lest such an impression might in some way or other prove unpropitious to that excellent dynastic prospect, I feel called upon to communicate to you the general opinion of the Greek mercantile community in England respecting it. We see in it the same advantage for our beloved country as that which an English King would have afforded her—namely, the friendship of England; for, although Duke Ernest is but the Sovereign of a small German principality, he is recommended to us by England; and he is so closely allied with her Royal family by ties of consanguinity, and so much cherished by the English people as the champion of constitutional liberty on the Continent, that we feel assured his election to the Greek throne would promote the same praiseworthy ends as those the Greek people had in view in offering the crown to Prince Alfred. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg is, moreover, the chief of that powerful dynastic connexion which stands at the head of the free Governments of Europe, and which promises to exercise in future on the fortunes of that Continent even a greater influence than it does at present; in fine, we discern in Duke Ernest the same noble character for which England honours the memory of his lamented brother, the late Prince Consort, and we discover in him the personal qualities and the auxiliary advantages which, in our opinion, the King of Greece ought to possess. The prospect of his election consoles us for the great disappointment the entire Greek nation has experienced in its hopes respecting Prince Alfred. That devoutly wished for consummation would be hailed by us as a great blessing from a beneficent Providence.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,

5, Copthall-court, Jan. 24. M. E. MAVROCORDATO.

It is said that Russia will object; considering the Duke as closely allied to the Royal family of England as the Duke of Leuchtenberg—excluded as a Romanoff—to her own. So far even as relationship is concerned this is not true; but further, Leuchtenberg has been expressly recognized by Russia as a member of the Imperial House, while the Duke of Saxe-Coburg holds no such position towards England.

The latest intelligence is that Prince of Leiningen has been proposed as a candidate for the Throne of Greece. His serene highness is a grandson of the late Duchess of Kent, who was first married to

Charles Louis, Prince of Leiningen. He is consequently related by the half blood to her Majesty the Queen, but in no way forms part of the royal family of England, and does not, therefore, fall under the exclusion of the protocol of 1830. His highness, who is a Protestant, is in his thirty-third year, and was married in 1838 to the Princess Maria of Baden. He is a post-captain in the British service, and commands the *Magicienue* on the Mediterranean Station.

Correspondence from Athens reports that the Assembly was still (16th) occupied with the verification of the elections.

THE EAST.

By the death of Said Pasha, Ismail, his nephew, the son of Ibrahim, succeeds to the Viceroyalty of Egypt. The new Prince has already received the Consular body—for in Egypt, which is nominally a dependency of the Porte, diplomatists must bear the title of Consuls, and in reply to their congratulations on his accession, has addressed to them a very remarkable speech. Not confining himself to the complimentary nothings suitable to the occasion, his Highness promises to establish order and economy in the finances; and to secure this end, declares that he will confine himself to a fixed civil list. His master, the Sultan, promised the same thing, but has not, we fear, strictly kept his word. On this reform hangs the power of the Viceroy to do all else that he has promised, and seems really anxious to perform: above all, to abolish the *corvées* or impressment of labourers on Government works, which have done so much to retard the advance of Egypt in civilization and prosperity. The administration of the Viceroys has already done wonders for their country, has developed its resources and furthered its progress until it has far surpassed the realm to which it is nominally subject; and if the present Pasha keeps his word, Egypt will rank as high, in another generation, as any non-Christian and non-Caucasian nation can ever hope to do, among civilized countries.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Jan. 28, 1863.

Our last report closed upon a dull, lifeless market, with no disposition on the part of the trade to buy, except for their immediate requirements, and no anxiety on the part of holders to sell beneath the quotations. Fair Dhollerahs are worth 17½d.

On Thursday we were still without animation, though prices were well maintained, the sales reaching 4000 bales.

On Friday, advices from New York to 12th inst. were to hand, reporting the failure of the Federals before Vicksburg, and their retreat after a severe handling by their opponents. At Galveston the Confederates had, by a sudden attack, repossessed themselves of the town, and sunk, captured, and put to flight the blockading fleet, adding one more to a list of naval victories, as brilliant as they were unexpected. The news did not affect our market, which remained very quiet, with a business of only 3000 bales; and Manchester, in sympathy with Liverpool, was dull and inanimate.

On Saturday the sales were 4000 bales without change. On Monday a little better feeling was apparent, and the sales reached 5000 bales at steady prices. In absence of any American or India news, both of which were quite due, on Tuesday business was very much restricted, and in Manchester a stagnant tone prevailed with no disposition on the part of buyers to operate. To-day the Asia's news are to hand. She reports a great advance in gold, which had reached the enormous premium of 48, and exchange was quoted 163. Particulars of M. Drouyn de Lhuys' recent despatch to the French Minister at Washington have been published to-day; it is regarded here as certain to share the same fate of its predecessors. The North on the one hand is in no mood to listen to friendly advice based on a disruption of the Union, while the South, according to its President's avowed will on consideration return to the Union, and it is impossible now to see after Lincoln's proclamation any ground, on which the North can meet to treat with those whose ruin and destruction they are endeavouring to accomplish.

The bank rate was to-day raised from 4 to 5 per cent. and fears are entertained that even this movement will not be sufficient to check the withdrawal of bullion from the bank, and that a further rise will be necessary before long.

Our market has accordingly been very flat, with sales of 3000 bales at ½ decline, and it seems probable we shall still droop for a little unless the India advices are very strong. We quote Fair Dhollerahs 17½d., and Middling Orleans 23½d. nominal.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, January 27.

Our yarn and cloth market still continues in that unsatisfactory state which we have described, during the past month, and if any change at all has taken place, it is for the worse, as the amount of purchases of either staple has been very insignificant.

Yarns, for export, are in little request, yet there is not the slightest disposition shown to give way in prices on the part of holders.

Home trade yarns are also little enquired for, consequent on the determination of many of the manufacturers who had resumed work lately, to close their mills again, as the price of yarn exceeded, in many instances, the price that could be obtained for the cloth made from it.

Cloths are still neglected, and very little business, if any, has been done in them during the week.

To-day our market has been excessively quiet, owing to the anticipated advance in the Bank rate to 5 per cent. at an early date, and to the non-arrival of the Asia (due on Sunday last), and the telegram from Bombay up to the 12th inst.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

PRESENT MANUFACTURING PROSPERITY OF THE NORTHERN STATES.

The following extract from a private letter pointedly illustrates what we have repeatedly shown to be the insuperable obstacle to the spontaneous cessation of the American war:—

I will not close without alluding to, perhaps, the strangest feature of the times, as relates to New England. I refer to the apparent material prosperity of the business and manufacturing community. I believe it to be false and hollow bridging over an abyss of irredeemable paper that threatens to swallow up everything, should the war continue much longer. In this town there has not been a failure of a mercantile firm for some two years, and it is believed that there has never been a time for ten years when so much money has been made. The Bank and savings' institutions are loaded down with deposits, and interest is lower than ever before known—or rather there is no desire to make loans, or to pay interest. Ship carpenters and builders are busily employed, and high wages are paid to all kinds of mechanics. Manufacturing companies are declaring unheard-of dividends. A cotton factory at Salem has declared a half-yearly dividend of 66 per cent.; another at Saeco, 50 per cent.; another at Lewiston, 45 per cent., payable in January. A rifle factory at Connecticut has been paying monthly dividends of 12½ per cent. for a long time, and our two lines of coast steamers from this port have already divided this year 35 and 37½ per cent., and I suppose another dividend of equal value is more than half-earned. The tax-gatherer has, as yet, hardly been seen, and can you wonder that the common people fail to see that the war is ruining both sections of the country, that we are accumulating a load of debt that can never be paid?

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, January 27.

It is generally expected that France will, before long, recognize the Confederate States of America. Without entering into details of negotiations, which are imperfectly known and variously reported, it will be sufficient to state that I believe there are good grounds for the report that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has addressed a joint despatch to Richmond and Washington, proposing terms, on the rejection of which by the North, the independent existence of the Southern Confederacy will be immediately recognized.

The semi-official papers have, one and all, given details of the plan proposed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, which must be received with great caution. They all, however, agree in stating that a kind of Congress, to be attended by the representatives of both belligerents, is its principal feature. As M. Drouyn de Lhuys' despatch will shortly be published in the *Moniteur*, it is useless to speculate on particulars which incomplete information, and a too lively imagination, have suggested to the confraternity of semi-official writers.

One fact I can assure you of, that it is the conviction of the Emperor himself, and more than one leading member of the Government, that the continuance of the war can lead to no issue. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in the despatches I sent you last week, has, indeed, intimated that the North had better give up as a bad job their attempt to reduce into subjection a country whose armies are constantly victorious, and whose improvised gunboats are able to destroy the elaborately got-up flotillas, which ought to give the North the command of the sea.

The constant defeats of the Yankees are greatly disheartening their friends in Paris. Even the *Debats*, which has disgraced itself by an apology of the Butler, the Yankee Jeffreys admits the doubtful character of the so-called victory of Murfreesboro'; and the *Moniteur* clearly shows it to have been a drawn battle. The Federal defeats at Vicksburg and Galveston have also produced a great impression, and, as a matter of course, contributed to the feeling that the intervention of the French Government portends the beginning of the end.

I direct your attention to the following passage in a

Paris letter in the *Independent Bells*, the importance of which, if correct, cannot be exaggerated:—

Mr. Dayton, United States' Minister in Paris, has been officially informed that proposals for the appointment of Commissioners from the two belligerent States in America, with a view to bring about a termination of hostilities, have been addressed to the Federal Government through M. Mercier.

On Sunday the Emperor distributed the insignia of the Legion of Honour to the manufacturers who distinguished themselves at the London Exhibition. The ceremony was splendid as a pageant, and the Emperor improved the opportunity by delivering a speech, which is by far the most important political manifesto that has been issued by the French Government since the establishment of the Second Empire. It has more than once remarked that the Emperor alone, in France, enjoyed the privilege of speaking freely, and he certainly amply availed himself of it on this occasion. How many papers have been warned for timidly venturing to hint the wholesome truths which the Emperor so broadly proclaimed! After congratulating the exhibitors on having at length succeeded in carrying into effect the long foretold invasion of England, His Majesty pointed out the superiority of England over France, and praised the real liberty, the absence of Government interference, the orderly discussion, the spirit of self control and self-reliance, which are the characteristics of our happy country. His Majesty held out hopes that France would soon be in a position to acquire for herself the blessings on which he so eloquently expatiated. I need hardly say that such a declaration, from such a quarter is highly important; but I may state that it is all the more appreciated from its being unexpected, and great curiosity prevails as to the measures the Emperor will take to carry out the liberal programme with which he has so agreeably surprised the nation. It would be an insult to the Emperor's intellect to suppose that he thinks a mere declaration in favour of liberty is sufficient to train his people to it, and therefore it is only reasonable to look forward to the abolition of arbitrary laws, and the adoption of those measures which alone can educate the people to freedom—trial by jury and the *Habeas Corpus*.

The insurrection in Poland, though far from unexpected, has created the most painful impression in Paris. The brutality of the conscription, arbitrary arrests, Siberia and an abuse of the knout, have driven the Poles to this act of despair—the people have been literally goaded to insurrection by the tyranny to which they were subjected—a policy equally cowardly and atrocious. There is no doubt that the insurrection will soon be put down, but the bloodshed has already been very great. Those who have fallen, however, are fortunate. Death by a musket-ball is preferable to death under the knout, or a life in a Russian dungeon. It is to be hoped that after this we shall not hear, for some time to come at least, of the sanctimonious professions of good will towards the "Christians" whom the Court of St. Petersburg thinks fit to consider oppressed under the easy and tolerant rule of the Porte.

It is asserted that a complete reconciliation has taken place between the Emperor and Prince Napoleon. At the ceremony of Sunday, His Imperial Highness was received with pointed courtesy both by His Majesty and the Empress, and it was generally remarked that the Prince took the Prince Imperial's hand to lead him out of the room at the close of the day's proceedings. This has given rise to many surmises as to the decline of clerical influence, as to the extent of which, you will remember, I cautioned you many weeks ago. In short, all the world believes that a great change is about to take place.

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

The following report of the speech of President Davis, delivered to the Mississippi Legislature on December the 26th, is taken by the Northern press from the *Jackson Mississippian*. It is evidently a very imperfect report.

After a complimentary allusion to Mississippi and her soldiers, the President spoke of his love for the old Union. He alluded to it, however, as a matter of regret that the best affections of his heart should have been bestowed upon an object so unworthy—that he should have loved so long a Government which was rotten to its very core. He had predicted from the beginning a fierce war, though it had assumed more gigantic proportions than he had calculated upon. He had predicted war, not because our right to secede was not an undoubted one, and clearly defined in the spirit of that declaration which rests the right to govern upon the consent of the governed; but the wickedness of the North would entail war upon the country. The present war, waged against the rights of a free people, was unjust, and the fruit of the evil passions of the North. In the progress of the war those evil passions have been brought out and developed; and so far from remitting with such a people—a people whose ancestors Cromwell had gathered from the bogs and fens of Ireland and Scotland—a people whose intolerance produced discord and trouble wherever

they went; who persecuted Catholics, Episcopalians, and every other sect that did not subscribe to their bigoted and contracted notions, who burnt witches, and did a thousand other things calculated to make them for ever infamous. The President was emphatic in his declaration that under no circumstances would he consent to reunion. He drew a glowing picture of the horrors of war and the ravages of the enemy, and while tears flowed for those who suffered, yet all these would be endured cheerfully before our manhood and our liberties would be surrendered. He alluded briefly to his desire to transfer the war upon Northern soil, but the failure to do this proceeded not from a want of inclination, but of power. We were not an old-established nation, with armies and navies at our command. These had to be improvised from the scanty materials to be found within the limits of our own Confederacy. We were blockaded and cut off from other nations, and everybody knows that we had been an agricultural people, and that our facilities for manufacturing materials of war were extremely limited. Notwithstanding this fact, patent to the most casual observer, we had now an army larger than ever before, our arms and munitions of war were increased in number and improved in quality, and we are in a better condition to-day than we were twelve months ago. The conscription and exemption laws were then touched upon, and the necessity of the one and the intention of the other explained. He thought there might properly be a revision of the latter, and trusted there would be no conflict between Confederate and State laws on the subject of the military. The President expressed his gratification at the Message of Governor Pettus, and cordially endorsed his views in reference to making provision for indigent families and the enrolment of exempts, who could be ready upon an emergency to go forth and occupy the trenches, while the disciplined and active soldiery could take the field. The calls for such service could be for 30, 60, or 90 days; and when the emergency had passed they could return to their pursuits. Raw soldiers, the President contended, could do efficient service in the trenches, and the adoption of such a policy would strengthen our means of defence quite materially. In his allusion to the vast numbers of the North the President said that upon any fair field we were willing to fight them two to one; we had often whipped them three to one; at Antietam, General Lee whipped them four to one. But this might not be the case always. As the enemy progressed in discipline they approached nearer to our own troops in efficiency, hence the necessity of providing something like a corresponding force to that which the enemy are bringing against us. The President denounced in terms of seathing but dignified rebuke the habit of straggling from the army. He invoked public opinion to frown it down, and called upon the women to drive the stragglers back to duty. He urged the necessity of filling up the thinned ranks of our regiments. Those veterans who had gone through many hard-fought battles looked for their kindred at home to supply the places which had been made vacant by the deaths of their comrades. A brigade which mustered only 1200 men would have to bleed as much as if it had its full quota of 4000. Their ranks must be filled—humanity demands it. It was a time for patriots to throw off the shackles of private interest, fly to the rescue of those heroes whom the ravages of war had yet spared, and consecrate themselves to the most sacred cause on earth. The President remarked that when he arrived here he thought the enemy were pressing down upon us from the northern borders of our State; but when he went to Grenada he there learned that nothing could be seen of them but their backs. They were going back, perhaps, with the intention of reinforcing the heavy column that was now being thrown down the Mississippi River. The real points of attack were at Vicksburg and Port Hudson; and to all who desired to lend a helping hand to the country in her present exigency he would say, "Go to Port Hudson and Vicksburg without delay." He spoke of the salutary effects of harmonious action between the several States and the Government at Richmond, and urged upon the Legislatures, both State and Confederate, the necessity of establishing a permanent military system; for even after the present war was ended we might expect trouble from our enemies unless our military establishment was of such a character as to give them a wholesome fear of precipitating a war upon us. The true theory was to adopt a military system which would be permanent and operative in times of peace. The issue involved in this war was no ordinary one. The question is, will you be free, or will you be the slaves of the most depraved and intolerant and tyrannical and hated people on earth? This was the real question to be decided. Everything else was as dust in the balance. A people who have demonstrated their utter incapacity for self-government, who have destroyed their own liberties in the vain effort to deprive us of ours, seek to be our masters, and inflict upon us such galling chains as have no parallel in the annals of tyranny. Mississippi is the object of their peculiar hatred; upon her is to be visited their refined vengeance. But our cause is just, and vengeance belongs to the Lord. We will resist the power of the enemy. Discard all other considerations but the public defence, and victory will again be ours. The President alluded very briefly to the falsehoods which had been circulated relative to the Administration, which he could not disprove, because such disproof would give the enemy a knowledge of things which the good of the cause required to be concealed from him. That he had committed some errors he did not doubt, though they were never the result of improper motives. For a vindication of himself from the aspersions of some of his fellow-citizens he confidently awaited the time when the cause would not suffer from

such vindication. He, however, explained the great necessity of public confidence in the officers of the Government, and pointed to that great and good man, General Albert Sydney Johnston, as a shining example of the ill effects of withholding that deserved confidence which the public welfare required. Though the war had somewhat exceeded his expectations, yet he never doubted our final success, and he considered it now as absolutely certain. The duration of the war was a question of time. He thought, however, it was not possible for a war waged upon such a tremendous scale to be protracted. Be it long or short, however, we could not be the first to cry, "Hold, enough." The President paid a deserving tribute to Vicksburg. That noble little city had withstood the shock of the combined fleets of the enemy after the great cities of New Orleans and Memphis had succumbed to their supposed invincibility. The heroic women of Vicksburg had cried out, "Give the enemy the soil if it cannot be defended, but let him have nothing else." The Governor left his chair and repaired to the scene of danger, and refused to listen to any advice except of defiance to the concentrated power of the enemy. We are better prepared at Vicksburg now than then. Our defences are greatly improved and strengthened; our armaments are much improved; we have better armies and the gallant soldier General Johnson is pouring in reinforcements. He comes to Mississippi to protect and defend her. (Immense applause.) To the question of recognition and intervention, the President devoted only a few words. We had a right to expect recognition long since, but it had not come, and his advice was, "Put not your faith in princes, nor rest your hopes upon foreign nations." It seemed that England still refused to take any steps towards either recognition or mediation. France had made a move that looked friendly to us, and when she extended the hand of friendship we would be ready to grasp it. The President took a brief retrospective view of the movements of our armies since the fall of New Orleans—an event as unexpected to him as it was to us—and showed that we had not retrograded, but had gathered largely in strength. Armies are not made up in numbers only. We have now an army that we can safely rely on. We have stripped gunboats of their terrors. We have improved in all those things which go to make us invincible. Our prospects are much better than they were twelve months ago. There are two grand objects of the enemy—first, to get possession of the river, and thus cut our Confederacy in two; and, secondly, to seize the Confederate capital, and hold it up to foreign nations as an evidence that the Confederacy does not exist. The President dwelt at some length upon the vast importance of thwarting the enemy's designs upon this valley. He considered its defence a necessity, not only to the people here, but to the Confederacy itself. Vicksburg and Port Hudson were points that must be defended, and every effort must be strained for this purpose. Vicksburg, he said, would stand, and Port Hudson would stand, if the people were true to themselves. This done, the North-west would grow restive, and cease to support a war ruinous to them and beneficial only to New England contractors. From the North-west he looked for the first gleams of peace. Although his duties required his presence elsewhere, yet, when he heard of the sufferings of his own State, and her danger of subjugation by a Vandal foe, his feelings dragged him to her soil. He goes back with a lighter heart. He finds none of that depression which was reported. At Grenada he found the army sorry that the enemy had gone back. At Vicksburg they were ready and eager for the fray. Depression existed only among that class of men who were constitutional grumblers and fault-finders. He goes back cheered, but still anxious, for his heart is here. His attachment to the State has risen since the war began, and he can see dangers, though he believes the greatest have passed. On the other side of the river our prospects are brighter than ever before and before long he hoped that he would be enabled to proclaim Missouri free. Kentucky, too, was an object of solicitude to him, and he spoke of her gallant people in the kindest and most commendable terms. The President laid particular stress upon the encouraging fact that we had improved in every respect since the war began. Our armies were superior in number, and improved in quality and appointments. Our manufactories had made rapid progress; Mississippi alone had clothed and subsisted the whole army upon her soil. Our people had learned to economise. They were homespun. He felt like taking off his hat to a woman dressed in homespun. He had an unflinching belief in the justice of our cause, and a profound reverence for the decrees of Heaven. He noticed with evident satisfaction the superior morality of our army to that of the invader. In God and the valour of our troops he trusted. After the cheering had subsided General Joseph E. Johnston was vociferously called for. The scar-worn hero looked a little nervous, while the house rang with loud, swelling and prolonged applause. He rose and said:—"Fellow-citizens,—My only regret is that I have done so little to merit such a greeting. I promise you, however, that hereafter I shall be watchful, energetic, and indefatigable in your defence." This speech was greeted with tremendous, uproarious, and prolonged plaudits.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

On the 22nd inst., Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope delivered a lecture at Maidstone upon the above subject, of which the following report gives the principal passages *in extenso*:—

Mr. Beresford Hope commenced his address by a reference

to the position of affairs in America at the time he last lectured on the subject at that place.

The disaster of Fort Donelson, and the capture of Roanoke Island, had just occurred. The Northern gunboats had command of the rivers, and the Northern arms seemed to be in the ascendant. Yet even at that moment of gloom I dared to auspicate success to the South; for in spite of all these adverse circumstances, in spite of all the disasters that were gathering round the Southern cause on every side, there was one thing that had not left the South—there was one thing they had never showed any desire to abandon, and that was

“The equal tenour
Of heroic hearts, made weak by time and fate,
But strong in will to strive, to seek, to find,
And not to yield.”

With that godlike quality I felt that success must sooner or later attend their arms. (Cheers.) Many came in as sympathizers with the South after Bull's Run; many more came in and sympathized with the South after the Trent affair; and many others only expressed their sympathy with the Southern cause after the series of victories which drove McClellan from four miles before Richmond; for it is not generally known that McClellan was once within four miles of Richmond, that the booming of his guns was heard by the firesides of that city, and that the glitter of the steeples of Richmond was seen from McClellan's camp. I was a Southerner before all this, and I glory in saying that I am a Southerner now, when the common sense, the sympathy, and the instincts of my countrymen have come round to the same side. (Cheers and expressions of disapprobation.)

After quoting a paragraph from the *Times* “leader,” to the effect that as the cause of Italy against Austria was the cause of free dom, so also was the cause of the South, Mr. Hope continued:—

I re-echo that sentiment, and I call upon you to back me when I change this tacit opinion into the open proclamation that the cause of the South is the cause of freedom, the cause of English feeling, the cause of constitutional government over the world. (Cheers and dissension.) I say that, hating slavery from my heart as I do, if we look at that Italian struggle in which we all sympathized, and in the success of which we all felt glad, we must confess that the end was sometimes allowed to justify the means. There was something occasionally of what is politely called “diplomacy”—(a laugh)—there was sometimes two meanings given to the same document—there was, in short, a good deal of “management.” (A laugh.) We allowed that to pass over, and we still gave our sympathies to the cause of Italy, because we felt that the grand old Italian nation, to which the world owed centuries of debt, ought to be, and should be, an united realm. (Cheers.) And if we made that allowance for Italy, shall we not make an equal allowance for those of our own flesh and blood, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, who are trying to make a new England on the coasts of the Atlantic and the Mexican Gulf? (Cheers.) We are all of us hero-worshippers; the names of those who have carried out any great cause are wound round our hearts; and when this living age of ours—this second half of the 19th century—comes to tot up the bead-roll of its greatest men—those whose burning patriotism combined with calm statesmanship made them the fathers of a country struggling into new life—by the side of Cavour will blaze in history with equal glory the name of Jefferson Davis—(cheers and dissent)—that man of a British descent, of a British name, who speaks and writes so nobly the British language. Heroes will go with heroes—Davis with Cavour, and Stonewall Jackson with Garibaldi. (Loud cheers.) The statesmen are matched, the daring heroes in extremity are matched; but when Italy wanted a commander-in-chief of her great armies, when she wanted an organizing mind to bring her serried phalanxes into the field, she was obliged to borrow Napoleon and his French Marshals. But the Southern States have their own Lee, their own great general, reared on the own soil, and fitted to command his thousands on the tented field. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hope claimed prophetic credit for having in his last lecture, six weeks before the fall of New Orleans, picked out General Butler as a type of the pro-consuls which the North would employ to dominate over any Southern territory they might conquer. He had had his eye on the fellow, who he saw was unscrupulous and fouled-mouthed beyond his colleagues and he had an instinctive feeling that he would be the man whom President Lincoln would send to govern the first city he might take. That man had now left New Orleans, branded as a felon in one of the most tremendous proclamations that any ruler of a great nation had ever issued—the proclamation of President Davis ordering any officer who might capture him to hang him forthwith. (A voice—“And serve him right.”) If he should terminate his life at a rope's end, civilized Europe would applaud the deed. (Cheers.) With regard to Butler's officers, he thought it was a pity they were included in the proclamation, though he explained that it did not, as some supposed, mean that all officers captured should be forthwith shot or hanged; it only meant that they should not be paroled, but kept in close confinement, and their case reserved for the decision of the President himself, all whose antecedents would lead them to suppose that he would remit the extreme punishment.

I have been a good deal criticised (continued Mr. Hope) for having in my former lecture applied to President Lincoln the terms “rail-splitter, bargee, and attorney.” Nobody denied that he was all three, but it was thought not to be a civil way of describing a gentleman in his position. I appeal to you whether Lincoln's antecedents and his subsequent acts have not fully justified that plain language. People have said, “Look at his election.” I say, “Look at the fact that when every man who was not grovelling in the mire of political intrigue saw that a fearful crisis was impending over America, the Republican leaders, merely for party purposes, and to snatch a victory, pleased to make such a man as Lincoln their candidate, and to elect him as the ruler of thirty millions of people—look at it, and say if it is not as hideous a spectacle as history presents.” You may say, “It is the wire-pullers who ought to be condemned, but poor innocent Lincoln, what had he to do with it?” If he had been a mere rail-splitter, or a mere bargee, some excuse might have been found for him, but he was an attorney also; and, as an attorney, a member of the Illinois Legislature, and a former member of the United States

Congress (where he acquired the unenviable reputation of a standing buffoon, and the citer of indecent stories whenever he could get a few members together to listen to him), he had just a sufficient glimmering of public matters to make his acceptance of the Presidency an offence of the blackest die—an offence which Heaven may pardon, but which is unforgivable upon earth. Look at all history—what are the names which you find most branded with infamy and scorn? They are those of unworthy sovereigns, who in great crises of their country's fate have shown themselves weak and incompetent—Sardanapalus, Belshazzar, Rehoboam, the Merovingian kings, the descendants of Charlemagne, and, in modern times, the ex-King of Naples. Yet these men were put into the position they occupied without their own personal fault—they merely found themselves there because their fathers were there before them. But what can be said of one who has not this excuse—of one who, like President Lincoln, allowed himself to be made the tool of a party for the ruin of his country? History will do him justice. (Hear, hear.) Yes, I repeat, history will do him justice by describing him as a man who, without any positive personal crime that could be brought home to him, had done as much mischief, had violated as much law, had tampered with as much justice, had trampled upon as much of everything that was sacred and dear to humankind, as any man in history has ever done in the world before. (Loud cheers, and partial dissent.) Talleyrand said that a blunder was worse than a crime, Abraham Lincoln is a man all whose blunders are crimes, and all whose crimes are blunders. (Cheers.)

In illustration of Mr. Lincoln's character, and of the unworthy means by which he had been thrust forward to the first place, Mr. Hope related (on the authority of a friend, to whom it had been told by Mr. Douglas) that when, in 1858, Lincoln and Douglas “stumped” the State of Illinois as opposition candidates for the position of senator, the former acquired great reputation throughout the country for the speeches purporting to have been delivered by him as they appeared in the New York papers. It afterwards turned out that the knot of politicians who had put up Lincoln sent with him a staff, not simply of reporters, but of editors also, who converted the jargon of Mr. Lincoln into clever and readable speeches. Declaring his thorough hatred of slavery, in common with all other Englishmen, Mr. Hope next commented upon President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation:—

It is, indeed, a noble document! It actually emancipates all the slaves where the United States has no authority. In all the Border States, and in those portions of the Confederate territory where the Federal army dominates, it keeps them in their bondage! (Hear, hear.) I want to see the blacks free as much as any man in this room. But I want to see them two or three other things besides free. I want to see them prosper, I want to see them with their bellies full, I want to see them educated and Christianised, and I want to see them earning a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. President Lincoln issues this proclamation from no abstract love of the blacks—nothing of the kind. In one of his 1858 speeches—though, after the story I have told, it can hardly be considered his—but in one of the addresses of which he was professionally the mouthpiece and which he has never disowned, he is made to say, speaking of the blacks—“Make them politically and socially our equals! My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we know that those of the great mass of the white people would not.” I question whether he could ever have composed three lines of such good English, but it must be taken as an expression of his opinion. To come back to his proclamation, supposing the slaves were to be at once set free, it would only be setting them free as against their employers, as against their means of gaining a livelihood, as against their abiding residents where they are. It provides no emigration, no future home; it turns them out to starve in the ditch or to live upon the plunder and rapine of their employers. Those people in England who have tried to bolster up this hideous outburst of weak yet demoniacal spite have attempted to drive its denouncers into a corner by this kind of argument—“Either it is ineffective, and why do you make a row about it? or it is effective and will set the blacks free, which is what you want.” I accept that dilemma. I say the proclamation will not tell up and down in the great bulk of the Southern Confederacy—it will tell in those places where from the nature of things the blacks are least attached to their masters, are the most worthless, and the most dangerous. Over the length and breadth of the Confederate States it will be ineffective enough to cover Lincoln and his advisers with ridicule; but at such places as New Orleans, where slavery assumes its worst form, it will be mischievous and fiendish enough to stamp it as the most unparalleled last card ever played by a reckless gambler. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hope, as a proof of the growing desire in the South to ameliorate the condition of the blacks, quoted the following paragraph from a pastoral recently published by the Bishops of the Confederate Episcopal Church, a communion which, in its forms and ordinances, closely corresponded with our own Established Church, and which, though not quite so numerous as one or two other denominations, might yet be taken as a fair exponent of the educated and influential classes. After a reference to recent events, and to their seclusion from the outer world, the pastoral proceeds:—

The religious instruction of the negro has been thrust on us in such a wonderful manner, that we must be blind not to perceive that not only our spiritual, but our national life, is wrapt up in their welfare. With them we stand or fall, and God will not permit us to be separated in interest or fortune. The time has come when the Church should press more urgently than it has hitherto done on the laity the solemn fact that the slaves of the South are not merely so much property, but are a sacred trust committed to us, as a people, to be prepared for [the work which] God may have for them to do in the future. While under this tutelage, He freely gives to us their labour, but we are expected to give back to them that religious and moral instruction which is to elevate them in the scale of being. The laity must set an example of readiness to do their duty, and the clergy must strip themselves of pride, fastidiousness, and indolence. It is likewise a duty of the Church to press on masters their obligation, as Christian men, so to arrange this “institution” as not to necessitate the violation of those sacred relations which God has created, and which man cannot, consistently with his Christian duty, annul. The systems of labour prevailing in Europe, which

are in many respects more severe than ours, are so arranged as to prevent all necessity for the separation of parent and child, or of husband and wife, and a very little care on our part would rid the system, on which we are about to plant our national life, of these unchristian features. We rejoice to be able to say that public sentiment is rapidly becoming sound on this subject, and that the Legislatures of several of the Confederate States have already taken steps towards their consummation.

Were the American Abolitionists, asked Mr. Hope, prepared to give the slaves every political, as well as every social, privilege—the right to vote, to be Governor of a State (as might happen where the blacks outnumbered the whites), or even to be President?—

Believing, as I most thoroughly do, in the unity of the human race, I recognize, as a matter of common sense, that by the misfortunes of unnumbered centuries, there are races which are inferior in knowledge, in acquirements, in wisdom, and in strength of mind to others. I see the Anglo-Saxon race standing, it may be, first amongst the nations of the world; I see the negro standing, it may be, last; and while I wish to knock the fetters off his arm, I dare in the face of philanthropy to deprecate before High Heaven the subjecting of millions of Anglo-Saxons to the denomination of the newly-freed negro. (Cheers.) Anything more loathsome, more unnatural than this, it is impossible to conceive. The negroes in America, whatever they may be, are at least more educated than the negroes of Africa. The slave trade is utterly unjustifiable, and the middle-passage is damnable; but the result is that the blacks are more civilized in America than in Africa. The question is, are they so civilized as to be fit for emancipation now? I say—No; and in the name of all that is sacred, in the name of all that is rational, do I implore you to leave that to another generation. (Cheers and dissent.)

Even if they were at once freed, the negroes would be deficient in many of the essentials that went to make up a nation:—

What makes a nation? It is not the acquirements of a single generation, but it is the long accumulation of acquisitions and of education that go back from century to century. What is it that makes Europe what it is? It is the learning of four thousand years: Assyria shaking hands with Egypt, Egypt shaking hands with Greece, Greece handing on the lamp to Rome, the Jewish and Christian dispensations spreading over the world, the Northern nations flowing in to be absorbed in the great focus of enlightenment spreading over the world. The first words we hear, the first books we read, the casual talk about us, the venerable monuments of antiquity, the solemn ceremonies of our law courts, the forms of our Legislature, the casual phrases of society, the hallowed pages of the Bible we read at our mother's knee—all these things, growing from generation to generation, make a national mind. The African race has not had the education of centuries—they have not been to school from time out of mind—they are yet children utterly ignorant. And when this ignorance is combined with barbarous and impure rites, such as we find in Africa, and a certain inability to attain European civilization; then I say, in the name of all that is prudent, beware that you place not the white man under the black man's heel. (Cheers.) The emancipation of our West Indian slaves was a noble and a Christian act; but I have never seen one unqualified approbation of the way in which we freed the blacks—every writer has his criticism upon it. Yet that was precaution and precaution multiplied tenfold, compared with President Lincoln's edict pronouncing immediate and indiscriminate emancipation, for political reasons, in the Southern States. I repeat my conviction that if the folly of the Northern Abolitionists, if the wickedness of Lincoln does not work against it, I look upon this uprising of the Southern States as God's appointed means of elevating the black man in the social scale, and to posterity I confide, faithfully and hopefully, their long-protracted but certain regeneration. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hope then entered into an explanation of the sovereignty of State rights as contended for by the South, and which was now advocated by the Northern Democrats, though he might say, in passing, that he had no sympathy with the Democrats of the North. They had long made the South their catspaw, and now only wished to get them back into the Union again for their own glorification. He expressed his opinion that the North American continent would be divided into five or even seven States, including British Canada, which Mr. Bright wished to see, to judge from what he said the other day, swallowed up in a huge American republic, which should stretch not only from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but whose shores should be washed by the Northern as well as by the Southern ocean. For his own part, he believed the principle of federation, if it held on for another generation at all, which he doubted, had a better chance of doing so in the South than in the North. The question was of great importance for England. They all hoped and believed that the great Anglo-Saxon race would dominate over the world. But that race must have a head somewhere. Was it desirable that that head should be the Northern Yankees, the Confederates of the South, or old constitutional England? (Hear.) He wished all good to America, but he wished more good to the Anglo-Saxon race, which he was sure would not be benefited by all its branches being domineered over and trampled upon by New York and Boston. He contended that the planters of the South were much more English than the settlers in the North, with its great admixture, particularly of late, of the extreme revolutionary refugees from the Continent of Europe. The Confederates were the English of the 18th century—the English such as described by Fielding, and Smollett, and Goldsmith.

Why, then (he asked), should we be so chary of accepting them as friends? Real political alliances are not so common in the world that we can afford to play pitch and toss with them. I have no romantic ideas about national gratitude; but still there may be such a thing as, if not making a friend, at least of blotting out an enemy. We know, though we pretend to disguise it, that the United States always hated us. They may have had many commercial reasons for pulling well with us, but by taking the Confederate States by the hand we shall, in at least half of that territory, obliterate the memory of many fancied wrongs which have rankled in the American

breast since the War of Independence. Is this a thing to be neglected? I do not criticise what the Government heretofore have done. I do not say they were not right in being butter-fingered, and letting mediation slip through their hands. They may in this have been right; but he who runs may read, and no one can fail to see that the time *must* come when the Confederate States will be recognized. (Cheers and dissent.) And we must see that it would be a good thing for our own self-respect, and for the world in general, that that recognition should first come from their own brethren on this side of the Atlantic. (Cheers and dissent.) We do not, I hope, want to aggrandise Napoleon particularly—we do not want to make him the dispenser of blessings to all quarters of the world. His proposal for mediation the other day was declined by the English Government, and I can see great difficulty in the way of mediation, unless there is some basis arranged beforehand. If you were called in to mediate between two parties, one of whom asserts that his opponent is not an equal but a contemptuous servant, it would be very difficult to act upon that basis. So in this case of the American disruption. There are a great many things to be settled first, before (fictitious) mediation can take place. But though many points may be doubtful, many points difficult of settlement, there is one thing that is *not* doubtful, one thing that is *not* difficult—one thing that is the voice of nature, and the history of the last twenty months calls for, and that is, the duty on the part of England, on the part of Europe, to make a speedy recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the great Confederate nation. They have passed the Red Sea—(concluded Mr. Hope, with great emphasis)—let us help them to reach the Promised Land. (Great cheering.)

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

The Times, January 15.

It would seem that in the interval which has elapsed between the battle of Fredericksburg and the commencement of the new year, the advocates of more conciliatory and more violent counsels have fairly fought their battle out, and that victory has declared in favour of the latter. Mr. Lincoln has finally adhered to the policy from which he showed at one moment some inclination to draw back. He has kept his promise to the very letter; he has declared the negroes in the States now at open war with the North free, except within certain districts occupied by the Federal forces, and has pledged the Government of the United States to recognize and support the freedom so granted by their naval and military force. From this Proclamation, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maryland, are exempt; so that it would seem to be the policy of the President to interpose an isthmus of slavery between the two masses of Free States which are to extend to the North and South of it. Pronounced under other circumstances, by another person, and at another time, such a Proclamation might well excite once more the enthusiasm which penetrated the whole mind of England in the days of Wilberforce and Clarkson. We should most unfeignedly rejoice were the words to which the President has given utterance capable of carrying with them their own fulfilment. To slavery we have ever entertained the most rooted aversion. Not all the valour, not all the success of the South, has ever blinded us to this black spot on their fair escutcheon. But even tainted as they are with this foul stain they have commanded our admiration and our sympathy from the gallantry with which they have maintained their cause, and from the obvious truth that the struggle was for separation on the one part and compulsory retention on the other, the emancipation or continued slavery of the negro being only used as means to forward the ends of the North. While it was supposed that the South could be brought back by giving every security for the continuance of slavery, the North never dreamt of emancipation. When it was found that no such conciliation was merely a means of raising up a domestic enemy against the possible, the North, as a weapon of war, and not as a concession to principle, has finally decided on emancipation. That this measure is no homage to principle or conviction, but Southerners in the midst of the Southern States, is abundantly proved from the fact that slavery, so odious in Alabama, is tolerated in Kentucky. Its abolition is a punishment to rebels; its retention is a reward to patriots; it is not the accused thing to be rooted out at all hazards. Its abolition is the punishment of rebellion; its retention is the reward of adherence to the Union.

Still, though there is little homage to principle in the President's Proclamation, any attempt on the part of the American Government, however tardily, reluctantly, and partially made, to emancipate any portion of the negro race, must have an effect on the opinion of mankind, and tend to what we have never doubted would in some way or other be the final result of this war, the abolition of slavery. But our exultation is by no means without misgivings. The President has proclaimed freedom, but he is without power to enforce his Proclamation. Except in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, where General Butler has already done all that is possible to create a servile war, the President of the United States has no power to enforce his Proclamation. If the blacks are to obtain the freedom he promises them, it must be by their own hands. They must rise upon a more numerous, more intelligent, better armed, and braver community of whites, and exterminate them, their wives, and children, by fire and sword. The President of the United States may summon them to this act, but he is powerless to assist them in its execution. Nay, this is the very reason why they are summoned. The armies of the South have gained a clear superiority over the armies of the North, and it is to redress this balance that the negro, burning, ravishing, massacring, and destroying, is summoned to the conflict. If these things are not done at all, there will be, for the present at least, no emancipation; if they are done, they will provoke retaliatory action, which is but too likely to end in the extermination of their perpetrators. In neither case has the friend of humanity any cause to rejoice. It must also be remembered that this act of the President, if it purposed to strike off the fetters of one race, is a flagrant attack on the liberties of another. The attempt to free the blacks is a flagrant attack on the liberties of the whites. Nothing can be more unconstitutional, more illegal, more entirely subversive of the compact on which the American Confederacy rests, than the claim set up by the President to interfere with the laws of individual States by his Proclamation, unless indeed it be the attempt of Congress to dismember the ancient State of Virginia, and create a new State upon its ruins. It is preposterous to say that war gives these powers; they are the purest usurpation and, though now used against the enemies of the Union, are full of evil presage for the liberties of the States that still

adhere to it. It is true that the President advises the negroes to abstain from all violence except in self-defence, and to labour for reasonable wages. But the President well knows that not a slaveholder in the South will obey his Proclamation, that it can only be enforced by violence, and that if the negroes obtain freedom it will be by the utter destruction of their masters. In such a state of society to speak of wages—that is, of a contract between master and servant—is a cruel mockery. In the South the negro can only exist apart from his master by a return to the savage state—a state in which, amid blood and anarchy and desolation, he may frequently regret the fetters he has broken, and even the master whom he has destroyed. He cannot hope for a better situation than that of his race in the North—a situation of degradation, humiliation, and destitution which leaves the slave very little to envy. Mr. Lincoln bases his act on military necessity, and invokes the considerate judgment of mankind and the judgment of Almighty God. He has characterized his own act; mankind will be slow to believe that an act avowedly the result of military considerations has been dictated by a sincere desire for the benefit of those who, under the semblance of emancipation, are thus marked out for destruction, and He who made man His own image can scarcely, we may presume to think, look with approbation on a measure which, under the pretence of emancipation, intends to reduce the South to the frightful condition of St. Domingo.

In the meanwhile the President, who is thus lavish of the lives and fortunes of blacks and whites, seems to find no release from the ill-success which for the last eight months has so unremittently pursued his arms. Affairs in the South-west are assuming an aspect more and more serious every day. The operation which we anticipated a few days ago—that of a movement by the Confederates at Fredericksburg on the right flank of the Federal forces—has taken place, and the indefatigable General Stuart has seized on the telegraph, and intercepted valuable information by that means from the War Department at Washington. A desperate battle has taken place between the two armies in Tennessee, the account of which bears a very ominous resemblance to a Federal defeat. The Federals have been repulsed in several attacks on the fortress of Vicksburg, on the Mississippi. Surely these things should be enough to make the President reflect on the desperate course he is pursuing. In the midst of violent party divisions, in ostentatious contempt of the Constitution, with the most signal ill-success in war, he is persisting in the attempt to conquer a nation, to escape whose victorious arms is the only triumph which his generals seem capable of gaining. Every consideration of patriotism and policy calls upon him to put an end to the hopeless contest, but he considers the ruin is not deep enough nor the bloodshed plentiful enough, and so he calls to his aid the execrable expedient of a servile insurrection. Egypt is destroyed, but his heart is hardened, and he will not let the people go.

THE NEW YEAR'S DISASTERS OF THE FEDERALS.

(From the Sun.)

Gloomily as the old year closed for the Federals—still more gloomily for them is the new year opening. An enumeration of the principal events marking the turn of the twelvemonths will, better than any syllable of comment, indicate the fortunes of war between the fratricidal belligerents. Our intelligence, last arrived, brings the narrative of those events down to the 12th of this present month of January. And from the momentary flashes of the telegram we learn the nature of the very latest of the salient incidents—further particulars in regard to which will come to us a little later on. As to the occurrences at Murfreesboro, we now know for certain that on the last day of this last year the Federals met with a signal discomfiture at the hands of General Bragg; and if the victors withdrew afterwards (as they did) during the night of the 3rd instant, they did so distinctly as victors! Carrying away with them all the stores, and, together with the stores, 4000 prisoners, 5000 stand of arms, and 25 guns, as evidences of their success. Instead of retreating into Alabama, however, as it was first conjectured they would, the Confederate force under Bragg appear to have established themselves on the Duck River (a tributary of the Tennessee), at a point some score of miles to the south-west of Murfreesboro. Shelbyville, in fact, is understood to be the exact scene of the Confederate general's whereabouts.

Beyond this partial advantage to the Confederates—the safe withdrawal of all the stores and all the trophies of the 31st December from Murfreesboro—what are *not* the successes they have won, not partially or in any way questionable, elsewhere? The Federals have been beaten back unmistakably from Vicksburg. The Confederates have simultaneously achieved a victory by sea and by land at Texas. The Southern triumph in Mississippi is unmistakable. And, as we have just seen, the opponent of General Bragg has been completely outwitted and out-maneuvred in Tennessee. As to the double advantage gained in the Gulf of Texas, an advantage both ashore and afloat, that is, of all the events recently brought to light, incomparably the most important in its significance. That the Federals could have been so entirely “put down” at sea by the Confederates was hardly a thing to be looked for. Yet the facts related are beyond all dispute. They demonstrate an advantage on the Southern side of the most signal character. Five Confederate steamers, unexpectedly dropping down the river, seize upon what is familiarly known as the Gate of the Gulf State of Texas—while effecting this result, by a *coup de main*, conveying destruction to the Federal gunboat squadron, or scattering the remnants of it in flight. In demonstration of the unmistakable completeness of the victory achieved, there remains in the possession of the Confederates, when all is over, a war ship as famous, in her way, and hitherto, apparently, far more seaworthy, than the renowned but unfortunate Monitor—which sank, it may be remembered, very recently at a sudden puff, or what sailors call half a gale of wind, off Cape Hatteras. Harriet Lane is the vessel just captured from the Federals by the Confederates. And the Harriet Lane will probably, in giving an account of herself, in the hereafter under her changed colours, say ditto, so to speak, to the Alabama! There she remains, however, in the possession of the Confederates. There, in their possession too, south of Baton Rouge, is the reclaimed city of Galveston. The Federal flagship lies wrecked off shore in deep water—her larger fragments sunk to the bottom after an explosion as destructive, in its way (though upon a smaller scale), as that of the *Porpoise*. The remnants of the Northern fleet found safety only, it would seem, in flight to New Orleans. All this maritime success on the side of the Confederates being attributable to the dashing on-laught of their five audacious war steamers armed with guns worked among ramparts of cotton bales. The triumphs won by the South in effect have proved in these last instances to be as various as they are, we repeat, beyond all dispute.

THE DOCTRINE OF RECOGNITION.

(To the Editor of the Times.)

Sir,—Your correspondent “Historicus” appears to suppose that I was ignorant of the fact that *two* treaties were concluded between France and the United States of America on the 6th of February, 1778—the one being a treaty of commerce, and the other a treaty of eventual alliance. But the very passage I quoted from *Wheaton* implies this fact, when he says, “It may be doubted whether the treaty of commerce, or even the eventual alliance between France and the United States, could have furnished any just ground for a declaration of war against France by the British Government.” I am perfectly aware that the two treaties were signed on the same day, and in writing I had them both before me in *Flassan*.

The note addressed by the Marquis de Noailles to the Court of London on the 13th of March, 1778, was not in friendly terms, nor was it confined to a simple notification of the conclusion of a treaty of commerce. It began in these words:—

“Les Etats Unis de l’Amérique Septentrionale, qui sont en pleine possession de l’indépendance prononcée par leur acte du 4 de Juillet, 1776, ayant fait proposer au Roi de consolider par une convention formelle les liaisons qui ont commencé entre les deux nations,” &c.

And it ended by announcing that the King of France,—

“Etant déterminé à protéger efficacement la liberté légitime du commerce de ses sujets, et de soutenir l’honneur de son pavillon, Sa Majesté a pris en conséquence des mesures effectives de concert avec les Etats Unis de l’Amérique Septentrionale.”

It appears, therefore, that France considered the “fall possession of independence” a sufficient ground of recognition, although Great Britain had certainly not desisted from the contest.

It appears also that, in the note addressed to the British Government, the French Ambassador distinctly referred to the “eventual measures” (evidently of a warlike character) already taken in concert with the United States. In the message of the King to Parliament (March 17), the withdrawal of the King’s Ambassador from Versailles was expressly attributed not merely to the signature of a treaty of amity and commerce, but to this “offensive communication” from the Court of France.

The passage from Mr. Wheaton’s *Elements of International Law* to which I briefly referred, has not been correctly quoted by “Historicus.” It will be found at page 34 of the sixth edition of that work (edited by W. B. Lawrence, 1855), and runs as follows, differing in some important particulars from the extract printed in the letter to which I am replying:—

“It has already been stated that, while the contest for the sovereignty continues and the civil war rages, other nations may either remain passive, allowing to both contending parties all the rights which war gives to public enemies; or may acknowledge the independence of the new State, forming with it treaties of amity and commerce; or may join in alliance with one party against the other. In the first case, neither party has any right to complain so long as other nations maintain an impartial neutrality, and abide the event of the contest. The two last cases involve questions which seem to belong rather to the science of politics than of international law; but the practice of nations, if it does not furnish an invariable rule for the solution of these questions, will at least shed some light upon them. The memorable examples of the Swiss Cantons and of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, which so long levied war, concluded peace, contracted alliances, and performed every other act of sovereignty, before their independence was finally acknowledged—that of the first by the German Empire, and that of the latter by Spain—go far to show the general sense of mankind on this subject.”

The acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America by France, coupled with the assistance secretly rendered by the French Court to the revolted colonies, was considered by Great Britain as an unjustifiable aggression, and, under the circumstances, it probably was so. But had the French Court conducted itself with good faith, and maintained an impartial neutrality between the two belligerent parties, it may be doubted whether the treaty of commerce, or even the eventual alliance between France and the United States, could have furnished any just ground for a declaration of war against the former by the British Government. The more recent example of the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American Provinces by the United States, Great Britain, and other Powers, while the parent country still continued to withhold her assent, also concurs to illustrate the general understanding of nations, that where a revolted province or colony has declared and shown its ability to maintain its independence, the recognition of its sovereignty by other foreign States is a question of policy and prudence only.

I have thought it proper to produce this evidence, as the accuracy of my statements had been impugned. As to the opinion founded upon them, I shall only say that the argument of your ingenious correspondent does not appear to me to affect it. My view of the case is, that by the usage of nations recognition commonly resolves itself into three questions of fact:—Are the provinces which are contending for independence in full possession of sovereign rights within their own territories? Are they likely to maintain those rights permanently, or has the parent State the means of subduing them? Do our own national rights and interests require that we should enter into diplomatic relations with the revolted provinces, to obtain from their Government that protection which the parent Government can no longer afford us in the revolted territories? When these three questions can be answered in the affirmative, I contend that recognition *may* take place, without an infraction of the Law of Nations, although even then the policy of taking that step depends on various other grounds of expediency.

The view taken by “Historicus” appears to me to rest mainly on the High Tory doctrine of sovereignty, which regarded all rebellions as a violation of the rights of the Crown. On this ground King George IV. and the Duke of Wellington were strongly opposed to the recognition of the South American States by Mr. Canning, and probably Lord Liverpool shared their opinions. This, however, is not the ground on which England has acted in more recent times; and, whatever may have been the doctrines maintained by the Crown lawyers of George III., or Ferdinand VI., they are, I think, wholly inapplicable to the case of the free and sovereign States of North America.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWER.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1863.

A Minister "On the Stump."

Men are not usually, at least in England, made Cabinet Ministers for nothing. To attain such a rank, they must show some claim, personal or vicarious, to social or political eminence. They must have done distinguished service or shown distinguished ability in Parliament or in administration, or they must be born to great wealth and a high station. They must have achieved greatness, or been born to it, or married to it. If they are men of transcendent genius, they may be excused for indiscretion and self-will; otherwise it is expected, even of Greys, Russells, and Elliots, that they shall show themselves prudent and obedient; hold their tongues when the good of their party requires it, and never commit themselves to inconvenient opinions. In the present Ministry almost every member of the Cabinet is fairly entitled to a seat in that august conclave. Lord Palmerston is certainly the first man in the Liberal party; perhaps the first man in the country. Mr. Gladstone is an unrivalled orator and a great power in the House of Commons. Sir G. C. Lewis is thought to be one of the most profound of living statesmen and one of the ablest of English administrators, though his speeches never convey that impression to the public. Lord Russell has a great name and a considerable following; and he, with Sir G. Grey and Sir C. Wood, belongs to the veteran band of the old Whigs, who live on the reputation of a past whose details are happily forgotten. The Dukes of Newcastle, Somerset, and Argyll are not only grandees of the highest class, but men of rather more than average ability. Lord Granville is thought by some persons to be clever, and is at all events safe; Mr. Cardwell is certainly both safe and capable; and even Mr. C. P. Villiers is at least brother to Lord Clarendon. But who or what is the President of the Board of Trade, and how comes he to fill such a place? To be sure, it is one of insignificant power and honour, but still it confers a seat in the Cabinet, and was thought too much, in 1846, for Richard Cobden. How comes its present occupant to be seated in council with Gladstone and Palmerston, Lewis and Russell?

The thing we know is neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil it got there.

Mr. Milner Gibson is a man of no kind of note or ability. His wife, indeed, is well-known for her activity in various feminine movements for social and political purposes, and her name constantly appears in connection with some charitable scheme for the relief of distress in Mesopotamia, the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the promotion of insurrection in Poland, or the furtherance of a Mazzinian conspiracy in Italy. In fact, judging by the notices and advertisements of our daily contemporaries, we should imagine that Mrs. Milner Gibson holds among the extreme section of the Radicals the same position which, in the higher ranks of Liberalism, is so admirably and efficiently filled by Viscountess Palmerston. We have heard of gentlemen becoming entitled to boroughs, as to other property, in right of their wives; and this is the only way in

which, till the principles of Mrs. Stowe and Miss Martineau make more way in this country, a lady can exercise direct political power. But we hardly think that Mrs. Milner Gibson would be considered to have earned the right to sit by proxy in the Cabinet; and we are quite sure that her husband does not sit there in his own right. He never did anything worth remembering, or said anything worth hearing, during the whole course of his political life. He never displayed even the average ability of an active member of Parliament. As an actor, he is singularly inefficient, as a speaker, he is dull, without being weighty, and frivolous, without a spark of humour. He is in the last degree indiscreet, being actually a member of a Society whose avowed object is the destruction of the National Church and the confiscation of her property, and being notoriously hand and glove with revolution and republicanism all over the world. No man with a more limited intellect, or more extravagantly extensive views, no man with more conceit and less judgment, ever scrambled into the English Cabinet. The truth is, we believe, that Mr. Gibson sits on the Treasury Bench only because a more eminent man was so utterly obnoxious to the Sovereign, the party, the House, and the country, that Lord Palmerston could not invite him. The compact made by the "caucus" or meeting of the Liberal party at Willis's Rooms in 1859 did not openly include the appointment of two men of the Manchester school to Cabinet offices; but there seems to have been a secret treaty to that effect, which, as usual, was more faithfully observed than the terms publicly announced. Retrenchment and Reform were shelved; but as soon as Lord Derby was ejected, Lord Palmerston proceeded to divide the spoils according to agreement. A high office was reserved for Mr. Cobden, and declined by him; and in his place Mr. C. P. Villiers, a Radical of less note, but of a noble family, was admitted into the Cabinet as head of the Poor Law Board. Mr. Bright could not be asked to take office, unless it had been perfectly certain that he would refuse; accordingly, his shadow was admitted in his stead. Mr. Gibson owes his rise in the world entirely to the orator whose faithful and insignificant attendant he has been for so many years; he is Mr. Bright's shadow, cast before thither where, we hope, the real man will never enter; and he holds in the Cabinet the proxy of the Member for Birmingham.

There is not, therefore, the slightest importance to be attached to his very silly speech at Ashton. It expresses only the second-hand opinions of one who is only a man at second-hand, and whose voice has no more authority in the councils of the nation than that of the dullest and poorest of the constituents whom he addressed. We have listened to Mr. Bright; it is hardly worth while to watch the feeble efforts of his phantom representative to mimic his vigorous gesticulations. We must do the Member for Birmingham the justice to say that he at least does not talk such childish nonsense as his protégé and former colleague. If he did prate about the value of the Northern States to England, at least he did not insult the understandings of his hearers by telling them that war would have aggravated the distress of Lancashire by cutting off one-third of our imports of bread and butter from abroad. War would have ended the distress at once, as every child in Ashton knows. It would have reopened every mill in Lancashire; it would have brought four million bales of cotton to Liverpool: it would have lighted fires on a hundred thousand cold hearths, and have brought plenty and prosperity to myriads of desolate homes. But, says Mr. Gibson, it would have had a terrible effect on the price of eggs and bacon, for we import these things from the Northern States. Well; we think that a half-penny a dozen extra for eggs, and a farthing a pound increase in the cost of bacon, might have been more easily endured than a rise of 300 per cent. in the price of cotton. Suppose that war with the North had deprived us of eggs and bacon altogether—nobody would have starved. England is not like the little inn in Cumberland, where a traveller's choice of supper was confined to "ham and eggs or eggs and

ham." At worst, we could have bought everything we import from the North at a slightly increased price elsewhere—say by the outlay of some £200,000 or £500,000 extra: the preservation of peace has cost above £20,000,000, besides the entire loss of the cotton supply. It is deplorable to hear a man actually entrusted with a share in the deliberations which may determine the fate of England, and the future of the world, utter such wretched, stupid, ignorant twaddle as this—alarming to think that possibly the issue of some grave debate, involving questions of war or peace, of plenty or of ruin, might rest on the vote of a Milner Gibson. Fortunately, as a Cabinet does not often determine great questions by counting noses, every voice has not the same weight; and the President of the Board of Trade, though he might neutralize Mr. Gladstone's vote in the House, cannot do so in Downing Street. He is in the Cabinet on sufferance, and would be made aware of the fact if he ever ventured to be troublesome.

But his speech is not the less worth notice as an indication of the latitude allowed to the most insignificant members of the Ministry. According to constitutional theory, every member of a party Cabinet is responsible for the conduct of the whole; inasmuch as it is not allowed to them to divulge by whose advice the Crown has done any of those acts which are legally acts of the Crown. It is only such a doctrine as this which would make it possible for the nation to entrust its destinies in the hands of any one party; inasmuch as of necessity many important offices must be given to second-rate men, and some—as in the present case, the Board of Trade—to men of no rate at all, on the understanding that in all grave questions they are guided by their wiser colleagues. It is understood, too, that on matters of public policy the Cabinet must, in some sense, think alike; there must be a Cabinet opinion—and if that be not in harmony with the opinion of Parliament, the Cabinet must resign. Now, on many questions, and especially on the American question, there prevails the greatest disunion of feeling among the members of the Cabinet. Some of them sympathize strongly with the Confederate States, heartily admire their conduct, approve their cause, and uphold their right to recognition. Others are devoted, from fear or from passion, to Mr. Seward, General Butler, and the North. Others—and notably the Prime Minister—care nothing for either party. They detest the blackguardism, ferocity, and meanness of the Federals; they do not care to involve themselves in any difficulty, foreign or domestic, by siding with the Confederates; and their only wish is to let the matter alone. At present this party practically determines the action, or rather inaction, of the Cabinet; which is quite aware that any attempt to have an opinion or lay down a policy in regard to American affairs must be fatal to the very pretence of concord, and to its official existence. Therefore the Ministry does nothing, because nothing is the only thing which the different sections can agree to do. Some of their countrymen wish that they could have also agreed to say nothing; and Mr. Bright expressed that wish with his usual force and bitterness. In this country, Cabinet Ministers are not supposed to speak to Buncombe; it is understood that their individual speeches express a collective opinion, and that that opinion will determine their conduct. And as, under present circumstances, everything depends on the action of the Government, as it rests with them whether the principal industry of England shall continue to decline, and finally perish, or shall be saved and restored to more than usual prosperity, their speeches have been scanned with great anxiety by hundreds of men whose fortunes are at stake, and by hundreds of thousands who are deeply interested in the fortunes of the country. The consequence has been a state of commercial confusion and national perplexity not very creditable to those who have produced it. Mr. Gladstone says, at Newcastle, that the Confederate Government "has created an army, a navy, and, what is more, a nation." Every one supposes that the Confederate Govern-

ment is about to be recognized; there is great excitement in Liverpool; prices fall; and orders for Surat, on their way to India, are hastily countermanded. Sir G. C. Lewis speaks at Hereford, and declares that we cannot recognize the Confederate States so long as the North chooses to maintain the struggle. This is felt to be meant as a reply to Mr. Gladstone, and an encouragement to the war; again there is excitement in Liverpool, prices rise, and orders are despatched to India. The country listens in utter confusion, trying in vain to make out what Ministers mean, and what they will do. We cannot pretend to answer the latter question; for what a Government will do, when it cannot be said to have a collective will of its own, depends very little on itself, and very much on the force of that "pressure from without" under which we see the Government at Washington reeling to and fro. Not Lord Russell or Lord Palmerston, not Mr. Gladstone or Sir G. C. Lewis, but Napoleon III. or President Lincoln, a French Ambassador or a Federal sea-captain, may determine the course of England for peace or for war. But what the Government means is evident enough. It does not mean to intervene or to interfere. It will not mediate, if it can help it; it will not recognize the Confederate States, unless there should occur some of those "circumstances over which they have no control," which leave weak men and weak Ministers no choice. They will not, if they are not forced to it, quarrel with Mr. Seward, or with Mr. Bright. They will let Lancashire starve; they will let British merchantmen be plundered off Nassau and burnt off Cuba; they will submit to a blockade of Bermuda or of Liverpool; but they will do nothing which may tend to bring a supply of cotton from the South, or to cut off the supply of eggs and bacon from the North. Both the provision-mongers and the cotton manufacturers, therefore, may rest confident that, whatever individual Ministers may say, Government is not going to embarrass the one or help the other; and may dispense, for the future, with the trouble of reading speeches which no more indicate the probable course of events than do the leading articles in the *Morning Star* or the addresses of Emancipation Societies.

The Second Proposal of France.

A few days since it was stated by a London journal, supposed to speak with a sort of semi-official authority, that the French Emperor had renewed his offer of mediation in America, and that in this, as in the former instance, England would refuse her concurrence. The latter part of this statement is, we trust, premature and unauthorized; of the former, as was generally expected, we have ample confirmation in the publication of M. Dronyn de Lhuys' despatch to the French Minister at Washington. The proposal of France is couched in terms so courteous and conciliatory that even the morbid vanity of the Northern people, or the perverse malignity of their demagogues and presses, can scarcely find a pretext for taking umbrage at them. No threat is coupled with this tender of her friendly offices as mediator, and France contents herself, in the event of its rejection, with suggesting to the Federal Government the propriety of itself opening negotiations with the Confederate States. This is, in effect, the significant advice, to endeavour to procure by a last appeal to diplomacy what it is clear cannot be procured by force of arms.

It seems to us more than probable, and is perhaps expected by the French Emperor, that both his mediation and his advice will be declined by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers; but the step he has taken is nevertheless of the highest practical importance. Napoleon III. has extorted, even from his enemies, the admission that he is the most sagacious statesman of the age. He has proved himself to be possessed of military genius of no common order. He is personally acquainted with the country and the people of both North and South. With this triple qualification for forming an accurate judgment of the relative

positions of the American combatants, he has arrived at the conclusion that the restoration of the Union by the triumph of the Northern arms is impossible, that there is no prospect of any speedy termination of the war except by the voluntary reconciliation of the belligerents or the intervention of foreign Powers, and that the proper moment of trying either of these means is now at hand. Such a conclusion arrived at by one who knows America from personal observation, the General of the Italian campaign, and the imperial ruler of the destinies of France, cannot fail to produce a powerful impression as well in the North and the South as in this country. The testimony of such a witness cannot be lightly regarded or easily counterbalanced. It outweighs at once the often-falsified assurances of Mr. Seward that the "rebellion" will soon be crushed, and the stereotyped excuses of the Foreign Office that the opportune moment for action has not yet arrived. To the interested promises of the former the Emperor opposes the evidence of his agents, as given on almost every page of the published diplomatic correspondence regarding the United States, the experience of the past, and his own political foresight and military judgment; to the timid pretexts of the latter he replies by the example of his own action.

Whether the Emperor desires the reconciliation with which he flatters the hopes of the Northern people, or whether this part of the despatch is simply a polite phrase of diplomatic parlance, does not, of course, appear on the surface. The document itself is the emphatic declaration of an unimpeachable authority that the independence of the South is secured against subversion, and that the South can again become a member of the disrupted Union only by its own act. The advice of France is tendered, not to the South, but to the North. What her advice to the Confederate States will be when she comes to give it, whether it will be to retain their independence unimpaired, or to use it as the basis for new and more favourable terms of reunion, we have yet to learn. On this head it must be remembered that though France has an interest only secondary to that of England in terminating the war, she has not, in the opinion of many Frenchmen, the same interest in the disruption or restoration of the monster Republic. To France, especially now that she has gained a firm foothold in Mexico, that Republic can be only very remotely dangerous, while, at the same time, it might serve as a counterpoise to the maritime ascendancy of this country. If the Emperor shares these views, entertained by many of his subjects, it gives additional weight to the conviction he has just expressed that the forcible restoration of the Union is impracticable. As for the disposal which the Confederate States themselves will make of their independence, neither the British Government nor people can entertain any reasonable doubt. These States will not, and cannot consistently with self-respect, treat with their adversaries on any other basis than the full and absolute acknowledgment of that independence. The two nations are now historically, as well as by interests and passions, distinct, and even were it possible to span the gulf of blood and hate that yawns between them, to obliterate the past, and to place them as they were two years ago, the causes which, for thirty years and more, have been silently active in sundering them would still exist in all their force. The various schemes of reconciliation which are just now rife in the North—that of Mr. Vallandigham proposed to the Federal Congress, or that which comes in a more authoritative form before the Legislature of the central State of New Jersey—may be valuable indications of the growing weariness of the war among the Northern people, but as preliminaries of peace they are mere waste of breath and paper. The North is still talking in a fevered sleep; nothing but European recognition of the South can fully rouse it from its dream.

This day week Parliament assembles. It will be impossible long to stave off this pre-eminent and obtrusive American question. In all probability the subject will come up for debate in the first

week of the session. On the turn which this debate takes will depend, at least for the current year, the issue of peace or war in America. France has declared to the world that the war is henceforth useless; but holds out to the North a vague hope of still effecting its object by diplomacy. England knows that hope to be illusory, but she must either assent or dissent from the declaration. Silence or speech will be equally eloquent. Silence will imply that in her opinion the declaration of France is premature, and that the war may still result in the subjugation of the South, and thus add new fuel to the flame. On the other hand, she may join her voice to that of France, and convince the North that success by force is beyond its reach; accompanied by the comforting assurance that success by persuasion is in her eyes both desirable and possible. Or she may do better; end the delusions of the North and the war at one and the same time, and by a single word—by recognizing the accomplished fact of the independence of the Confederate States.

Can the American Cotton Supply be Replaced?

Two British Consuls at Confederate ports have estimated the stock of cotton on hand in the South at three and a-half million and four and a half million bales respectively. These estimates, it is true, differ very widely; but assuming the lowest as probably the more nearly correct, it is placed beyond all possible doubt that peace and the reopening of the Southern ports will liberate a fair average year's crop of cotton. The bearing of this fact upon all speculations relative to the possibility of replacing the American supply of cotton from India or elsewhere, cannot be overlooked.

But first let us glance at the magnitude of the task of so replacing this supply. Those who still consider this an open question are in the habit of veiling their arguments in a cloud of statistical details, in which facts and vague probabilities are inextricably intermingled, and through which the reader wanders bewildered as through a labyrinth. We propose to state the problem in its simplest form, and to confine ourselves to the plainest practical considerations. The average annual supply of American cotton is about three and a-half millions of bales, averaging each between 400 and 500 lbs. To produce this quantity, under the most favourable conditions of soil and climate, of an efficient and well-directed system of labour, and of the most successful plan of husbandry, it is a moderate estimate to say that the labour of not less than one million of men will be required, exclusively of those that must be employed in the various processes by which the staple is rendered marketable, and in the transportation of this bulky commodity to the shipping points. We can form an approximate estimate of the amount of capital required to set the labour of this million of men in motion. The value of the average annual cotton crop of the Southern States is, in round numbers, about £35,000,000 sterling. Assuming the capital engaged in replacing this crop to yield the enormous profit of 15 per cent., it follows that the requisite amount of capital must be about £235,000,000. The conditions, then, fairly stated, for replacing the American supply are, the labour of one million of men, and the investment of capital equal to more than one-fourth of the British national debt. This is simply translating into an arithmetical formula the undeniable proposition, that what it has taken in America, under peculiarly favourable conditions, fifty years to grow up, cannot be improvised at once, or in any short series of years, elsewhere, and especially not where these same favourable conditions are wanting. But suppose that this unprecedented displacement of labour and capital is effected after a lapse of years, and making no account of the wholesale ruin ensuing during the period of transition, it is clear that at best we have only robbed Peter to pay Paul. Unless we can tame a million of savages into industrious labourers, and find two hundred and odd millions

of money lying loose somewhere, it is self-evident that both the labour and the capital must be diverted from employments in which they are now profitably engaged. When the necessities or ingenuity of mankind shall have succeeded in replacing the cotton, it will have been at the expense of something else: the net loss will be the same, and the world's commerce so much the poorer.

In this practical illustration of the insuperable difficulties in the way of replacing the American supply, we have left altogether out of sight the difference of quality, no inconsiderable difficulty in itself. New England thoroughly appreciates both these difficulties, and when General Butler, her fit representative, recently held out as an easy mode of paying the war debt, the levying of an export duty of 5d. per lb., or 100 per cent. on the normal price of cotton, he expressed neither a new nor an original idea. New England knows that though this export duty would be a bonus to all the other cotton-producing countries of the globe, even that bonus would not be a sufficient stimulus for many years to replace the cotton of the South, while the same bonus would in the meanwhile secure to her the monopoly of the cotton manufacture. The United States, in the height of their power, relied more on the power of cotton than on that of gunpowder for safely bullying Great Britain; in the depth of their adversity they rely on cotton to make good all their losses, and this is one of the most prominent, though the least openly avowed, inducements for the prosecution of the war.

We have seen of what gigantic proportions is the task of replacing the American cotton supply, even were there not a single bale locked up by the blockade. Even these proportions might not, and probably would not, deter British enterprise from making at least an attempt and a beginning, if any calculations could be based upon the continuance of the present prices. But who will attempt to make even a beginning when at any moment the sluice-gates may be opened which will flood the markets with three or four millions of bales?

The Independence of the South Demonstrated.

Once more, by a series of bloody battles and brilliant achievements, the South has demonstrated its power of maintaining its independence. Again the Northern armies have been decimated by fire and sword, and the fanatics of New England have been gratified by the wholesale slaughter of their fellow-citizens, and by a large addition to the mighty host of wounded and maimed. But the clergymen and fanatics of New England are not satisfied with the carnage they have instigated. They still make their puppet, the vulgar jester of the White House, continue the hopeless contest with unabated vigour. They still clamour for the prosecution of a war in which they take good care to incur no personal risk. The miseries of their country are to them a supreme satisfaction, and to their friends and allies the fraudulent contractors, a rich harvest. When the news of some fresh disaster is made public no thought is bestowed upon the Federal losses, except indeed the loss of arms, stores, and steamboats, for these things have to be replaced, and the replacing them fills the pockets of the contractors. These rapacious men do not hesitate to express their delight that the Confederates supply themselves from the Federal stores, because that, they say, makes them the purveyors of warlike ammunition to both North and South. The victories of the South do not make the termination of the war more probable. It is idle to dream of defeat insuring peace. The North cannot conquer the South, but, on the other hand, the South cannot conquer the North. If the Confederates could, besides defending their country, carry the war into the North, and devastate the fruitful plains of the West, and possess themselves of the commercial towns of the East, a peace might be, and would be, conquered. But this, as President Davis told the Legislature of Mississippi, cannot be

done. The young Confederacy, taken at a disadvantage, without a navy, and opposed to an enemy enjoying a vast numerical superiority, can do no more at present than defend its homes from the lust and rapine of the North. The war must go on until the belligerents are exhausted, or until Europe, by recognizing the Confederate States, unmasks the designs of the Northern conspirators, and reveals to the Northern people that they are fighting for an object they cannot gain, and that they are engaged in a contest pregnant with ruin to themselves. They are, indeed, already half convinced of these facts, but they are going down-hill with such a momentum they cannot stop of themselves. Not a few in the North now cry for that aid from Europe which would save them from further disaster. Will the cry be in vain? Will the Governments of Europe heed only the fabrications and insolent threats of the Federal Government, and the clamour of New England for more blood—for the extermination of the Southern population, white and black? If the European Governments so act, they cannot excuse themselves on the plea that there is a prospect of the North crushing the South in any number of days. The North has put forth its strength without stint or hesitation, and been so prodigal of blood and treasure as to eclipse the horrors and cost of European wars. What is the result? What has lately happened to the Northern armies? What is now their position?

There is something peculiarly suggestive about the absence of war news from the East. It is a commentary on the battle of Fredericksburg, that tells us, with unmistakable plainness, of the extent of that disaster, of the numbers killed and wounded, of the demoralizing effect produced on the survivors by the acres of Federal dead. General Burnside may have been willing to renew the attempt to force the Confederate entrenchments, and to have sacrificed 50,000 men; but his soldiers would not be sacrificed. The great Army of the Potomac, the pet army of the North, the army so lavishly equipped and re-equipped, the army that was to put down "the rebellion" by taking Richmond, the army which Mr. Lincoln said never had been and never would be beaten, the army of the command of which General McClellan was deposed because he was advancing too slowly, the army that was to know no rest until its head-quarters were in the Confederate capital, the army upon which those who believed in the possibility of conquering the South based their hopes—lies bleeding, maimed, and demoralized on the north of the Rappahannock. From the time when, in the darkness of night and amidst a howling storm, it stole away from the face of the enemy, now a month ago, it has done nothing, and we might almost have forgotten its existence, but for the rumours of its disorganization, of its desire for a change of commander, and for the way in which its weakness is exposed by the exploits of the Confederate cavalry. That broken, beaten Army of the Potomac proclaims, more eloquently than words can do, the failure of the Federals and the national vitality and endurance of the Confederates.

Lately active operations on a large scale have been carried on in another part of the Confederate States, and there is no pause in the war, though for a moment Virginia is not the battle-field. Have the Federals been triumphant in the West and on the Mississippi? Let us see.

No one from the first was duped into the belief that Murfreesboro was a Federal victory. Even the Northerners, anxious to catch at any straw, could not delude themselves that an army which confesses to more casualties than its assailants, to losing thousands of prisoners and its warlike stores, is victorious. A little enthusiasm was got up when it was announced that the Confederates had withdrawn from Murfreesboro, but it subsided when the details transpired. The Southern army, after inflicting fearful loss, had retired on its base of operations with all its prisoners and booty. The Confederates might not have accomplished all they desired, but it could not be denied that they gained a victory, indecisive but not altogether fruitless. When the whole truth of the battle of Murfrees-

boro is told—if it ever is told—it will probably be found to have been one of the worst disasters of the North. It is enough in this article to record it as a Federal defeat.

Even more signal is the Federal reverse at Vicksburg. Very considerable have been the efforts to capture that gallantly-defended little town, and persons who have little faith in what the Northern armies can do calculated upon success in that quarter. A fierce and resolute assault was made, and the battle raged from day to day, but in the end the assailants were driven back with great carnage, and disabled from renewing the attack. This defeat was almost simultaneous with that of Murfreesboro.

Nor must we forget the important and brilliant affair in Texas. When Galveston was taken by the Federals, we were told by the blatant mouthpieces of the Lincoln Cabinet that Texas was conquered. Whilst this was being set forth in Washington, the Confederates recaptured Galveston, and, contrary to all expectation, gained a naval victory. Using their rifles for cannon, the gallant Texans captured the notorious and powerfully-armed steamer Harriet Lane, killed nearly all the officers, blew up the flag-ship, killed the Admiral, and sent the rest of the blockading squadron in hot haste to New Orleans. We do not yet know the extent of this victory, but it is certainly complete, and, for a time at least, there is, at Galveston, no other but a paper blockade. This victory, the loss of the Monitor, the success of the Alabama, and the failure of Farragut's fleet to do anything, must be exceedingly disheartening to the Federals. It was not unreasonable for them to have expected to be dominant with their navy, but they have not. All the naval glory and honour gained in this war belong to the South. The North has failed by sea as well as by land.

We might point to the other difficulties that beset the North. The wicked scheme of a servile war has caused a bitter political war in the North. If Missouri and Kentucky were doubtful before the 1st of January, they are no longer so. The financial prospects are exceedingly gloomy. The Federal Congress is told that if the war lasts till June 1864, the debt will be \$2,000,000,000. Gold is 50 per cent. premium, and the Government is afraid to call on the people for war taxes. Repudiation is openly spoken of; and it seems to be forgotten that repudiation, though it may be resorted to, will not avert the impending ruin—it will not bring back the substance now being wasted. But our object is not to dilate on the difficulties, disasters, and weakness of the United States; we desire to point out the unanimity and strength of the Confederate States. No man can be so blind as not to perceive that the Confederates have vindicated their title to independence, or can believe in the North subduing the South. This being so, whatever ground may be suggested for refusing to recognize the Confederate States, it cannot be alleged that they have not thoroughly established and maintained its independence.

Poland.

The outbreak of another Polish insurrection supplies those who like to find apt illustrations for old sayings with a striking demonstration that "ill-gotten gain never prospers." Poland has already cost its masters a great deal more than they will ever get out of it. Their Polish possessions are still a source of weakness instead of strength to Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The fact is, that the partitions of Poland were gross political blunders, as well as flagrant violations of law and morality. When the Polish Republic was foully murdered, it was hastening fast to an inglorious and unlamented death. Left to themselves, the Poles would soon have consummated their political suicide. For more than a hundred years they had furnished Europe with signal proofs of their utter want of political capacity. Divided and degraded, always ready to sell themselves to a foreign Power, prepared for a price to elect a King, and intrigue against

him, for a price too, as soon as elected,—no general interest, no national danger, could induce them to surrender their individual license, or make the slightest sacrifice for the common cause. Only the spirit of bigotry and intolerance could inflame them with a spark of zeal for the independence of their country. The end must have come soon, the rotten-ripe fruit would have fallen into the hands of those who coveted it. Its digestion and assimilation would have been an easy matter, and would have excited little notice from Europe. But the infamous agreement for spoliation, and its even more infamous justification, shocked the moral sense of Europe; the destruction of their independence brought out all the nobler qualities of the Poles. Sympathy for their sufferings effaced all recollection of their vices; the destruction of the opportunity for political intrigue and venality left only their bravery and endurance discernible. Often deceived, they have never despaired. Even now, when everything speaks to them of the impossibility of regaining their national existence, they talk of the reconstitution of Poland in its ancient limits, of the foundation of an empire which shall include countries which have long ceased to be Polish. With 40,000 soldiers in Warsaw, and twice as many in other parts of the kingdom, without arms, ammunition, discipline, without hope indeed, they have broken out into a general insurrection against Russia. Disagree with them as we may, blame them as we must for their wild rejection of the offers of Russia, their stubborn adherence to the demand for an impossibility, and, above all, for this fatal rising, the curse of which will extend to generations yet unborn, we must yet sympathize, against our judgment, with their ardent, inextinguishable heroism.

What profit can Russia have derived from the possession of Poland at all comparable with the cost of holding it? For the sake of Poland she has incurred the antipathy of all civilized peoples. For its acquisition and retention she has been guilty of crimes the memory of which can never be effaced. She has been compelled to hold Poland by a brutal tyranny which has demoralized those who employed it, whilst it has failed to curb those who were its victims. All the revenues derived from the country cannot have amounted even to the cost of its military occupation. It has been a perpetual abscess in the body of the Russian Empire, as difficult to heal by cauterization as by cautery. The Emperor Alexander is believed to be desirous of endowing his vast dominions with something which has a resemblance to liberty; but Poland constantly interposes to thwart him. If he relaxes for a moment the rule of the sword, the spy, and the prison in Poland, the Poles use the concession to conspire against him; if he adheres to the old rule of brutality, he establishes a painful and perplexing antagonism in the administration of his Empire. The share of Austria and Prussia in the spoils of Poland is smaller, and their embarrassment is less. Fortunately for Prussia, she lost the larger part of her share in the partition, and having but a small field to operate on, has managed to work it more profitably. Poland is not so much an embarrassment to her, because she has pursued a scientific system of murdering the Polish language and the Polish national sentiment. The Poles themselves have played into her hands, and her Poland can now be scarcely called Polish. The Polish nobleman, extravagant and thoughtless, sought in dissipation the compensation for his enforced abandonment of a political or military career. He fell into debt—and the German money-lender became the owner of his castle and estates. German peasants, German artisans, favoured by the Government, and invited by the opening to energy and perseverance, pushed in too. The Government made the knowledge of German the *sine quâ non* for an official career. Polish was everywhere, so far as possible, suppressed, and so by dint of a process, the imputation of which the Prussians themselves regard as the most formidable item in the bill of indictment they bring against Denmark for its dealings with Schleswig, the Poles are giving way before the Germans, and it is hard to say whether Prussia's share of Poland is more German

or Polish. Yet all these results have only been obtained by means which have reacted most unfavourably upon Prussia herself. Even now the Prussian Chamber of Deputies supplies in its Polish members an ever-repeated protest against the injustice perpetrated in the pursuance of this system of murdering Poland. At this moment the Prussian Government has to exercise the utmost vigilance to maintain order in Posen, albeit every Pole has a German by his side. Austria has treated the peasants comparatively well, and as a Catholic Power, has the great advantage of the support and sympathy of the priesthood; but Austria has still great difficulties to contend with in Galicia, and would have more, but that she is the only one of the partitioning Powers who has kept in some degree the engagements undertaken towards the Poles in the Treaty of Vienna.

The Treaty of Vienna provided for the Poles a position which, if it did not answer to their wishes or rights, yet fully corresponded with their expectations. It was a position which at that time they were willing loyally to accept. Napoleon had pretended to sympathize with them, but had only used them for his own purposes. When Prussia, in 1807, after Jena, lay entirely at his feet, he, by the Peace of Tilsit, took from her all her share of the second and third partitions—the great bulk of her acquisitions—and erected them into the Duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony. When Austria was in her turn defeated in 1809, she ceded, by the Peace of Schoenbrunn, a portion of Galicia, including Cracow, which was incorporated in this new Duchy of Warsaw. When Buonaparte fell his satellites fell too. The King of Saxony saw himself stripped of all his possessions, and at the mercy of the allies. The fate of Poland was the subject of much compassionate interest with the English and French plenipotentiaries; and the necessity of putting Prussia into as good a condition as before the war broke out caused many difficulties in settling the treaty. The Emperor Alexander wanted the Duchy of Warsaw for himself. At last the matter was arranged; the province of Posen was detached from the duchy, and restored to Prussia, who received compensation for the rest in a large slice of Saxony. Cracow was declared “a free, independent, and neutral city, in perpetuity, under the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia,” and the duchy, thus curtailed, was handed over to the Empire of Russia. The Czar reserved to himself the right of giving to this State, which was to enjoy a distinct administration, the interior extension which he should judge fitting; he took the title of King of Poland. The same article of the treaty declared, “that the Poles, respectively subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions regulated according to the mode of political existence that each of the Governments to which they belong shall deem it useful and convenient to grant them.” These stipulations seemed to guarantee Poland a national life; a liberal representative Constitution was given to the Kingdom of Poland; no foreigner, no Russian was eligible to any office; the army was to bear the Polish colours. The Constitution was soon trampled under foot. Yet the Poles were patient and hopeful. Alexander had reserved to himself the right of annexing all the Polish provinces to the Polish Kingdom; he often announced his resolve to do this, and in this hope the Poles bore the violation of their Constitution. With his death that hope departed. The Poles, unable to bear the disappointment and the tyranny, rebelled. They were conquered, and the Emperor Nicholas declared, in spite of the remonstrances of Europe, all the rights given them by the Treaty of Vienna, forfeited. The years which have elapsed since then have been one long denial of justice to Poland. With the same insolent defiance of solemn engagements exhibited by the Czar, in denying the Poles the rights given them at Vienna, Austria seized the independent city of Cracow, and incorporated it in her dominions.

In Prussia, although they have never enjoyed the national institutions promised them, the Poles can share in the common liberties given by the Constitution, and the Polish fraction in the Chamber of

Deputies can at least declare their grievances. In Austria each province has now as much self-government as is consistent with the maintenance of the empire. But the Poles of Russian Poland have had no franchises. It must be added that they would not have accepted them. The Emperor Alexander has shown a desire to conciliate the Poles. He did relax the iron severity of his father's rule; he has offered them liberties, trifling in degree, no doubt, far from equivalent to their violated rights, yet franchises which ought to have been accepted, because they would have formed a foundation upon which to build a larger liberty. To have given the Poles at once a large measure of freedom would have been equivalent to inviting insurrection, and even if it would have been received with loyalty, the measure would still have been imprudent. The Poles have no practical political aptitude. They have none of them known liberty for nearly a hundred years, and the bulk of them never knew it. There is yet no intelligent middle-class to form the safeguard against the extravagances alike of the nobility and the peasantry. The relaxation which the Czar has ventured upon has been used, not to ask for more liberty of the sort given by the Treaty of Vienna; it has been employed for demonstrations in favour of the independence of Poland, and its reconstitution within its ancient limits. The Czar offered the Poles municipal institutions, and they replied by requiring him to withdraw from Poland, and surrender up Lithuania, by threatening Austria and Prussia with the resumption of their appropriations. Demonstrations have led to severe repressive measures. The Russian police and military have shown their usual brutality; the situation has been aggravated by attempts at assassination; and now the efforts of the Russians to enforce, with even more than their usual brutality, the conscription have been seized as the occasion for an insurrection, which would appear to be general throughout the kingdom. The leaders of the movement, which has evidently been some time in preparation, appear to have felt that whilst in ordinary times men would see the hopelessness of rising, and refuse to obey the summons, the conscripts, driven to desperation by their abhorrence of service in the Russian army, will willingly risk their lives. On the night of the 22nd of January a brutal massacre of all the detached parties of Russian soldiers, commenced the insurrection. In this, their first step, the Poles have proved that they have learnt nothing. Their only hope of success lay in the assumed unreliability of the Russian army; this massacre, which only the assurance of success by its means could extenuate, will unite the Russian soldiers, however disaffected, in a ferocious resolution to destroy the insurgents. Already, if we may believe the telegrams from Russian sources—and the intelligence from the Prussian and Austrian frontiers seems to confirm them—the rebels have been generally defeated. Warsaw, at least, where the chance of success was greatest, seems to be in quiet possession of the Russians. But whether the insurrection is already quelled or not is no matter of great importance. It must be suppressed. The insurgents cannot cope with the forces of Russia; they will soon be crushed; the flower of the Polish youth will be shot on the battle-field, or buried alive in Siberia. The Czar, convinced that the Poles are not to be conciliated, will restore, in its full severity, the rule of the sword and stick. The peasants, as before, will be the object of his attention, the enmity between them and the nobility will be stimulated. The only classes who care for Polish independence will be ruthlessly maltreated; the peasants, who have never concerned themselves about it and hold aloof from this rising, will be treated with some consideration. But although this may be the last struggle of Poland, generations will pass away before Russia can enjoy the quiet fruition of her crimes. Order may reign again at Warsaw; but the burning hate of the Poles will only die out with the extinction of the Polish gentlemen, and sympathy with Poland, and abhorrence of Russia, will long be the general sentiment of all free nations.

Statistics of Southern Trade.

HOME TRADE.

The amount of the home or internal trade for 1859, in the South, is the aggregate of the imports and exports, and the produce and manufactures consumed in the country. The amount of Southern exports would appear still more remarkable if we had the means of ascertaining them fully; for besides the produce sent northwards for export to Europe a large quantity is consumed in the North. Long before Secession—from the differences of climate, of production, and in other respects—the North and South were essentially separate nations so far as commerce was concerned, and their commercial interests were directly opposite—opposite, we mean, in the sense of the one being an agricultural, and the other a manufacturing country. The only way in which we can arrive at the total amount of the Southern trade is by adding to the export of Southern produce from the United States the produce and manufactures consumed in the North and South. We must refer to the census returns of 1850, but the abstract of the return for 1860 will enable us to form a reliable estimate of the production for 1859.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE SOUTH AS PER UNITED STATES' CENSUS FOR 1850 AND 1860, INCLUDING DELAWARE AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:—

	1850. Quantities.	1860. Quantities.	1850. Value.
Wheat, bush.	27,878,815	50,065,712	\$25,090,933
Oats	49,882,979	33,224,515	17,459,035
Corn	349,057,501	434,938,063	219,534,500
Potatoes	44,878,403	63,229,982	17,951,371
Rye	1,608,200	4,067,667	1,608,200
Barley	161,902	—	145,716
Buckwheat ..	405,375	1,666,516	202,678
Beans & Peas..	7,637,227	—	13,365,147
Clover & Seed	123,517	—	370,551
Flax Seed ..	203,484	98,553	254,355
Value Garden	—	—	1,377,260
Value Orchard	—	8,103,216	1,355,827
Rice.....lbs.	215,313,497	187,136,034	8,612,539
Wool.....	12,797,829	14,685,316	3,839,348
Butter&Cheese	68,634,224	473,177,367	6,863,422
Hay tons	1,137,784	1,857,554	11,377,846
Hops lbs.	33,780	27,537	5,067
Flour.....	4,768,198	1,733,213	476,619
Cocoons	5,374	1,211	53,740
Maple Sugar..	2,088,687	2,147,677	104,434
Honey & Wax	7,964,760	15,382,905	1,194,714
Value slaughter ed animals }	—	106,362,075	54,398,015

\$385,641,311

Being the value of the agricultural produce of the South not included or not distinguished in the exports of the United States. It will be observed that we included rice in the above, and from that we ought to deduct about \$2,000,000 for exports; on the other hand, we do not include sugar, while we ought to allow, for 1850, not less than \$12,000,000 for that article, not included in the exports. Making the deduction for rice and the addition for sugar, we have:—

Agricultural produce of South for 1850 not included in United States' exports..	\$395,641,311
Deduct for Delaware and District of Columbia, say	4,000,000

\$391,641,311

Besides the articles of Southern origin exported from the United States there is also the cotton, &c., used in the United States. For instance, the cotton manufacture in the North for 1850 was \$52,000,000, and the raw materials came from the South. Again, an enormous quantity of tobacco is consumed in the States. If for these items we add \$50,000,000 to the above, we shall have as the total result:—

Products exported \$441,641,311

Now, if the reader will inspect the above table, he will find that in many important items the produce of the South has doubled. According to the official returns for 1850, the cotton crop was 2,796,706 bales, and in 1860, 5,196,985 bales of 400 lbs. In 1859 the cotton crop was 3,851,481 bales. If then we estimate the products in 1859 at 50 per cent. over that of 1850, we shall not be doing full justice to the productiveness of the South.

Products of the South not exported from United States:—

1850.. .. .	\$441,641,311
And 50 per cent.	220,820,655

1859 \$662,461,966

We now come to the items of manufacture which were, according to the report of the Secretary of the Interior, presented to Congress in January 1859, for the South:—

	Population.	Value.
1840	7,334,434	\$93,362,202
1850	9,664,656	164,579,937

From the total for 1850 we must deduct for flour mills the sum of \$43,111,766 being a total for Southern manufactures in 1860 of \$121,468,171. By taking the increase in population, and assuming the increase from 1840 to 1850 to be the average, we should have to double that amount. We will, however, to be within the fair estimate, add only 50 per cent. to the amount, making the Southern manufactures for 1859, \$182,202,256.

According to the census of 1860 the value of home manufactures in the South was \$18,526,734.

Let us now add the different items together, and we shall then have the total produce of Southern produce for 1859.

Produce not exported from the U. S.	\$662,461,966
Manufactures.. .. .	182,202,256
Home manufactures	18,526,734
Exports, see No. 38 of THE INDEX	200,693,296
	\$1,063,884,252

To this total we must add the imports and the amount that was sent northwards, but not exported from the United States, and therefore exchanged for Northern produce. If we assume that 50 per cent. of the entire production of the South is changed for Northern production, we shall be considerably within the true estimate. The total amount of Southern trade for 1859 will then be:—

Produce	\$1,063,884,252
Imports	531,942,126
	\$1,595,826,378

To conduct an internal trade of this magnitude—for the labour of distribution is distinct from that of production—must require great activity on the part of the free population. We print the following tables, compiled from the census of 1860, to show how largely the population of the South is engaged in commerce and industry:—

MALE POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE IN 1850.			
		White.	Free Coloured.
Maryland .. ..	..	185,880	31,676
Virginia .. ..	..	391,345	22,369
North Carolina ..	..	235,488	11,391
South Carolina ..	..	118,905	3,478
Georgia .. ..	..	229,156	1,172
Florida .. ..	..	22,628	356
Alabama .. ..	..	289,338	909
Mississippi .. ..	..	135,182	418
Louisiana .. ..	..	127,140	6,420
Texas .. ..	..	74,523	186
Arkansas .. ..	..	73,944	277
Tennessee .. ..	..	327,891	2,677
Kentucky .. ..	..	341,194	4,362
Missouri .. ..	..	272,428	1,251
		2,825,052	86,942
		86,942	
Total White and Free Coloured Male Population over 15 years of age		2,911,994	

OCCUPATIONS OF THE FREE MALES (WHITE AND FREE COLOURED) OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE IN 1850.

	Total.	Other Occupations.	Domestic Servants.	Government Civil Service.	Other pursuits requiring an education.	Law, Medicine, and Divinity.	Sea and River.	Army.	Labour not Agricultural.	Agriculture.	Commerce, Trade, Manufactures, Mechanical Arts, and Mining.
	124,876	278	1,021	963	2,442	2,039	9,740	67	32,102	28,588	47,616
	226,875	1,978	79	1,491	5,622	4,791	13,263	274	45,338	108,364	52,675
	139,387	247	46	570	3,447	2,263	1,659	..	28,560	81,982	20,613
	68,549	34	149	372	3,161	1,829	346	..	11,505	41,302	13,205
	123,243	173	15	416	3,942	2,815	282	18	2,666	83,362	20,715
	13,135	42	12	268	302	357	708	423	7,683	5,977	2,380
	100,467	97	42	325	3,638	2,610	907	..	6,067	68,635	16,630
	75,082	231	69	377	3,380	2,329	292	..	15,204	50,284	12,053
	77,168	488	508	811	2,444	1,829	4,263	45	6,194	18,639	32,879
	42,856	90	..	677	996	1,368	321	584	5,684	25,299	7,329
	40,785	27	..	110	676	911	106	33	17,539	28,942	4,296
	168,240	345	10	705	3,589	3,363	258	..	28,413	118,979	23,432
	191,075	471	212	902	4,420	3,811	1,027	204	20,326	115,017	36,598
	128,175	1,149	1,458	767	3,147	2,893	2,471	305	..	65,561	30,098
	1,519,913	5,640	3,621	8,744	41,206	33,226	25,343	1,953	238,392	840,931	320,519

It will thus be seen that out of 2,911,994 free males over 15 years of age, more than 50 per cent. were actively engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits, and we must remember that this does not include the landowners, who are also engaged in agriculture, and that there were in 1850, 139,403 white males above the age of 50. In 1841 the population of Great Britain was 18,720,394, and the total number of males returned as having occupation was 5,517,380, including our soldiers and sailors both at home and in India.

The Church of England.

The English mind is essentially illogical. It shrinks from abstract speculation, and has no faith in what may be called the metaphysical school of politics. It is profoundly indifferent to the taunts and sneers of those who seem to think that a religion or a Constitution should be laid out like one of those Dutch gardens in which

“Grove nods at grove; each alley has its brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.”

Englishmen are rather attached than otherwise to the anomalies and logical incongruities which every English law, institution, and society presents in abundance; and they are profoundly distrustful of those fundamental principles of political right and wrong on which every Government created since 1790—save and except those of the British Colonies, and that of the Confederate States of America—has professed to found itself. “How will it work?” Such is the question which an Englishman asks himself, when he is considering the propriety of any proposed change; and unless this question be satisfactorily answered, no proof of the utter injustice and absurdity of that which it is proposed to abolish, and no demonstration of the beauty and equity of that which is offered as a substitute, will have the least weight with him. “How has it worked?” Such is the test by which he tries every political system that the wit of man ever devised; and nothing that has not worked will find any mercy at his hands, no matter how indisputably its excellence may be proved by appeals to reason and to sentiment. This goes further than politics. We verily believe that with nine-tenths of Englishmen, if they were to speak their own feelings, and not repeat the teachings of others, the one conclusive proof of the truth and divine origin of Christianity is, that “it has worked so well”—an argument which, in those or other words, we have more than once seen in English books and heard from English preachers.

This being the case, it is not strange that Englishmen should be so much attached as they for the most part are to the National Church. Her warmest friends can hardly dare to claim the merit of logical consistency either for her doctrine or her discipline. The former is the growth of a compromise between Catholicism and Puritanism; the latter has been the creation of a series of usurpations, revolts, lay and ecclesiastical laches, which have left it in such an anomalous state that only very learned ecclesiastical lawyers can tell what it ought to be, and no one in the world can define what it is. Her whole system is a series of anomalies; she is herself, not without some show of reason, reviled as an anachronism; in a word, she is exactly what, in the eye of logic, a child of compromise must always be—a living self-contradiction. So is the British Constitution. All this Churchmen and Englishmen will say, and allow to be said, without an idea that it therefore behoves them to get rid of the Church or the Constitution. Both work admirably well; far better, as conservative opinion in England holds, than any other political or ecclesiastical system on earth; and though it may be admitted that neither is suited to a foreign soil, no thoroughbred Englishmen will therefore renounce his faith in their practical perfection. If Parliamentary government proves a failure in France, so much the worse for the French. If the English Church do not flourish in America, the fact is held to damage not the catholicity of the Church, but the character of the Americans. Here, in despite of every disadvantage, the Church sustains the religious life of the nation, and the Constitution suffices for its political happiness. He must be something worse than a fool or a bigot who denies that the Church “works well;” he must be deaf to reason and blind to principle who, on reflection, is not a little surprised to see how many anomalies and absurdities, wrongs and abuses, have been made to work for good to her, and through her to the people.

What can be more inconsistent with every abstract principle of right than the system on which what is called the patronage of the Church is distributed? Clergymen are appointed to churches—from which, when once appointed, they cannot be removed but, after a most expensive procedure, by sentence of a court of law—sometimes by the Lord Chancellor, who disposes of the “livings,” or cures, which are in the gift of the Crown; sometimes by lay patrons, great landowners, or others, who are at liberty to buy and sell the perpetual advowson or patronage of a rectory, or merely the right of next presentation, and of whom some thus command one, some five, some ten or more livings; sometimes by lay corporations—the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge holding, each of them, many livings, which, as they fall vacant, are offered in turn to the clerical Fellows; sometimes by the Bishop of the diocese; in a few very exceptional instances, by the parishioners. What could be more unreasonable? One parish receives its pastor and

priest from a Minister of the Crown, who never saw or heard of it, or very likely of him, till the vacancy was announced, and the letters applying for it poured in. Another, perhaps in Cumberland, perhaps in Derbyshire, receives its clergyman at the hands of a dozen scholarly gentlemen in Oxford—the former accepting the living most generally as enabling him to marry, since his fellowship is held on the condition of celibacy. A third parish learns that it is to depend on the spiritual ministrations of the squire's second son, for whom the family living is deemed a fit provision; or on those of some utter stranger, whose father has purchased "the priest's office" as a respectable means of finding bread for one of his family. Yet the system works well; and it is worthy of note, that the method of appointment which seems most just—by parochial election—is that which works worst of all in practice. The best, if we were to be restricted to one, is undoubtedly selection by the Bishop. But the result of giving all patronage to the Bishops would probably be the disruption of the Church among the conflicts of hostile and localised factions. College livings are on the whole well filled; and their existence secures the constant infusion into the Church of a kind and quality of learning—of a class of highly educated gentlemen—which is of infinite service therein. The better class of lay patrons choose conscientiously; the most careless are pretty sure to appoint gentlemen. They choose under a stronger sense of responsibility, and with a greater means of knowledge, than any other patron except the Bishop. Even the Lord Chancellor makes many good appointments; and if the chief patronage in the Church is to be wielded by a Minister of the Crown, it is best in his hands. He was formerly an ecclesiastic; now he is necessarily a lawyer; but at all times he is less than any of his colleagues a mere political partisan. The worst arrangement connected with Church patronage is that which gives the selection of Bishops and Deans to the Prime Minister, who is sure to choose from political motives. Yet no thoughtful statesman, however deep his reverence for the Church, would like to put these appointments into the hands of the diocesan clergy. And, bad as Lord Palmerston's appointments have been—notoriously as he has favoured the least learned, least intelligent, and least respectable faction in the Church—none of them have been scandalous. Even he, the worst dispenser of ecclesiastical patronage we have seen for the last fifty years, has appointed no man notoriously unworthy of his promotion. The worst of his acts was to appoint a mere popular speaker—a clerical John Bright—to the Deanery of Carlisle, while such men as Denison remain Archdeacons, and making a Villiers into a Bishop, while Trench and Milman are but Deans. The truth is that, especially where religion is in question, all Englishmen under responsibility are likely to be fairly conscientious. Most men, of any moral sense whatever, if they choose to take a living, will make an effort to do their duty by their parish. Most Ministers, having to make a Bishop will, at least, choose one of the best men of their own party. And above all, they will choose safe men; and this is exactly what the clergy would not be likely to do. Now, it is all important that a Bishop should be a man not likely to get into hot water—to quarrel with his brethren, get into difficulties with his clergy, or show himself a hasty and intemperate reformer. A Bishop elected by the suffrages of the clergy would generally be too extreme a man to be safe; a Bishop chosen by the Premier, though he may be unlearned and inefficient, is pretty sure to be a respectable, sober, peaceably disposed gentleman.

It is partly owing to this infinite variety in the distribution of patronage that the Church has remained so broadly liberal, so thoroughly national, so little, in the bad sense of the word, ecclesiastical, as she has always shown herself. In her worst days—in the days of Elizabeth, in the days of Laud, under the reigns of the last Stuarts—she was always, though neither she nor her adversaries understood the fact, the champion of religious liberty. She was not inquisitorial, she cared not to persecute opinions, so long as they were not forced upon her notice, or to pry into private affairs, so long as no treason was privately hatched against her. We doubt if among the many victims of those evil days who died for Puritanism and Covenantism, there were a hundred who did not deserve death as traitors; we are quite certain that the doctrines of the sects whom the Crown strove, in the name of religion, to suppress were at least as hostile to civil order as to religious orthodoxy, and more inimical to religious liberty and freedom of conscience than the worst principles ever avowed by the most bigoted of Anglican Churchmen. There never was any religious tyranny in England like the tyranny of the "Pilgrim Fathers" in Massachusetts. And in these days the perfect religious freedom which obtains in this country is due entirely to the ascendancy of the Established Church. Her overthrow would initiate a period of social persecution against all who did not abide by the dicta of the dissenting bodies—of restrictive religious legislation—of interference with individual liberty—of inroads on private life by the ministers of religion—which would render England uninhabitable to educated and independent men, and result in a revolt against all religion whatsoever. Any one who doubts what the Dissenters would do if they had the power need only watch their behaviour as individuals and as sects for a few months, to be assured that nothing but the maintenance of the Church can secure for a year the maintenance of effective religious liberty. That overthrown, the choice would lie between freedom without religion, and religious slavery—a slavery to the religious crotchets of the dullest, most ignorant, and least Christian believers.

There are some Dissenters who believe that this good time—the time of Sabbatarianism in legislation, of Puritanism in politics, of Boeotian preaching and pharisaic practice—is really about to dawn upon England. We believe nothing of the kind. Already, as soon as the success of the assault on Church-rates, directed by the avowed enemies of the Church, had become sufficiently probable to alarm the country, the effect was seen in a reaction which converted an anti-Church-rate majority of seventy in the Commons into a minority of one; and now that the people as a whole, not only in the great half-heathen cities, but in market towns and country villages, thoroughly understand that the political Dissenters do not wish to get rid of an obnoxious tax—will not accept exemption from a liability to pay Church-rates—but aim at nothing less than the overthrow of the National Church, the spoliation of her property, the desecration of her buildings, the degradation of her clergy to the level of a Methodist cobbler-preacher, or Anabaptist minister—the feeling of the nation has been made unmistakably manifest. The people of the rural districts, conservative in everything, are in nothing so strongly or so intelligently conservative as in religion. They are not to be deluded by declamations against the wealth or the idleness of the clergy; for they know that their pastor is poor, and they see that he works hard. They feel the comfort of having always among them at least one resident gentleman—one man connected with those above them by birth and education, and with them by the sacred duties of his profession—one adviser whose character is a guarantee for his sincerity, whose relation to them entitles them to his kindness, and whose constant intercourse with them assures them of his sympathy. Even in the pulpit, they would not for worlds miss the presence of a scholar and a gentleman. They prefer to be taught by one whose superiority to themselves is beyond question and beyond envy, rather than by one whom they shrewdly suspect—as is the case with most Dissenting ministers—to be no more than their equal by birth, and to have the advantage of them rather in conceit than in learning. Dissent has scanty hold upon the rural population; it has no credit at all with the educated classes; its strength lies wholly among the lower middle and working classes, which compose the restless Democracy of the great towns, and that Democracy, powerful as it is for mischief, is powerless when once confronted with the conservative strength of the country, and the educated opinion of the higher orders. So long as the Church is—what she is increasingly both in town and country—the great benefactor of the poor, the great promoter of education, the one institution, besides the workhouse, in which the labourer feels that he has a right, a place, and an interest, she is sure of the support of the bulk of the people. So long as she remains what she has always been, the most tolerant and the most highly educated of religious bodies, the intellect and the education of the country will fight on her side in political, if not always in theological, controversy. And when the intelligence of the educated and the conservatism of the agricultural classes are for once united on the same side, no agitation, however skilfully organized, can possibly hope to prevail against them.

Reviews.

THE INVASION OF THE CRIMEA.*

SECOND ARTICLE.

After the English and French contingents had been despatched to defend the integrity of the Turkish Empire, the war fever in England temporarily subsided, and it was the general opinion that, after all, there would be no war; that the mere exhibition of determination and strength would give the Czar a plausible excuse for withdrawing from an enterprise in which he had not a single ally. Those who thought that hostilities would ensue, talked about a short, and comparatively inexpensive, war. At the drawing of the sword nations never foresee or anticipate the possibility of a long or costly war, or it is certain that the peace of the world would be less frequently disturbed. The first operations in the East seemed to indicate that the views of those who called the allied expedition a military promenade on a grand scale were correct. At the end of what may be called the first or brief summer campaign, there was every probability that the allied armies would not have the opportunity of trying their prowess with the Northern legions.

When Nicholas spoke of Turkey as the sick man, he gave feeble expression to the universal opinion of Europe. The Moslem nation was thought to be utterly rotten, and that all its martial valour had departed. Our Eastern ally was looked upon as a sick man bereft of all strength and consciousness—as a corpse that could do nothing unless galvanized into temporary and weak vitality by the pressure of other nations. A few weeks were sufficient to demonstrate the erroneousness of this opinion. First there came the siege of Silistria. It was a surprise that the place should hold out for a few days, but that it should repulse every effort of its assail-

ants, and finally compel them to retire from the contest, was an event that puzzled the wisest heads in Europe. The Turks, so helpless at Sinope, were superior to their foe at Silistria. At the last-named place important assistance was given by some English officers, who forced their way into the place, and it may be fairly said that the wonderful success was due to the gallantry the resolution, and the genius of Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth. They proved that the Turks, properly officered, were brave soldiers. They thus gained a victory of which the moral effect was out of all proportion to its material importance. When the Russians raised the siege of Silistria, the military power of Russia was shorn of its prestige, and we learnt, though it may be soon to forget, the lesson, that the numerical superiority of a nation does not, independently of all other considerations, imply military supremacy.

The battle of Giurgevo was hardly less remarkable than the siege of Silistria. The Turks crossed the river, forced on an engagement, and were victorious, being on this occasion also assisted by a band of Englishmen, who suffered severely for their gallantry. An attempt on the part of the Russian Commander-in-Chief to join the repulsed army, and by sheer force of numbers to crush the Turks, was frustrated by the timely presence of some gunboats, under the command of British officers—Prince Leiningen and Lieutenant Glyn, of the *Britannia*. The result of these operations was the withdrawal of the Russian armies.

But the object of the allies was not attained. It may suit Mr. Kinglake to say that we went to war to get the Russians out of Turkey, but it is notorious that we did not break the peace of forty years for any less purpose than that of crippling the power of Russia in the East. If we had patched up a peace after the battle of Giurgevo, we should have left Russia free to attack Turkey at the first convenient season—that is, at a season when the Western Powers were less prepared to resent her aggression. We had no desire, it was not our interest, to weaken the influence of Russia in European councils; it was only in the direction of the East that we were called upon to check, as far as we could, her ambitious encroachments. To do this the invasion of the Crimea and the destruction of Sebastopol were determined on, and so thoroughly was the policy of the movement understood that comparatively little regard was paid to the Baltic expedition, and by common consent the war itself was called the Crimean War.

Mr. Kinglake does not approve of the invasion of the Crimea. He says it was brought about by the advocacy of the *Times*, and devotes many pages to a cynical history of that journal. With the attack on the *Times* we need not interfere, for the *Times* is well able to defend itself; but we cannot avoid noticing the author's strange inconsistency. He charges the *Times* with being the mere representative of public opinion, and at the same time alleges that that journal is responsible for the invasion of the Crimea. But if the *Times* represents public opinion, then not it, but public opinion, is responsible. Again, Mr. Kinglake is never weary in finding fault with the Government of France because it is not representative, as he says, and that the wishes of Frenchmen do not exert any influence on the action of the Government. He turns to England, and says the *Times* is the powerful exponent of public opinion, and by it the wishes of the nation are brought to bear upon the Government; and with that he finds fault. We do not deny that the *Times* had much to do with the invasion of the Crimea, that it hurried on that event, and did not allow the Government to miss the opportunity of striking a decisive blow at Russian aggression in the East. But it is idle to pretend the *Times* did not in this instance, as a public organ, express the public sentiment.

This fanciful digression about the *Times* is followed by a story which a writer of a comic history of the Crimean War would reject as being a little too absurd, and far too vulgar. Mr. Kinglake says that the Duke of Newcastle, being pressed by the manifestation of public opinion, was more eager than any of his colleagues to invade the Crimea, and that he prepared a despatch which was so peremptory in its tone that it left Lord Raglan no choice but to undertake the enterprise. The despatch certainly does not seem to us to bear this construction. Lord Raglan is instructed to invade the Crimea if in his judgment the allied commanders could do so with a fair prospect of success, and the only part that can be cited as peremptory is an intimation that the Government will be disappointed if Lord Raglan decides that the enterprise is not practicable. The exact words of the despatch are: "And if, upon mature reflection, you should consider that the united strength of the two armies is insufficient for this undertaking, you are not to be precluded from the exercise of the discretion originally vested in you, though her Majesty's Government will learn with regret

* The Invasion of the Crimea; its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Vols. I and II. (London: William Blackwood and Sons.)

that an attack from which such important consequences are anticipated must be any longer delayed." There is certainly nothing in this to induce a commander to undertake an imprudent adventure, and these instructions are exceedingly tame, compared to the peremptory suggestions, not to say orders, issued to Sir Charles Napier. But granting the despatch is peremptory, we are not less astonished at the way in which Mr. Kinglake says it received the sanction of the Cabinet. The passage is too curious to be summarised, and, therefore, we quote it as a fair specimen of Mr. Kinglake's method of *making* history:—

The Duke of Newcastle took a despatch to Richmond, for there was to be a meeting of the members of the Cabinet at Pembroke-lodge, and he intended to make this the occasion of submitting the proposed instructions to the judgment of his colleagues. It was evening, a summer evening, and all the members of the Cabinet were present when the Duke took out the draft of his proposed despatch and began to read it. Then there occurred an incident, very trifling in itself, but yet so momentous in its consequences, that if it had happened in old times it would have been attributed to the direct intervention of the immortal Gods. In these days, perhaps, the physiologist will speak of the condition into which the human brain is naturally brought when it rests after anxious labours, and the analytical chemist may regret that he had not an opportunity of testing the food of which the Ministers had partaken, with a view to detect the presence of some narcotic poison; but no well-informed person will look upon the accident as characteristic of the men whom it befel, for the very faults, no less than the high qualities, of the statesmen composing Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet were of such a kind as to secure them against the imputation of being careless and torpid. However, it is very certain that before the reading of the paper had long continued, all the members of the Cabinet, except a small minority, were overcome with sleep. For a moment the noise of a tumbling chair disturbed the repose of the Government; but presently the Duke of Newcastle resumed the reading of his draft, and then again the fated sleep descended upon the eyelids of the Ministers. Later in the evening, and in another room, the Duke of Newcastle made another and a last effort to win attention to the contents of the draft, but again a blissful rest (not, this time, actual sleep) interposed between Ministers and cares of State, and all, even those who from the first had remained awake, were in a quiet, assenting frame of mind. Upon the whole, the despatch, though it bristled with sentences tending to provoke objection, received from the Cabinet the kind of approval which is often awarded to an unobjectionable sermon. Not a letter of it was altered, and it will be seen, by-and-by, that that cogeny in the wording of the despatch, which could hardly have failed to provoke objection from an awakened Cabinet, was the very cause which governed events.

A more disgraceful charge was never invented. Every one who reads the above passage will understand Mr. Kinglake's meaning. Indeed, he himself avows it. He rejects the theory of the "immortal Gods." It is to the influence of the *food* he trusts for the explanation of the incident. In order that none of his readers might fail to appreciate the slander, he drags in the "tumbling chair." In short, when the British Cabinet had met to discuss a most important duty, when they had to decide upon a matter involving the peace of Europe, the lives of their fellow-citizens, and the honour of their countrymen, they were so drunk that they could not keep their eyes open, or avoid knocking over a chair. This is the plain and unmistakable deduction from the text. When they were aroused, and met in another room they were still too far gone to comprehend or dispute the wording of the despatch. Of course, the story is a mere impertinent fabrication, inserted to make the book racy and sensational. It is clever in its way, but there is a want of judgment in introducing it. So long as Mr. Kinglake kept to abusing the Emperor of the French and his Ministers, some persons might have thought there was a vestige of truth in his assertions, but the story of reading the despatch is too gross for any one to swallow, unless he is in the state that Mr. Kinglake represents the members of the Aberdeen Cabinet when they had to transact business of the greatest importance.

Lord Raglan, without having any very reliable information as to the forces of the enemy, determined to act according to the wishes of his Government. Nor do we think he can be charged with deciding imprudently. Supposing the Russians had been in greater numbers than anticipated, and that the allied force could not, without large reinforcements, make any progress, what risk did the allies run? The intended attack on Sebastopol might have been temporarily postponed, and it might even have been found necessary for the invaders, being landed, to take up a defensive position until their armies were increased. The allies were not in the position of invaders who could be cut off from their base of supplies and destroyed. They were secure, because they had the command of the sea.

On September 14th, 1854, the allied armies landed in the Crimea without opposition, and took possession of the unfortified town of Eupatoria. The success of the landing was greatly due to the skill and zeal of Sir Edmund Lyons. On the 20th of September was fought the battle of Alma. We do Mr. Kinglake no more than justice when we say that a finer description of a fight was never written. It is wonderfully elaborate, exceedingly minute, yet it is never tedious, never dreary. From

first to last it is full of martial fire. It is free from professional pedantry, and is not laden with technical expressions. Let any one compare Mr. Kinglake's Alma with M. Thiers' Waterloo, and they will see something of the comparative power and gracefulness of the former. We are not vouching for the truth of the details, for that is more than Mr. Kinglake himself can pretend to guarantee. He writes, of course, from hearsay, since he narrates, with much exactness, what regiments widely separated were doing at the same time. He also uses freely that romantic colouring which is put on to make the picture more effective. Mr. Kinglake could not know the exact impression produced in the minds of the Russian infantry by the appearance of the bearskin caps of the English infantry. He could not know exactly what was passing in the mind of Prince Mentschikoff during the fight. The speculation of the Russian commander's movements, though ingenious, cannot be received as an authenticated fact. No one will accept Mr. Kinglake's narrative as historically reliable. We do not mean by this that it is merely a romance. In its main incidents it is strictly accurate, and the details are generally probable. But the merit of the narrative consists in the vividness with which the battle is brought before us. There is no well-worn appeal to wholesale horrors, for when they come in the narrative is abruptly terminated. We follow, with absorbing interest, the fortunes of each regiment. We are proud to find the heroes of Alma are the men we loved at college, or who we had met in the hunting field. The officers are not martinet's, but our friends, showing their pluck and energy in another pursuit. We are brought face to face with the soldiers, and we understand the power there is in the British line—in the thin red line so peculiarly British—and which is such an effective weapon in the hands of its officers. We see how it is the British line is able to meet the columns of an enemy without flinching. So far as the military movements are concerned, Mr. Kinglake's work is a fitting text-book, or it will, at all events, prove an excellent help to military students in understanding their text-books.

The Alma was a hard-won victory, but it was satisfactory to the nation, for it showed that forty years' peace had not destroyed our national spirit, and that we had not grown enervated as well as rich. It is true we did not gather all the material harvest we might have done from the victory. We did not crush the retreating army, and enter Sebastopol. This was no fault of the commanders. If they had known as much as the critics do now, they would have done so; but not knowing the strength of the enemy and the preparations at Sebastopol, they were bound to act prudently. Military critics may speculate as much as they like, and by speculating do no harm; but commanders to whom the fate of armies is entrusted must not speculate, but esteem prudence a higher virtue than valour. We deplore the lives subsequently lost at the famous siege, but we may nevertheless rejoice that the efficiency of our military arrangements was not tested nearer home. We paid a fearful price for a priceless lesson, and woe to us if we forget it. With the battle of the Alma Mr. Kinglake's present instalment of his work closes. What remains to be told is the best part of the history, and in that we sincerely hope Mr. Kinglake will resist the temptation of introducing a description of the Malakoff Tower by 111 pages of a dissertation upon the creation of the world, upon the pretence that such a dissertation is not a digression, because if the world had not been created, the Crimea would not have been invaded.

TWO BOOKS ON AMERICA.*

The American War has stimulated a rapid and not altogether healthy growth of American political literature. Secession and coercion are topics on which almost every American and a good many Europeans have much to say; and in the present state of anxiety and excitement produced by one of the most gigantic wars on record—a war, too, which afflicts neutral nations as scarcely any previous war has done—every one who has anything to say expects a hearing, no matter how often or how much better all that he can tell us has been said before. The two books before us are alike in this respect. Neither of them contains much that is particularly new or particularly striking. Nevertheless, each of them possesses an interest of its own; the one because it professes to have been written eighteen years ago by a man who had actually mixed in the political warfare of America, and to give the opinions of his retirement upon the character of the people among whom he lived and the Government

* *The Weakness and Inefficiency of the Government of the United States of North America.* By a late American Statesman. Edited by a Member of the Middle Temple, London. (London: Houlston and Wright, 1863.)

* *North and South.* By the White Republican of "Fraser's Magazine."

which he had served, and upon the gloomy prospects of their future—the other because it gives, in a lively and easy, if somewhat flippant form, two different views of the present situation; that of the friends of peace at the North, and that of the resolute Secessionists of the South; because it contains a number of useful quotations; and because it is a book of which about half may be read with pleasure, and the other half skipped with advantage. In every other respect the volumes differ—unless in this, that they are both somewhat shallow and disappointing. The White Republican expresses obvious but substantially correct thoughts in very tolerable English; the "late Statesman" reveals a horrible picture of the inner national life of America, and reasons sometimes well upon the inevitable consequences of the state of things which he reveals, but writes the most execrable English it has ever been our fate to read. Indeed, it is not English at all; it is not even American; it is the language of a man without education, of a writer who has not the most rudimentary notion of the laws of grammar. His dissertation on "the weakness of the American Government" is full of faults which would disgrace a charity-school boy; it is distinguished by a slipshod slovenliness which would hardly be tolerated in the most careless letters of a woman to her intimate friends, or in the most informal conversation of educated men "across the walnuts and the wine." We never saw anything worse in print—not even in the messages and proclamations of the Illinois rail-splitter, whom popular caprice has made ruler of twenty millions of persons, of whom not one million are as ignorant as himself. Mr. Lincoln's indifference to grammar is as notorious as his contempt of law; and he treats Lindley Murray with no more reverence than he accords to the Constitution of the United States; but neither he nor his famous prototype, Sigismund "Rex Romanus, et super grammaticam," could surpass the author of this volume in bold defiance of all Old-World rules of written and spoken language. He seems, moreover, to have picked up his knowledge of history, ancient and modern, from some school-book written fifty years ago for the use of junior classes; and his ideas of European countries, as they now exist, from that too notorious journal which lately complained of the ambitious aspirations of England to the control of the Dead Sea. He seems to have heard of the Amphictyonic Council—but never of the Achæan League, or the Cynthian Confederacy; he has vague notions of some general Italian Federation, existing at some period during the Middle Ages; he talks about the provinces of France preferring foreign alliances to the "Belle Francais" (by which, as we at last discovered, he means *La Belle France*) and seems wholly unaware of the relations which really subsisted between the Kings of England and the provinces they held or claimed in France; relations not of alliance but of feudal sovereignty. Another very provoking fault we may perhaps excuse in the writer, as we excuse it in the conversation of aged men; but the editor, seeing that everything in the book is said at full length several times over, and that many peculiar sentences are repeated more than once, evidently showing that the author was constantly forgetting what he had already written, might have had so much regard for the comfort of the public, and the credit of the defunct statesmen, as to cut out the greater part of the repetitions which swell the volume to 380 pages, where 180 would have amply sufficed. He is sure to suffer for his laches; for no one but a reviewer will have patience to read these pages through. Nor do we recommend any one to make the attempt. The volume is valuable only as the evidence of a reluctant and a tedious witness, which no one save the jury need hear, except in the brief summary into which a judicious advocate or a business-like judge will reduce it. The White Republican, on the other hand, puts all he has to say in a readable form; and at least his first three chapters, or about half his book, deserve to be read *in extenso*.

The "late Statesman" proclaims himself an apostate from the Democratic party, a slave-holder disgusted with slavery. The White Republican is, on the contrary, a Democrat whose extreme constitutionalism has driven him into exile; a Northerner with strong Southern proclivities. But their testimony on many most important points presents a striking coincidence. Both of them are thoroughly disgusted with the working of universal suffrage. The former desires to restrict the right of voting to the holders of real property; a suggestion by no means unworthy of regard, though had the writer been really acquainted with the working of foreign systems of suffrage, he would have seen reason to think that the *principle* adopted in England, which unites a freehold qualification in counties with a residential qualification in towns, is equally safe and more just and practicable. We may remark, however, that in the South, where two-thirds of the heads of families, probably, own some kind of real property, such a

restriction is hardly necessary. Universal suffrage has, as a matter of course, given the Government of the Union into the hands of the lowest classes, and fostered corruption in every class. How could it do otherwise? When educated men and men of property know that their votes will be balanced at the polls by those of their own coachmen, and that they will be utterly swamped by a mob of illiterate and half-drunken opponents, is it likely that they will take the trouble to go to the poll? When the people are—as democratic institutions always make them—jealous of wealth, and suspicious of refinement—what chance have gentlemen of honour and independence of winning their way to political power? Where the sovereign people must be courted, like other sovereigns, according to its taste; and where it has an insatiable appetite for gross flattery, vulgar compliances, and abject admiration—where it will tolerate no opposition to its will, no resolute resistance to its caprices—what hope is there that honourable and high-spirited men will condescend to ask its suffrages? Necessarily, under such circumstances, politics become the trade of men who are not sensitive about honour or scrupulous on points of conscience; naturally, such men think chiefly of making a profit by their trade. Hence that universal corruption to which all who know the Northern States of America bear emphatic testimony; that “stealage” which, according to the “late Statesman” adds 50 per cent to the burden imposed by the State and Federal Governments. Hence, too, an evil which aggravates the vices engendered of mob-rule; a devotion to party which overrides all considerations of truth, justice, and patriotism. The machine of universal suffrage can only be worked by party organization; the withdrawal of respectable men from political strife leaves those who may dissent from their party no rallying-ground on which to assert their independence; and “the party” becomes absolute over the consciences and conduct of its supporters; their idol and their tyrant. No man, this writer declares, need fear to be condemned for riotous acts done in the party cause, or for peculations committed in any office in which his party has placed him; it is not likely that he will ever be prosecuted, and if he should be so unfortunate, there must be one or two of his party on the jury, and then his conviction becomes impossible. The Secretaries of War and of the Navy under Mr. Lincoln have proved, as distinctly as the author asserts it, the perfect impunity which attends speculation in the Northern States. In the South, where different feelings and different manners prevail—though this ex-Democrat, with the usual candour of an apostate, forbears to notice the difference—the best men of the country are generally the leaders of the people, give the tone to politics, and guide the counsels of the State. Hence the manifest superiority which the statesmen of the South always maintained in the Federal Congress, where men of honour and repute were met by political intriguers or puppets—where Davis and Yancey and Mason were confronted by the Searles, the Sumners, and the Lovejoys.

On another topic, from entirely opposite points of view, the two witnesses give concurrent testimony. “The weakness of the American Government” is attributed by the Statesman who descants upon it to its Federal character. He writes as if the colonies had, on their separation from the British Empire, constituted a single and united nation; as if the framers of the Constitution in 1787 had had to decide on the form of a national Administration, and had deliberately adopted the present one; as if the States had derived their authority from the Union, and had been constantly encroaching thereupon; and he laments the utter helplessness of the central Power, which is the result of such a system. He admits, and even exaggerates, the authority of the States over the individual citizen, while he misrepresents the character and origin of that authority. No ignorant person would learn from his book that the States were acknowledged, independently and severally, by Great Britain before the Union was formed; that in forming the Union they reserved, in the most distinct manner, their sovereign character; and that whatever allegiance individual citizens may owe to the Union they owe only through their State, and on account of the connection of their State with the rest of the Federation. No one would suppose, on reading this book, that the original Union included only the States which voluntarily seceded to it from the old Confederation: that its organization was complete, and its first President elected, before New York became a member; and that Rhode Island and North Carolina were free and independent Republics for months after the installation of George Washington. On all these points the White Republican lays great emphasis. But on the moral aspect of the question—the feeling of the citizen towards the State, and towards the Union—the power of the State over every relation of his daily life, and the

entire absence of any direct tie between himself and the Federal Government—the evidence of an author who throughout espouses the cause of the Union against the States, and sees in State rights a kind of treason to the Union, deserves greater attention. Scarcely a page in his volume that does not contain some complaint of the overwhelming tendency of State loyalty towards disunionism; of the universal prevalence of the doctrine of State sovereignty; of the absoluteness of the tie between the citizen and the authorities of his State, and the looseness of the almost invisible bond between him and the central Power at Washington. This testimony is invaluable; for it is the testimony of an enemy and an apostate to the real character of the Federation now dissolved, and the real nature of that “rebellion” which the North claims to put down; a “rebellion” of the citizens of ten sovereign States, acting under the authorities to whom they have all their lives been taught to pay homage, who protect their property, punish their crimes, command their obedience, and defend their laws, against an imaginary “country,” whose very title negatives the idea of unity, and a phantom Power to which they owe nothing, and from which they have never received anything. It is worthy of remark that the “late Statesmen” prophesies disunion, and predicts that there will be no attempt at coercion.

There has been a great deal of speculation as to whether the other States, or any one of them, would stir in aid of the Union, in case a single State, or a combination of States, openly resisted the central Government? The better opinion of those deepest interested in the question, and who have not only had the best opportunities, but observed with the closest scrutiny, is, that in no case would the other States move a finger in their sovereign capacity to put down the refractory sister. Their sympathy would be so strong in favour of State power, that they would do nothing but try to effect a compromise, as has been often done already, but would not fight against her or them. When South Carolina nullified, and every person thought a crisis unavoidable, some of the States resolved that they would not oppose her, and others, particularly the great, wise, and domain State of Virginia, sent one of her most prudent men, or politicians, to her, to “reside,” as she expressed it, “near the Government of South Carolina,” advise or consult with her on the difficulty with the Union, and try to effect a compromise—a compromise did take place, and the tariff was modified or altered to suit the case. The very mode in which Virginia sent down to her added fresh insult to the thing, for she claimed to do it or interfere as a sovereign and friend, and from her own impulses, not those of the Federal Power, and sent, as it were, an ambassador under the flag of a sovereignty, to the court of, or to reside near, another sovereign, to offer her mediation only, not threaten her. The States have a sort of “esprit de corps,” a pride, and make it a point of honour not to take sides against a sister State under any circumstances; what, then, could the abstract and helpless thing, the Federal Government, do of herself, with five or six thousand common soldiers, scattered to the four winds, without pride, against a free State, with all the impulses of liberty, and their resources of men? I would venture a prophecy, that if the thing be put to the test, which it most likely will, that the State carries her point.

Sentiments of disunion gain strength daily. I can remember when an idea uttered or a feeling manifested against this Union would have cost its author his life, or at least his standing in society. A thousand voices would have scouted him, and it would have been spoken of all through the country as most abominable, and even treasonable. So sacred were the sentiments or feelings of Union, that the prevailing toast at all the Fourth of July dinners and feasts, as we have said, was “Palsied be the arm that is lifted against the Union, and stiff the tongue that dare to denounce its sacredness.” This toast was always drunk standing, out of respect to the Confederation. Gradually, as general suffrage and demagoguism corrupted the land, and State rights weaned the minds of the people from their allegiance to the Union, did the bold and the reckless begin to express their jealousies and doubts, and State politicians arraign its acts, and gainsay its powers. Then you heard the bold nullifier, the Jeffersonian Democrat, the anti-tariffite, the slave-holders, calculating its value in dollars and cents, and expressing most ruthlessly their indifference to its fate. This is not only the case under high excitement and heat of debate, but coldly and deliberately talked of as a matter of course in every ale-house, on the public squares, court houses, legislative halls, and in the colleges and schools, in the mouths of striplings and almost babes. The progress of the ball of disunion gathers force as it goes, as well as velocity in a geometrical ratio; and unless something stays its course, or weakens its impetus, it will not, on the same ratio, require many years to do its work.

The White Republican collects a number of passages from authorities of all sorts—jurists, statesmen, and conventions, to prove the right of secession and the wrongfulness of coercion—quotations worth the attention of those whose minds are still confused with the idea of a national Government assailed by a provincial rebellion.

We may further call attention to the fact that the anti-Southern author, writing in 1845, dwells comparatively little on the subject of slavery, and attributes the disunionism which he laments to the selfishness of the non-manufacturing States, which object to be heavily mulcted for the benefit of their needy sisters in the North-East; being a vehement advocate of the tariff, and a Protectionist of the most ignorant and obstinate school. The White Republican, on his part, makes the insults and thefts of the Abolitionists are trifles compared with the injury inflicted by the protective legislation of the Federal Government. We recommend this evidence, also, to the perusal of those who will not

believe that secession had any other provocation than the honest antipathy of the North to negro slavery.

The White Republican writes in a spirit of kindness towards the South. The “late American Statesman,” on the other hand, is rancorous in his hostility towards her. Nevertheless, if the friends of the North are wise they will rather direct the notice of their readers towards the former; for few will be able to read even a few score pages of the latter’s work without feeling that the disruption of a Union which bred and subsisted by such profligacy as is there described was an object worth secession and civil war; and that those who are fighting to restore it must either be hopelessly mad or desperately wicked.

THE FRENCH DISPATCH.

The *Moniteur* publishes a dispatch, of which the following is a translation, addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to M. Mercier, the French Minister at Washington:—

Paris, Jan. 9.

Sir,—If, in forming the design of assisting by the offer of our good offices in bringing to a close the hostilities which desolate the American continent, we had not been actuated, in the first instance, by the friendship which animates the Government of the Emperor towards the United States, the little success of our overtures might slacken the interest with which we follow the chances of that struggle. But the sentiment which we have obeyed is too sincere for indifference to take place in our mind, or for us to cease to be painfully affected as long as the war continues to rage. We cannot look without deep regret upon a war which is more than a civil war, and which may be compared to the most terrible feuds of the ancient republics, and the disasters of which multiply in proportion to the resources and to the courage displayed by both belligerent parties.

The Government of his Majesty has, therefore, maturely examined the objections which were made to us when we suggested the idea of a friendly mediation, and we asked ourselves whether they were really of a nature to put aside as premature all attempt at a reconciliation.

On the one hand was objected the repugnance of the United States to admit the intervention of foreign influences in the struggle; on the other, the hope which the Federal Government has not relinquished of obtaining a solution by arms.

Assuredly, Sir, recourse to the good offices of one or more neutral Powers has nothing incompatible in itself with the legitimate pride of a great people, and purely international wars are not the only ones to provide examples of the useful task of mediators. We flatter ourselves, moreover, that by offering to place ourselves at the disposal of the belligerent parties, to facilitate between them negotiations, the bases of which we abstain from anticipating, we have shown all the respect due to the patriotism of the United States, now, perhaps, more due than ever, after so many new proofs of moral strength and energy. We are not the less ready, in the wishes which we form in favour of peace, to take into account all the susceptibilities of national feeling, and we by no means contest the right of the Federal Government to decline the assistance of the great Maritime Powers of Europe. But is that assistance the only means which offers itself to the Washington Cabinet to hasten the termination of the war? And if it thinks fit to reject all foreign intervention, could it not honourably accept the idea of direct negotiation with the authority which the Southern States represent?

We are aware that the Federal Government does not despair of giving a more active impulse to hostilities; the sacrifices it has made have not exhausted its resources, still less its perseverance and firmness. The length of the struggle, in short, has not shaken its confidence in the final success of its efforts. But the opening of negotiations between the belligerent parties does not necessarily imply an immediate cessation of hostilities. Negotiations for peace are not always the consequence of a suspension of hostilities; on the contrary, they generally precede the establishment of an armistice. How often have plenipotentiaries met, exchanged communications, agreed upon all the essential dispositions of treaties, resolved finally the very question of peace or of war, while the leaders of the army continued the struggle, and endeavoured, up to the last moment, to modify the condition of peace by force of arms? Only to recall one instance in the history of the United States, the negotiations which consecrated their independence commenced long before hostilities had ceased in the New World, and the armistice was only established by the act of the 30th of November, 1782, which, under the name of “Provisional Articles” embodied beforehand the chief clauses of the final treaty of 1783.

There is therefore nothing to prevent the Government of the United States, without relinquishing the advantages it fancies it might acquire from a continuation of the war, from entering into negotiations with the Confederates of the South, in case the latter should feel that way inclined. Representatives or Commissioners from the two parties might meet at a given point deemed suitable, and which, for the purpose, might be declared neutral ground. The reciprocal grievances might there be examined into. Instead of the accusations which North and South now launch against each other a discussion on their mutual interests might be established. By regular and serious deliberations they would investigate what interests are finally irreconcilable, whether separation is an extreme not possibly to be avoided, or whether the remembrances of a common existence, whether the bonds of every description which made the North and the South one and the same federate State and raised it to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which induced the two populations to take up arms.

A negotiation with its object thus defined would not comprise any of the objections raised against a diplomatic intervention of Europe, and, without giving rise to the same hopes of the immediate conclusion of an armistice, it might exert a happy influence on the course of events. Why, then, should not a combination which consults all the delicate susceptibilities of the United States not obtain the approval of the Federal Government? Persuaded, on our part, that it is conformable to its real interests, we do not hesitate to recommend it to its notice, and, in the project of a mediation of the maritime Powers, not having sought for any vain display of influence, we should applaud without any feeling of offended vanity the opening of a negotiation which would call the two populations to discuss the solution of their differences without the concurrence of Europe. I request you, Sir, to give this assurance to the Washington Cabinet, recommending to its wisdom advice dictated by the most sincere interest for the prosperity of the United States. You are, moreover, authorized, should Mr. Seward express the wish, to leave him a copy of this despatch.

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By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

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THE INDEX

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VOL. II—No. 41.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 5, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

We publish elsewhere a verbatim report of President Davis's address to the Legislature of Mississippi, of which only a very imperfect abstract has previously been given.

The Federal Government, pressed, it may be, by the exigencies of its position, shows no sign of retiring from the ruinous contest. Notwithstanding the disasters of last year, and the Federal reverses that occurred at the commencement of the present year, new and gigantic efforts are being made to win a victory and get a footing in the South. The Governor of the State of New York, in his Message to the Legislature mentioned that, since the beginning of the war, the State, with a population of less than 4,000,000 at the census of 1860, has sent into the field 222,836 men, and that there are only 125,000 of them left. But neither the financial difficulties nor the loss of men has, however, checked the prosecution of the war by the Lincolnites. Even the Army of the Potomac is, if possible, to be spurred into activity. General Burnside is no longer to rest on his Fredericksburg laurels. A resolution was offered in the Federal Congress inquiring if General Burnside had formed any plans for movement since the battle of Fredericksburg, and whether subordinate officers had written to Washington to interfere with such movement, and if there had been interference, by what authority. To please the members of the Government, and to add to his reputation, General Burnside resolved to once more cross the Rappahannock and encounter the Southern army. His total force is reported to be 125,000 men—a sufficient force for any *practical* enterprise, if it were not disheartened and demoralized. But the Army of the Potomac has no confidence in its leaders, is clamouring for arrears of pay, and the desertions from it are constant and numerous. But Burnside, having first circulated a story about the Confederate army being divided, and that General Longstreet had taken at least thirteen brigades into Tennessee, determined to make the advance. For some days rumours were rife in Washington and New York, that the river had been crossed, that a terrible engagement was progressing, and that General Hooker had been mortally wounded. All the rumours were unfounded. On the 20th of January, General Burnside issued an address to his troops which contained the usual Federal assurance about crushing the rebellion, and

entreating his soldiers, both officers and men, to make an effort. Then the camp was broken up, and once more the grand Army of the Potomac was *en route* for Richmond. But it did not get very far on the way. The rain fell, the roads were bad, and so, under stress of mud, the grand Army of the Potomac turned back before it reached the north bank of the Rappahannock, and occupied its old camping ground. Strangely enough, General Burnside has not proclaimed a glorious victory—but then, to be sure, he has not lost 20,000 men, as he did at Fredericksburg. The Federal commander promises to set out for Richmond as soon as possible. According to the latest accounts, the Confederate army is intact, and ready to give the enemy a warm reception when he thinks proper to cross the Rappahannock.

A Washington despatch states that in the Quartermaster's Department there is condemned clothing to the value of \$1,280,000, which was passed last year by the inspector in Philadelphia, and for which the contractors were duly paid. Being unfit for use, it is turned over to the hospitals. The Federal contractors are determined to prove the truth of the old proverb that "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good."

The official report of Rear-Admiral Porter says the number of guns at Arkansas Post was eleven, and that the place surrendered after a combined attack from ironclads and land forces.

The Federals have captured St. Charles, Duval's Bluff, and Desarie, on the White River, Arkansas. We are not aware that they were defended positions.

The Confederates are prepared for an attack on Wilmington. It has been resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. General Whiting has issued the following address to the citizens:—

Head-quarters, Wilmington, Jan. 14.

To the Citizens of Wilmington:

I have once and again advised the people about their families and property in case of an attack on the city. Many, however, who were driven off by the fever, confiding either in the supineness of the enemy, or the strength of the defences, have returned with their families, and, to my great regret, there are now many women and children in the city.

It is my duty to inform you of my belief that, within a very few days—perhaps three—the enemy will appear in force to attack this place by land and water.

While I am confident we shall beat them, I must repeat that an attack will be likely to cause much distress, privation, perhaps even peril, to women, children, and non-combatants, whose presence must always embarrass. Should God so order it that we fall before a superior force, or unexpected disaster, their lot will be infinitely worse. In every respect it is best that such should retire while they have opportunity.

It should be remembered that, when the enemy are before the place, military necessity must take precedence of all interests, even those of humanity.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

W. H. C. WHITING,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

On the 13th of January the Federals made an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Haswell, one of the defences of the water approach to Wilmington. It is reported that a simultaneous attack is to be made on Wilmington and Charleston. General Beauregard is in command at the latter place. Besides his army he has some iron-clads at his disposal.

General Bragg, in an address to the army, states that at Murfreesborough he captured 10,000 prisoners, 30 pieces of artillery, 7000 small arms, and 800 waggons. So much the better for the Federal contractors, who will have to replace the artillery, small arms, and stores.

Governor Letcher, of Virginia, has called out twenty-six regiments of militia from all counties near to the North Carolina line, to aid in repelling any invasion of the enemy from that direction. The

militia will rendezvous at Petersburg for six months' service.

The Confederate authorities have ordered that all Federal officers captured after the 12th of January shall be delivered to the Governors of the States where captured, for trial. General Halleck has ordered that no Confederate prisoners are to be released on parole until further orders. This will not prevent the punishment of officers who are found guilty of attempting to incite the negroes to revolt.

The Federal war steamer, the Vanderbilt, has returned to New York after an unsuccessful cruise in search of the Alabama. She is forthwith to make another attempt. The Sacramento is to be despatched on the same errand.

There is another claimant on the attention of the Federal cruisers. The Confederate steamer Retribution has put in an appearance off St. Thomas, and has taken five seamen from the brig Gilmore Meredith, who, we are told, were quite willing to enter the Confederate service. The Retribution is very fast and armed with five guns.

A Federal gunboat has been destroyed by the batteries of Fort Hudson.

The steamer Columbia, which was captured by the Federals while attempting to run the blockade at Charleston about a year ago, and subsequently turned into a vessel of war, grounded off the North Carolina coast on the evening of the 14th. On the 16th she was captured by the Confederates; her commander, twelve officers, and twenty-eight men were taken prisoners.

The Signal Book, giving the keys to Howe's code, naval code, and merchants' code of signals, was in the Harriet Lane when she was taken by the Confederates.

On the 17th of January a vessel, supposed to be the steamer Huntress, with 400 bales of cotton on board, attempted unsuccessfully to get out of Charleston, and was burnt off the mouth of the Swash channel.

A resolution has been introduced into the Federal Senate, for granting letters of marque.

Private letters from New Orleans state that Mr. P. N. Wood, the President of the Merchants' Bank, died lately at Canton, Mississippi; and that Mr. Davis, President of the Orleans Bank, has been released by General Banks, but that his mind has given way from the effects of his rigorous confinement.

Not having quite work enough on hand, some people in the North desire to pick a quarrel with France. In the Federal Senate, on the 19th January, Mr. McDougal (Democrat) offered the following concurrent resolutions:—

Resolved, That the present attempt by the French Government to subjugate the republic of Mexico to her authority by armed force is a violation of the established rules of international law, and that it is, moreover, a violation of the faith of France, pledged by the treaty made at London on the 31st of October, 1861, between the allied Governments of Spain, France, and England, and communicated to this Government over the signatures of the representatives of the allied Powers by the letter of the 30th of November, 1861, and particularly and repeatedly assured to this Government through its Minister resident at the Court of France.

Resolved further, That the attempt to subject the republic of Mexico to French authority is an act not merely unfriendly to this republic, but to free institutions everywhere, and is regarded as not only unfriendly, but as hostile.

Resolved, further, That it is the duty of this republic to require of the Government of France that her armed forces should be withdrawn from the territory of Mexico.

Resolved, further, That it is the duty and proper office of this republic now, and at all times, to lend such aid to the republic of Mexico as is or may be required to prevent the forcible interposition of any of the States of Europe in the political affairs of that republic.

Resolved, further, That the President of the United States causes to be communicated to the Government of Mexico the views now expressed by the two Houses of Congress, and that he be further requested to cause to be negotiated such a treaty or treaties between the two republics as will tend to make these views effective.

On the motion of Mr. McDougal the resolutions were laid over.

The Federal press generally approves the resolutions, but thinks the moment inopportune for their introduction, and that it is not possible to carry them out.

Mr. Lincoln has approved the bill to issue \$100,000,000 in green backs, for the payment of arrears to the soldiers and sailors, and took the opportunity of sending a message to Congress deprecating the issue of so much United States' paper. The burden of the message was to advise the members to accept the proposal of Mr. Chase. We will not trouble our readers with the whole of this message, but content ourselves with giving the description given of its reception:—

As the reading of the document proceeded, curiosity gave place to astonishment. The recommendation to Congress to adopt Secretary Chase's banking scheme provoked laughter over most of the House. Mr. Washburne's motion to refer the message to a special committee was speedily laid on the table by a vote of 62 to 20. While thus placing the document where the House could handle it to-morrow, the expression of irritation at what was called the interference and dictation of the President was very general. The message fell on a very thin Senate. The printing of it was refused by the few members present, and the adjournment took place in a greater and more general expression of resentment at what a distinguished senator called the President's growing habit of returning Bills with his signature, accompanied with lectures to Congress for having passed them.

No financial scheme has been adopted. Mr. Chase's plan being rejected, a bill has been promoted for raising \$900,000,000 by twenty year six per cent. loans, \$300,000,000 by three year six per cent. Treasury notes, and a further issue of \$300,000,000 legal tender notes.

Gold after receding to forty-six per cent., was, on the 24th of January, fifty per cent. premium.

At a Democratic meeting at Fort Lee, New Jersey, on the 8th instant, ex-Governor Price said: "The Union is broken, and the States must fall back into the original elements, the same as before the Constitution was adopted." He added "If the Southern States are willing to come back, New Jersey will say to them: 'Come back; you shall have all the guarantees you had before, and if you want more for the institutions in your respective States, you shall have them.'" Mr. T. D. English, a member elect of the State Legislature, was not less emphatic. He said: "If this war on the South continued much longer, he did not hesitate to say we would have war at the North—at our own hearthstones. If the Administration would not heed the lessons of the late elections—if they would persist in the violation of States and popular rights—the people would seek a remedy in the Constitution; but, if that should fail, they would turn upon them the mouths of their cannon and the points of their sabres!"

The Governor of New Jersey, in his Message to the Legislature, denounces the Emancipation Proclamation and the illegal arrests.

In the Federal House of Representatives Mr. Hardy, of Kentucky, denounced the Emancipation Proclamation. He said it was a war upon the Constitution. It was an assumption of despotic power. No State could be safe with such a power suspended over it. No stronger disunion document was ever issued. Those who approved it were ready to yield their liberty and confess themselves slaves.

Colonel Wall, who was elected United States' Senator from New Jersey, to fill a vacancy in the present Congress, was arrested by Mr. Stanton, several months ago, and confined in Fort Lafayette. He is the brother of the representative of Texas in the Provisional Confederate Congress, and is now a Brigadier-General in the Confederate army.

The *New York Tribune* urges the arming of every man, native or foreign, black or white, who will fight for the Union.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is clamouring for a servile war. In an address written by him, in the *Independent*, occurs the following paragraph:—

Congress is in a dispute over a bill to arm and equip 150,000 negroes, to serve in the war. Let it stop the debate! The case is settled; the problem is solved; the argument is done. Let the recruiting-sergeants beat their drums! The next levy of troops must not be made in the North, but on the plantations. Marshal them into line by regiments and brigades! The men that have picked cotton must now pick flints! Gather the great third army! For two years the Government has been searching, in an enemy's country, for a path to victory: only the negro can find it! Give him a gun and bayonet, and let him point the way! The future is fair: God and the Negro are to save the republic!

The *New York World* remarks that if such brutal and profane words came from Bedlam they would be sufficiently disgusting, but that they are printed in a paper professedly religious. It is astonishing how closely irreligion and Northern abolitionism are united.

The New York State Assembly has not yet elected a Speaker, although there has been nineteen ballots. The excitement is very great. General Seymour had declined, on the recommendation of the Senate, to call out the militia unless requested to do so by the members of the House of Representatives. In order to make a diversion, the Republicans proposed a War-Democrat, but the compromise was rejected by the Democrats.

General Wool, appointed by the Federal Government to command the troops of New York and the New England States, finds his task anything but an easy one. He ordered the commanders of militia regiments to report to him. Some refused to do so, and General Hall, the commander of the militia, entered a rigorous protest against General Wool's proceedings. General Seymour has been officially informed of General Wool's interference in the affairs of the State. The matter caused great excitement.

General Fitz John Porter has been convicted of shameful disobedience to the orders of General Pope. The court sentenced him to be dismissed the service, and Mr. Lincoln has approved the finding. This decision has caused general surprise, and some of the papers consider it as another blow to the army.

General Hitchcock has publicly accused General McClellan of disobeying Mr. Lincoln's orders, and it is probable that McClellan may be tried by court martial. The Northern people appear to enjoy these trials, and they certainly lead to some amusing revelations.

The *New York Herald*, so far from endorsing the Republican condemnation of McClellan, recommends President Lincoln to place him at the head of the War Department.

The Hon. Geo. W. Randolph is the People's candidate for next Governor of Virginia.

Judge Holt died in Augusta on the 14th of January.

The Mexican Minister at Washington has complained to the Federal Government that he was refused permission to ship arms to a Mexican blockaded port, while it permitted the shipment of mules and waggons for the French in Mexico.

Mr. Seward replied that he did not recognize a state of war as existing between Mexico and the Allies, as there had been no declaration of war; therefore the United States could not govern their conduct by the rules of neutrals; but the prohibition to ship arms applied to all nations on the ground of the military necessities of the United States.

The Northern papers are filling their columns with extracts from intercepted despatches of the Confederate Government to its agents in Europe. The despatches are nearly all of old date, being duplicates of originals which had long since reached their destination, and contain little of importance at this juncture of affairs. The most interesting is one giving an account of a very foolish scheme, in the course of last autumn, on the part of the French Consul at Galveston, to detach Texas from the Confederation. The plot was neither very deep-laid, nor had progressed beyond the initiative steps when it was discovered, the Consul having applied directly to the Governor of Texas, and through an accomplice the French Vice-Consul at Richmond, to one of the Senators from that State. The result was that the would-be intriguers were, figuratively speaking, taken by the ear by the authorities to whom they had applied, and taken before the Confederate Secretary of State. The latter dismissed both the Consuls from the country, but afterwards recalled the sentence in the case of the Vice-Consul at Richmond, who appears to have been the lesser offender, and to have played only a very subordinate part. It is needless to say that the French Government had no part in the affair.

ENGLAND.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

The following is the paragraph relating to America:—

Her Majesty has abstained from taking any step with a view to induce a cessation of the conflict between the contending parties in the North American States, because it has not yet seemed to Her Majesty that any such overtures could be attended with a probability of success.

The apparent improvement of the condition of Lancashire does not proceed more rapidly than

heretofore. The following is the variation in the amount of pauperism in the undermentioned 21 unions, on a comparison of the fourth with the third week of the present month. The total number of paupers in the third week of January in the section of unions marked (a) was 47,790; in the section (b) 28,190; and in the section (c) 170,760; together, 246,740. The aggregate population of these unions is 2,080,000.

(a) Five unions have more:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Chorley	250	Warrington ..	100
Chorlton	1,050		
Liverpool	110	Total ..	1,630
Macclesfield ..	120		

(b) Three unions are in respect of the amount of pauperism the same as in the previous week—Glossop, Preston (no return this week), Saddleworth.

(c) Thirteen unions have less:—

	Paupers.		Paupers.
Ashton-under-Lyne	830	Rochdale ..	180
Blackburn	540	Salford	400
Bolton	110	Stockport ..	400
Barnley	470	Todmorden ..	90
Bury	200	Wigan	70
Haslingden ..	290		
Manchester ..	680	Total ..	4,920
Oldham	630		

NET DECREASE IN THE PAUPERISM OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT.

To the end of December, 1862 ..	10,950
First week of January, 1863 ..	7,310
Second ditto	8,620
Third ditto	4,490
Fourth	3,390

Total 34,760

The net decrease from the highest point attained in the following unions is, in respect of Ashton-under-Lyne, 6,450; Blackburn, 10,230 (of this number 6,000 were transferred to the local Relief Committee); Barnley, 3,460; Haslingden, 5,350; Oldham, 4,970; and Stockport, 4,880.

It is quite clear that a diminution in the numbers of the unemployed, which proceeds at so very slow a rate (about one to one and a quarter per cent. per week on the whole number out of work), affords no solid ground for any hope of a revival of trade. Indeed, it is plain to all who look to the statistics of the cotton market, or who consider the relative prices of calico and of cloth, that no such revival is possible while the American war continues.

Complaints are beginning to be made of waste and mismanagement in the distribution of the funds entrusted to the local committees. Such complaints must always occur, and must often be well-grounded, when a vast scheme of charitable relief has suddenly to be organized. The chief fault, in the present case, lies in the egotistical obstinacy of the Mansion-house Committee. Knowing nothing about the local affairs of Lancashire, and yet insisting on keeping in their own hands the apportionment of the funds they have collected, they have done everything in their power to thwart the efforts of the Central Executive Committee at Manchester to introduce order and economy into the system of distribution. Their defence is rested on two grounds; first, that the moneys in their hands were entrusted to them, and that they ought not to resign the trust; and secondly, that the local Committees have, in many cases, written to beg them not to hand over their funds to the executive in Manchester. There is not the slightest force in either excuse. Those who have sent their subscriptions to the Mansion-house have done so merely for convenience sake; no one knowing or caring anything about the composition of the Committee which sits there: while every one knows that the Manchester Executive comprises the ablest, most eminent, and best informed men in Lancashire of all classes, sects, and parties. And the reason why the Local Committees wish to retain the division of distributive agencies is plain enough—it serves to emancipate them from effective control and supervision. The waste and confusion at Ashton is due solely to the Mansion-house Committee, which persists in supporting there a local faction of no repute or influence, which has chosen to set up a rivalry to the Relief Committee composed of the leading men of the town, and acknowledged by the Executive at Manchester. We believe that the chief merchants, manufacturers, and gentlemen of Lancashire would be almost unanimous in the wish that the Mansion-house Committee would resign functions which it cannot possibly discharge with efficiency.

The Central Executive Committee held their usual meeting on Monday, in the Manchester Town-hall. It was announced that the George Griswold was bringing at least 10,000 barrels of flour from New York. Mr. Farnell read his report, of which the following is an extract:—

Your Committee may have observed a statement in the *Times* of last Saturday that imposition had been discovered by a local Committee in Manchester, which resulted in 250 pensioners taking their names off the relief list, and you may also have observed that a compiler of reports of the *Times*, headed "Notices," collects from every source and republishes all information similar to that to which I have alluded. These proceedings are calculated to lead the benevolent subscribers to your funds to the conclusion that their money is not carefully disbursed, and I therefore take this opportunity of assuring the public that there are upwards of 140 Local Committees earnestly at work in the cotton manufacturing districts; that

these Committees are composed of some of the best men in each locality; that, in conjunction with the Guardians of the poor, they are feeding and clothing with economy and care upwards of 430,000 persons; and that, to my knowledge, the conduct of those persons has been conspicuous, not only for fortitude, but for honesty, and that cases of imposition have been in an extraordinary degree rare. I have considered it my duty to point out to the secretary to the Lord Mayor of London that circumstances in connection with relief in the township of Ashton-under-Lyne have been officially reported to your Committee, clearly establishing the conclusion that it is inexpedient to support two Committees for the distribution of charity in that township; and that it will be impracticable to maintain a sound local administration of relief while two Local Committees are distributing charitable funds there without co-operation or mutual understanding. Information has reached me which now enables me to state that the following 12 Unions are in a position to avail themselves of the provisions of the 25th and 26th of Victoria, cap. 110, viz.:—In the county of Lancaster: Blackburn, Burnley, Bury, Haslingden, Oldham, Preston, Rochdale, Salford, and Todmorden. In the county of Chester: Ashton-under-Lyne and Stockport. In the county of Derby: Glossop.

A discussion took place, in which the opinion was generally expressed that the present improvement in trade would not last long, and that very soon numbers of workmen in the trades indirectly dependent on cotton—engineers and so forth—would come upon the relief funds.

What is called by the *Daily News* and the *Morning Star* a great demonstration in favour of negro emancipation, and of President Lincoln's policy, took place on Thursday night at Exeter Hall. The old farce of "The People of England; or, The Three Tailors of Tooley Street," was reproduced on that occasion, in a place generally destined to more solemn purposes. The parts of the three tailors were taken by the Rev. Baptist Noel, Dr. Newman Hall, and Mr. Ludlow—(did any of our readers ever hear of any of these gentlemen before?)—while, for this occasion only, a fourth tailor made his appearance, in the person of the eccentric Member for Leicester. Mr. Thomas Hughes, the author of a rather clever school-boy story, and formerly eminent as a supporter of trades-unions, and trades-union murders, also rendered his valuable assistance, and the audience were kind enough, in compassion to the weakness and inexperience of these good-natured amateurs, not to hiss them off the stage. But it was fully understood that the performance was not to be repeated, and the critiques of the press the next day were exceedingly severe. Mr. Forster also spoke at Bradford in defence of his Northern friends—as well as a man could speak in so hopeless a cause. He thought that Mr. Lincoln ought to have gone further, and declared the country in a state of revolution, law and constitutional forms at an end, and abolition a military necessity throughout the Union. We agree in part with Mr. Forster. This would have been more consistent, and not more criminal, than the course which Mr. Lincoln has actually pursued. It would, however, have been necessary, in order to the effectual working of such an edict, to raise 200,000 men to occupy the Border Slave States; and this Mr. Lincoln is not in a position to do.

At a meeting held at Rochdale, to return thanks for the paltry contribution of New York towards the relief of the distress which the criminal insanity of the Northern States has inflicted upon Lancashire, Mr. Bright delivered a furious speech against the South. He affirmed that it had kept back cotton in order to injure England, and drive her to break the blockade. He said that that which the South had seceded from the United States to maintain was felony by our law. They were not only slave owners, slave buyers and sellers, but that which out of Pandemonium itself never was conceived of,—they were slave breeders for a slave market. He regretted more than he could express this painful fact, that of all the countries of Europe, England was the only one which had men in it willing to take active steps in favour of this intimidating slave Government.

Slavery is not felony by our law; it simply cannot exist in England. And it did exist, when Mr. Bright was a young man, in English colonies. The rest of his choice epithets may be left to answer themselves—we have simply to record that once more Mr. Bright has proved himself incapable of truth and contemptuous of decency.

Mr. F. Peel, one of the subordinate members of the present Ministry, addressed his constituents at Bury on Tuesday last. He admitted that the Government would have to stand on the defensive in regard to their American policy. In respect to their refusal to mediate, the burden of proof would be with them, and he believed they would be able to show that the offer of mediation would have certainly been rejected, and have done no good. The North complained rather of the English people than of the Government. They complained that we had no sympathy with their desire to abolish slavery. The answer to that complaint was that they had no such desire; that they wished to use the offer of emancipation only as a weapon of offence, and that their object was not to free the blacks, but to ruin the

white men of the Southern States. With such a feeling Englishmen could have no sympathy.

The British Minister in China has sent home an address to Lord Russell, signed by several of the leading British firms in the Celestial Empire, complaining of restrictions imposed upon the rights to which they consider themselves entitled under the treaty concluded by Lord Elgin. They affirm that that treaty gave them the right of trading freely at any point on the Yangtze-kiang River; whereas the Chinese Government desires to limit them to the three consular ports thereon, and further, to establish custom-houses at each of these ports, instead of only at the mouth of the river; an arrangement inconvenient to trade and unprofitable to the revenue. Further, they complain that the treaty entitled them to buy land, rent houses, and settle in the interior; which they are forbidden to do by the Chinese, supported by our Ambassador at Peking. They assert that the object of the Chinese officials is to keep the inland trade in the hands of natives, who must submit to extortion; and request the Government to enforce their treaty rights to the letter. It is to be hoped that Lord Russell will think twice, before adding to the manifold troubles and difficulties which beset the Regency that governs in the name of the infant "Brother of the Sun and Moon."

Lord Russell has given a new proof of that gentleness towards the weak and firmness towards the strong which so eminently distinguish his foreign policy. He has endured with patience the affronts put upon him by the United States, and has nobly forborne to resent the outrages committed against British subjects and British vessels by their commanders at sea and their officials on shore, in consideration for their weakness and insignificance. But how differently he treats the great and powerful empire of Brazil. A few wreckers on the coast near Rio de Janeiro are said to have plundered some British seamen. Instantly amends are required; pecuniary compensation for the sufferers, punishment for the Brazilian officers who ought to have prevented the outrage. The Imperial Government resists the demand; on which five merchantmen in the port of Rio are immediately seized by the English commander there, and not released until the Government of Brazil agrees to make reparation for the alleged injury, leaving the details of that reparation to be settled by the King of the Belgians. Circumstances alter cases. Of course Lord Russell would have treated France as he has treated Brazil, and Denmark as he has treated the United States.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, one of the most eminent of the Whig party in the House of Commons during the Napoleonic wars, and afterwards, though never in the highest offices, and never prominent as a political partisan, the acknowledged chief of the Whig aristocracy, died on Saturday last, at the age of eighty-two. He held a seat in the Cabinet, though without office so lately as March 1858.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The address voted by the Senate in answer to the Imperial speech is somewhat less favourable to Italy, and more open in its expressions of support to the Pope, than the Emperor's speech. but it has passed with only one dissentient vote—that of Prince Napoleon. At a recent ball at the Tuileries, his Imperial Highness was also absent; marking thereby his disapproval of the reception given by the Empress to a number of Neapolitan refugees. The Italian Minister also absented himself.

M. de Montalembert having been attacked in the *Journal des Debats* as the author of the Pope's misfortunes, wrote to protest against so unreasonable an accusation. After an interval of silence, the editor refused to insert his letter, conveying his refusal in such form as to imply that he acted under compulsion from above. Able as M. de Montalembert is, the bitterest things he could say would not do the French Government a tithe of the damage it receives from such acts as this.

The *Times* correspondent does not think that the Emperor anticipates any success from his proposal lately conveyed to the Government at Washington. It is said to be merely intended to pave the way for more effective action.

GERMANY.—The Prussian Chamber has debated and voted the address of the Liberal majority, reflecting very severely on the Ministry. M. von Bismark-Schönhausen asserted in vain that the Chamber was trespassing on the Royal prerogative, and endeavouring to arrogate to itself the command of the army, to which it has no manner of right. There is, of course, some truth in the assertion. It is beyond doubt that the refusal of the Chamber to vote the Ministerial budget of 1862 did not rest simply on financial grounds. They disapproved the Royal plan for the military organization of the country, and therefore refused to vote the funds

required. M. Bismark's error lies in his inability to perceive that this must inevitably be the case; that those who hold the national purse must inevitably rule the country. If the King is not prepared, as his Ministers declare that he is not, to accept this conclusion, he must either alter the Constitution or abdicate. At present he is in no yielding temper; he has gone so far as to refuse to allow the address to be presented by a deputation from the Chamber. It will therefore be forwarded to him in the form of a letter. Some members of the Herrenhaus are trying to effect a compromise.

DENMARK.—At a dinner given by the King, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of his accession, the Prince Christian, father of the future Queen of England, gave "His Majesty's health," in a speech expressive of the strongest feelings of loyalty and patriotism; feelings stimulated to unusual warmth by the menaces and aggressions of the German Confederation.

The Estates of Holstein have met, and the measures which have passed, or are to pass, the Danish Parliament have been submitted to them by a Royal Commissioner. The Estates are about as loyal to their King as the Ionian Senate to the protecting Power; and the authority exacted for them by the Confederation will, of course, be used only to annoy and thwart the Danish Government.

POLAND.—The Polish insurrection assumes more and more formidable dimensions. We have none but Russian accounts, but they all represent the insurgents as gaining strength and receiving recruits from the better classes of society, and in despite of the evident desire to deprecate the importance of the outbreak, it is plainly a very serious one. It appears that considerable numbers of refugees from the conscription have crossed the frontier, while in some cases conscripts have been released by the insurgents. So far as we can judge from the telegraphic statements, the enforcement of a conscription by selection appears to have driven the Polish nation generally to despair; and though Warsaw wisely and patriotically submitted, in the first instance, the rest of the country has not had the endurance to follow so magnanimous an example. The insurrection once commenced, thousands who see its utter hopelessness will probably be induced to join it. Encounters have taken place between the Poles and the Russian troops, in some of which the latter have been worsted. Everything betokens the probability of a wide-spread and desperate struggle. The clergy are said to be the chief instigators of the rebellion.

The telegraph announces anarchical conspiracies and insurrections in Greece, which are not likely finally to disappear until a king is elected. It is also announced that the Duke of Coburg is willing to become a candidate for the crown, nominating his nephew, the Prince of Coburg-Kohary, who is to adopt the Greek faith, as his heir. It is thought that the proposal may prove satisfactory to the Greeks.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Feb. 4.

Our last report closed on a dull market with Fair Dhollerahs at 17½d., and Middling Orleans, 23½d.

The cause of the depression then existing, was mainly the unfavourable aspect of the money market; a further rise in the Bank minimum of one per cent. had just taken place, and fears were generally entertained that this step would not be sufficient to check the efflux of bullion, and that another rise was imminent. Under this adverse influence, holders became very anxious sellers, and on Friday with sales of 3000 bales some very low prices were accepted. Fair Dhollerahs being sold at 16½d., and Middling American from 21d. to 22d. The greatness of the decline, together with a more hopeful view regarding the course of our Money Market, led to a better demand on Saturday, the sales reaching 5000 bales at rather higher rates.

On Monday, India telegrams were to hand, reporting a rise in goods of from 6d. to 1s. per piece, which served to maintain the better feeling, and with sales of 5000 bales, prices were steady on the basis of 17d. for Fair Dhollerahs.

On Tuesday the sales reached 6000 bales without change.

The Manchester market had, in sympathy with our own exhibited more activity, and the depression of the previous week had disappeared, but very little business was transacted, with almost no buying for foreign markets, the margin between India and Manchester being still too great to create an export demand for that quarter.

Our market to-day has not exhibited so much tone, and we close with more disposition to sell than was apparent yesterday. The sales reach 5000 bales, and we quote Fair Dhollerahs and Omrawattec 17d. Fair Broach 17½, and Middling Orleans 22½d.

The American news, though interesting in detail, contains no item of special importance. The premium on gold, by latest advices, had reached 50 per cent., while cotton had run up to 76 cents. Though the Army of the Potomac had left its quarters, the river still separated the two armies, and a

battle was soon expected. As the time of the Federal nine-months' recruits had almost expired, it was thought that Mr. Lincoln would force all his available forces into action, and before long we may hear of severe fighting in Virginia, Tennessee, and the Mississippi.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, February 3.

The advance in the rate of discount to five per cent. on Wednesday last, and the downward tendency of the Liverpool cotton marked from day to day, have produced such a depressing effect on our yarn and cloth market, that next to no business has been done at all in consequence.

Yarns for export and those suitable for the home manufacturers have been quite neglected, still such is the firmness of holders, that no material concession would be made, in the case of offers, at lower rates than those of the week previous.

Cloths are in the same category, neither buyers nor sellers caring to operate for the present.

To-day there has been a better tone imparted to the market generally, owing to better telegrams from Calcutta and Bombay, with dates of 10th and 11th of January, respectively, those from the former place advising an advance of from 9d. to 1s. per piece on shirtings, and from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. on yarns, and those from the latter place advising an advance of from 6d. to 9d. per piece on shirtings during the fortnight.

There were some buyers in the market for India shirtings who offered 2s. per lb., but no sales were effected. Some few yarn agents disposed of a little, 32s. and 40s. twist cops to the home manufacturers at 2s. and 2s. 3d. per lb. respectively, still the market has been altogether unsatisfactory.

PRIVATE LETTER.

Extract of a letter from a young lady in Richmond, Virginia, to a near relative now in London, dated

Richmond, December 14, 1862.

I have written you one letter to-night, my dear —, but shall begin another to go by a gentleman who will leave here on Tuesday. I shall, I know, have a busy day to-morrow, and shall not be able to send you a letter, unless it is written to-night. Mr. —, who will give you this, we have seen frequently during the last few months, although we have not known him very well, yet I have heard him spoken of in the kindest terms by —, and by all those who know him; I doubt not he will give you an interesting account of everything in this country. The city is filled with refugees, who must be provided for. You have probably been informed that every one has been compelled to leave Fredericksburg, many of them have come here, and very many have found shelter in the little country houses, and even in the churches, on the road between here and there. Gentlemen who have come from the army tell me they saw, everywhere on the road, ladies handsomely dressed standing at the doors of the poorest little cabins. It is a sad condition—hundreds of families compelled to crowd together into Richmond, and to seek an asylum in all manner of remote country villages. We are obliged to practice great economy, neither mother, —, or I have bought a dress or bonnet this winter, but have brushed up our old ones. We have been wanting to get homespun dresses, but have not yet succeeded, except in getting one dress for —, as it is scarce, and so expensive. — wears her homespun cotton on all occasions, and it is much admired; she bought it from an old woman in North Carolina. But this scarcity is felt most keenly by our soldiers, many of whom are without blankets. A day or two ago, I received a letter from Colonel —, telling me he had in his command 200 men who had not a single blanket, and they were living in tents, and the ground was covered with snow. Colonel — is the son-in-law of your friend Mr. —, and was the captain of the company of Marylanders to whom — presented a flag a year ago. I knew him last winter in Winchester, and was then instrumental in having uniforms made for his men. He is now in Giles county, Virginia, and wrote me a very good letter describing the sufferings of his men, and saying he had been unable to get any blankets, and determined to appeal to me for aid, hoping I could get blankets or carpets from some of the societies for aiding the soldiers. I took the letter to Mrs. —, who is always interested in these matters and has told me always to apply to her when I want assistance—she is, moreover, on very intimate terms with Colonel —, the Quartermaster-General. So I asked her to go with me to see Colonel —, which she did. I showed him the letter, and urged the case so strongly that he promised to make every effort to give me the blankets; but the following day I had a note from him saying he had not a single blanket in his department. I then took Colonel —'s letter and Colonel —'s note, and went to see two of the ministers of the largest Episcopal churches, and asked for the carpets from the churches, or for some assistance in collecting blankets; the consequence was, the clergy had a consultation yesterday as to the best mode of obtaining the supply required, and this morning appeals were made from the pulpits for donations of blankets or of carpets; a place was appointed for receiving such donations, and a meeting requested to-morrow of the ladies to cut the carpets into the right sizes and shapes, and to line them with cotton in order to increase their warmth. I also went to see Mr. —, who is the president of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is doing an immense amount of good, and obtained the promise of cotton enough to line the carpets, and made all necessary arrangements for having them packed and sent to Colonel —. All this sort of work requires no little energy

and perseverance, and my courage sometimes fails me when I find myself taking so prominent a position, and going about very often alone, to see those whose assistance is necessary and who are yet strangers to me; but I shall be rewarded when I succeed, as I do not doubt I shall, in providing for the wants of these soldiers, who are now suffering so severely. I have never yet failed in any scheme I have undertaken for the soldiers, either in the field or in the hospitals, and I am always engaged in some such enterprise. My only trouble is to avoid neglecting my home duties. . . . I have been trying the experiment of sending you the newspapers, but fear the type is so bad you will not be able to read them after they have had a sea voyage. I have said nothing of the battle going on near Fredericksburg, because we know little more than the fact; and I have written you another long letter to-night to go by Mr. —, and in that I told you all I knew. May God bless and preserve you, ever prays,

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, February 3.

Some surprise is felt here that the latest telegrams from the States make no mention of the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, which must have reached Washington before the departure of the *Africa*. I leave you to imagine what impression has been produced at finding, instead of the grateful acknowledgments which the French Government conceives itself entitled to, resolutions introduced into the Senate denouncing the expedition to Mexico.

If this be a symptom of public feeling in the North, there is little doubt of the non-acceptance of the advice tendered by M. Drouyn de Lhuys with so much delicate forbearance. In the event of such being the case, I have reason to believe that the recognition of the South is contemplated. This is not a mere idle assertion, it does not originate from the "wish that is the father to the thought." The statement is deliberately made by the *Independence Belge*, which is generally considered the mouth-piece of the French Foreign Office; the *Independence* not only affirms that the Confederate States are to be recognized if the Northern Cabinet refuses to negotiate on any terms, but that the sham blockade which has been respected with an ostentatious show of neutrality, is to be pronounced as non-effective, and therefore null and void by the French court. Upwards of a year ago that was the conclusion arrived at by M. Hautefeuille, one of the most eminent jurists in France, and there is every reason to hope that his opinion will be acted on.

The debate on the address in the French Senate was a mere formality, gone through on *au galop*, with no other feature than a speech by M. Thouvenel, some amusing abuse of England by M. de Boissy (the husband of the lady described some hat irreverently by one of your contemporaries, as "*la Guiccioli*," and a silent and solitary negative vote of Prince Napoleon, who thus enjoyed the honours of forming a minority of one. M. Thouvenel, though he spoke against the address, had not the courage to accompany into the lobby the Prince, whose views he professed to share. It is remarked that in replying to the address which was presented to him last Sunday, the Emperor treated the adverse vote of his cousin as utterly unimportant, and pointedly dwelt on the unanimity of the Senators! In the *Corps Legislatif* the cause of debate, which commences to-morrow, is not likely to run smooth. Messrs. Jules Favre, and Ollivier, have given notice of amendments to the address which evidently mean mischief. They protest against the constant *avertissements* given to the papers, and denounce the hypocrisy of following up liberal professions by arbitrary acts; they protest against the Mexican expedition as rash, ill-defined, adventurous, and utterly uncalled for, either by the honour or the interest of France. They then proceed to condemn the course pursued by the Government in the Roman question, and with regard to the elections.

Prince Napoleon and the Imperial party are once more at war. The Trojan war, Hesiod tells us, rose out of the Goddess of Discord not being asked to the wedding feast of Pelpos and Thetys. The feud between the Tuileries and the Palais Royal has its source in a couple of dozen Neapolitan refugees being invited to the *soirée dansantes*, given by the Empress every Monday. The Italian Legation were the first to hear of it, and every member of it sent notes apologizing for their non-attendance on the score of indisposition, but ostentatiously paraded at the Opera the same evening. Prince Napoleon first vented his wrath upon the Chamberlain (Duke de Bassano), and to mark his displeasure went to dine with Princess Clotilde in the public room at the Trois Freres. The court party gives out that no offence was intended, but they are so decidedly in the wrong, that it is believed the Tuileries will make *amende*

honorabile, and that the Neapolitans will henceforth be excluded.

In spite of the subscriptions universally got up, and the aid afforded by the Government, the most harrowing distress continues to prevail among the operatives in the cotton districts. It is given out, but I can hardly believe it to be true, that the English workmen at Rouen, who are numerous, have been excluded by the French Committees from any share in the bounty, with the distribution of which they are entrusted. However that may be, the relief as yet is wholly insufficient, and the sufferings are none the less from its being carefully kept out of sight by most of the papers, which seem to think that their first brief mention of it was sufficient. The general distress does not, however, in any way affect the gaieties of the Parisian season, especially in the official world. There is a great ball to-morrow at the Tuileries; a dance on Thursday at M. de Persigny's; a fancy ball on Saturday at the Foreign Office; a dance on Monday next at the Tuileries; a fancy ball on the 11th at the Austrian Embassy, and another on the 14th at Count Walewski's. These balls are good things in themselves, inasmuch as they promote trade of a certain kind, but truth compels me to state that they are not favourably viewed by the general public.

No Paris paper has been warned or suppressed since I last addressed you—but English residents here complain that for the last five weeks they have not seen the *Saturday Review*.

Marshal Pelissier (Governor-General of Algeria) has given an *avertissement* to *L'Echo d'Oran*, and a Martinique paper, the *Propagateur* has been suspended for two months. In spite of this, M. Peyrat, an able writer, but an ardent republican, has *dit-on*, by dint of perseverance, obtained the requisite authorisation to start a new paper.

The French Government has granted a sum of 87,000,000 francs for the working of the silver and gold mines in Mexico. In addition a brigade of "miners" (not sappers and miners) is being formed to accompany the army, and there is a report that the district of Guaxa is to be "occupied" permanently, so as to defray the costs of the expedition.

THE SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
Confederate States.

At the date of your last adjournment the preparations of the enemy for further hostilities had assumed so menacing an aspect as to excite in some minds apprehension of our ability to meet them with sufficient promptness to avoid serious reverses. These preparations were completed shortly after your departure from the seat of Government, and the armies of the United States made simultaneous advances on our frontiers on the Western rivers and on the Atlantic coast in masses so great as to evince their hope of overbearing all resistance by mere weight of numbers. This hope, however, like those previously entertained by our foe, vanished.

In Virginia, their fourth attempt at invasion by armies whose assured success was confidently predicted has met with decisive repulse. Our noble defenders, under the consummate leadership of their general, have again, at Fredericksburg, inflicted on the forces under General Burnside the like disastrous overthrow as had been previously suffered by the successive invading armies commanded by Generals McDowell, McClellan, and Pope.

In the West, obstinate battles have been fought with varied fortunes, marked by frightful carnage on both sides; but the enemy's hopes of decisive results have again been baffled, while at Vicksburg another formidable expedition has been repulsed with inconsiderable loss on our side, and severe damage to the assailing forces.

On the Atlantic coast the enemy has been unable to gain a footing beyond the protecting shelter of his fleets, and the city of Galveston has just been recovered by our forces, which succeeded, not only in the capture of the garrison, but of one of the enemy's vessels of war, which was carried by boarding parties from merchant river-steamers.

Our fortified positions have everywhere been much strengthened and improved, affording assurance of our ability to meet with success the utmost efforts of our enemies, in spite of the magnitude of their preparations for attack. A review of our history of the two years of our national existence affords ample cause for congratulation, and demands the most fervent expression of our thankfulness to the Almighty Father who has blessed our cause. We are justified in asserting, with a pride surely not unbecoming, that these Confederate States have added another to the lessons taught by history for the instruction of man, that they have afforded another example of the impossibility of subjugating a people determined to be free, and have demonstrated that no superiority of numbers or available resources can overcome the resistance offered by such valour in combat, such constancy under suffering, and such cheerful endurance of privation as have been conspicuously displayed by this people in the defence of their rights and liberties. The anticipations with which we entered into the contest have now ripened into a conviction, which is not only shared with us by the common opinion of neutral nations, but is evidently forcing itself upon our enemies themselves. If we but mark the history of the present year by resolute perseverance in the path we have hitherto pursued, by vigorous effort in the development of all our resources for defence, and by the continued exhibition of the same unflinching courage in our soldiers and able conduct in their leaders as have distinguished the past, we have every reason to expect that this will be the closing year of the war.

The war, which in its inception was waged for forcing us back into the Union, having failed to accomplish that purpose, passed into a second stage, into which it was attempted to conquer and rule these States as dependent provinces. Defeated in this second design, our enemies have evidently entered upon another, which can have no other purpose than revenge and thirst for blood and plunder of private property.

But, however implacable they may be, they can have neither the spirit nor the resources required for a fourth year of a struggle uncheered by any hope of success, kept alive solely for the indulgence of mercenary and wicked passions, and demanding so exhausting an expenditure of blood and money as has hitherto been imposed on their people. The advent of peace will be hailed with joy. Our desire for it has never been concealed. Our efforts to avoid the war, forced on us as it was by the lust of conquest and the insane passions of our foes, are known to mankind. But, earnest as has been our wish for peace, and great as have been our sacrifices and sufferings during the war, the determination of this people has, with each succeeding month, become more unalterably fixed to endure any sufferings and continue any sacrifices, however prolonged, until their right to self-government and the sovereignty and independence of these States shall have been triumphantly vindicated and firmly established.

In this connection the occasion seems not unsuitable for some reference to the relations between the Confederacy and the neutral Powers of Europe since the separation of these States from the former Union. Four of the States, now members of the Confederacy, were recognized by name as independent sovereignties in a treaty of peace concluded in the year 1783, with one of the two great maritime Powers of Western Europe, and had been prior to that period allies in war of the other. In the year 1778 they formed a union with nine other States under articles of Confederation. Dissatisfied with the Union, three of them—Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia—together with eight of the States now members of the United States, seceded from it in 1789, and these eleven seceding States formed a second Union, although by the terms of the Articles of Confederation express provision was made that the first Union should be perpetual. The right to secede, notwithstanding this provision, was never contested by the States from which they separated, nor made the subject of discussion with any third Power. When, at a later period, North Carolina seceded to that second Union, and when, still later, the other seven States, now members of this Confederacy, became also members of the same Union, it was upon the recognized footing of equal and independent sovereignties; nor had it then entered into the minds of men that sovereign States could be compelled by force to remain members of a confederation into which they had entered of their own free will, if at a subsequent period the defence of their safety and honour should, in their judgment, justify withdrawal.

The experience of the past had evinced the futility of any renunciation of such inherent rights, and accordingly the provision for perpetuity contained in the Articles of Confederation of 1788 was omitted in the Constitution of 1789. When, therefore, in 1861 eleven of the States again thought proper, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, to secede from the second Union, and to form a third one, under an amended Constitution, they exercised a right which, being inherent, required no justification to foreign nations, and which international law did not permit them to question. The usages of intercourse between nations do, however, require that official communication be made to friendly Powers of all organic changes in the constitution of States, and there was obvious propriety in giving assurance of our desire to continue amicable relations with all mankind.

It was under the influence of these considerations that your predecessors, the Provisional Government, took early measures for sending to Europe commissioners charged with the duty of visiting the capitals of the different Powers, and making arrangements for the opening of more formal diplomatic intercourse. Prior, however, to the arrival abroad of these commissioners, the United States had commenced hostilities against the Confederacy by despatching a secret expedition for the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, after an express promise to the contrary, and with a duplicity which has been fully unveiled in a former Message. They had also addressed communications to the different Cabinets of Europe, in which they assumed the attitude of being sovereign over this Confederacy, alleging that these independent States were in rebellion against the remaining States of the Union, and threatening Europe with manifestations of their displeasure, if it should treat the Confederate States as having an independent existence. It soon became known that these pretensions were not considered abroad to be as absurd as they were known to be at home, nor had Europe yet learned what reliance was to be placed in the official statements of the Cabinet of Washington. The delegation of power granted by these States to the Federal Government to represent them in foreign intercourse had led Europe into the grave error of supposing that their separate sovereignty and independence had been merged into one common sovereignty, and had ceased to have a distinct existence. Under the influence of this error, which all appeals to reason and historical fact were vainly used to dispel, our commissioners were met by the declaration that foreign Governments could not assume to judge between the conflicting representations of the two parties as to the true nature of their previous mutual relations. The Governments of Great Britain and France accordingly signified their determination to confine themselves to recognizing the self-evident fact of the existence of a war, and to maintaining a strict neutrality during its progress. Some of the other Powers of Europe pursued the same course of policy and it became apparent that by some understanding, express or tacit, Europe had decided to leave the initiative in all action touching the contest on this continent to the two Powers just named, who were recognized to have the largest interest involved, both by reason of proximity and of the extent and intimacy of their commercial relations with the States engaged in war.

It is manifest that the course of action adopted by Europe, while based on an apparent refusal to determine the question, or to side with either party, was in point of fact an actual decision against our rights and in favour of the groundless pretensions of the United States. It was a refusal to treat us as an independent Government. If we were independent States the refusal to entertain with us the same international intercourse as was maintained with our enemy was unjust and injurious in its effects, whatever may have been the motive which prompted it. Neither was it in accordance with the high moral obligations of that international code whose chief sanction is the conscience of sovereigns and the public opinion of mankind, that those eminent Powers should decline the performance of a duty peculiarly incumbent on them from any apprehension of the consequences to themselves. One immediate and necessary result of their declining the responsibility of a decision which must have been adverse to the

extravagant pretensions of the United States was the prolongation of hostilities to which our enemies were thereby encouraged, and which have resulted in nothing but scenes of carnage and devastation on this continent, and of misery and suffering on the other, such as have scarcely a parallel in history. Had these Powers promptly admitted our right to be treated as all other independent nations, none can doubt that the moral effect of such action would have been to dispel the delusion under which the United States have persisted in their efforts to accomplish our subjugation.

To the continued hesitation of the same Powers in rendering this act of simple justice towards this Confederacy is still due the continuance of the calamities which mankind suffers from the interruption of its peaceful pursuits, both in the Old and the New World. There are other matters in which less than justice has been rendered to this people by neutral Europe, and undue advantage effected on the aggressors in a wicked war. At the inception of hostilities the inhabitants of the Confederacy were almost exclusively agriculturalists; those of the United States, to a great extent, mechanics and merchants. We had no commercial marine, while their merchant vessels covered the ocean. We were without a navy, while they had powerful fleets. The advantage which they possessed for inflicting injury on our coasts and harbours was thus counterbalanced in some measure by the exposure of their commerce to attack by private armed vessels.

It was known to Europe that within a very few years past the United States had peremptorily refused to accede to proposals for abolishing privateering, on the ground, as alleged by them, that nations owning powerful fleets, would thereby obtain undue advantage over those possessing inferior naval forces. Yet no sooner was war flagrant between the Confederacy and the United States than the maritime Powers of Europe issued orders prohibiting either party from bringing prizes into their ports. This prohibition, directed with apparent impartiality against both belligerents, was in reality effective against the Confederate States alone, for they alone could find a hostile commerce on the ocean. Merely nominal against the United States, the prohibition operated with intense severity on the Confederacy, by depriving it of the only means of maintaining, with some approach to equality, its struggle on the ocean against the crushing superiority of naval force possessed by its enemies. The value and efficiency of the weapon which was thus wrested from our grasp by the combined action of neutral European Powers, in favour of a nation which professes openly its intention of ravaging their commerce by privateers in any future war, is strikingly illustrated by the terror inspired among the commercial classes of the United States by a single cruiser of the Confederacy. One national steamer, commanded by officers and manned by a crew who are debared by the closure of neutral ports from the opportunity of causing captured vessels to be condemned in their favour as prizes, has sufficed to double the rates of marine insurance in northern ports, and consigned to forced inaction numbers of Northern vessels, in addition to the direct damage inflicted by captures at sea. How difficult, then, to over-estimate the effects that must have been produced by the hundreds of private armed vessels that would have swept the seas in pursuit of the commerce of our enemy if the means of disposing of their prizes had not been withheld by the action of neutral Europe.

But it is especially in relation to the so-called blockade of our coast that the policy of European Powers has been so shaped as to cause the greatest injury to the Confederacy, and to confer signal advantages on the United States. The importance of this subject requires some development. Prior to the year 1856 the principles regulating this subject were to be gathered from the writings of eminent publicists, the decisions of admiralty courts, international treaties, and the usages of nations. The uncertainty and doubt which prevailed in reference to the true rules of maritime law in time of war, resulting from the discordant and often conflicting principles announced from such varied and independent sources, had become a grievous evil to mankind. Whether a blockade was allowable against a port not invested by land as well as by sea, whether a blockade was valid by sea if the investing fleet was merely sufficient to render ingress to the blockaded port evidently dangerous, or whether it was further required for its legality that it should be sufficient really to prevent access, and numerous other similar questions, had remained doubtful and undecided. Animated by the highly honourable desire to put an end to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts—I quote the official language—the five great Powers of Europe, together with Sardinia and Turkey, adopted, in 1856, the following solemn declaration of principles:—

Firstly—Privateering is and remains abolished.

Secondly—The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

Thirdly—Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.

Fourthly—Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

Not only did this solemn declaration announce to the world the principles to which the signing Powers agreed to conform in future wars, but it contained a clause to which those Powers gave immediate effect, and which provided that the States, not parties to the Congress of Paris, should be invited to accede to the declaration. Under this invitation every independent State in Europe yielded its assent. At least, no instance is known to me of a refusal, and the United States, while declining to assent to the proposition which prohibited privateering, declared that the three remaining principles were in entire accordance with their own views of international law. No instance is known in history of the adoption of rules of public law under circumstances of like solemnity with like unanimity and pledging the faith of nations with sanctity so peculiar.

When, therefore, this Confederacy was formed, and when neutral Powers, while deferring action on its demand for admission into the family of nations, recognized it as a belligerent Power, Great Britain and France made informal proposals about the same time that their own rights as neutrals should be guaranteed by our acceding as belligerents to the declaration of principles made by the Congress of Paris. The request was addressed to our sense of justice, and, therefore, met immediate favourable response in the resolutions of the Provisional Congress of the 13th of August, 1861, by which all the principles announced by the Congress of Paris were adopted as the guide of our conduct during the war, with the sole exception of that relative to privateering. As the right to make use of privateers was one in which neutral nations had, as to the present war, no interest—as it was a right which the United States had refused to abandon, and which they remained at liberty to employ against us—as it was a right of which we were already in actual enjoyment, and which we could not be expected to renounce, *flagrante bello*, against an adversary possessing an overwhelming superiority of naval forces—it was

reserved, with entire confidence that neutral nations could not fail to perceive that just reason existed for the reservation. Nor was this confidence misplaced; for the official documents published by the British Government, usually called blue-books, contain the expression of the satisfaction of that Government with the conduct of the officials who conducted successfully the delicate business confided to their charge.

These solemn declarations of principle—this implied agreement between the Confederacy and the two Powers just named—have been suffered to remain inoperative against the menaces and outrages on neutral rights committed by the United States with unceasing and progressing arrogance during the whole period of the war. Neutral Europe remained passive when the United States—with a naval force insufficient to blockade effectively the coast of a single State—proclaimed a paper blockade of thousands of miles of coast, extending from the Cape of the Chesapeake to those of Florida and to Key West, and encircling this Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Compared with this monstrous pretension of the United States, the blockades known in history under the names of the Berlin and Milan decrees and the British Orders in Council, in the years 1806 and 1807, sink into insignificance. Yet those blockades were justified by the Powers that declared them on the sole ground that they were retaliatory; yet those blockades have since been condemned by the publicists of those very Powers as violations of international law; yet those blockades evoked angry remonstrances from neutral Powers, amongst which the United States were the most conspicuous; yet those blockades became the chief cause of the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812; yet those blockades were one of the principal motives that led to the declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856, in the fond hope of imposing an enduring check on the very abuse of maritime power which is now renewed by the United States in 1861 and 1862, under circumstances and with features of aggravated wrong without precedent in history.

The records of our State Department contain the evidence of the repeated and formal remonstrances made by this Government to neutral Powers against the recognition of this blockade. It has been shown by evidence not capable of contradiction, and which has been furnished in part by the officials of neutral nations, that the few ports of this Confederacy before which any naval forces at all have been stationed, have been invested so inefficiently that hundreds of entries have been effected into them since the declaration of the blockade; that our enemies have themselves admitted the inefficiency of their blockade in the most forcible manner by repeated official complaints of the sale to us of goods contraband of war—a sale which could not possibly affect their interests if their pretended blockade was sufficient really to prevent access to our coast; that they have gone farther, and have alleged their inability to render their paper blockade effective, as the excuse for the odious barbarity of destroying the entrance to one of our harbours by sinking vessels loaded with stone in the channel; that our commerce with foreign nations has been interrupted, not by the effective investment of our ports, or by the seizure of ships in the attempt to enter them, but by the capture on the high seas of neutral vessels by the cruisers of our enemies, whenever supposed to be bound to any point on our extensive coast, without inquiry whether a single blockading vessel was to be found at such point; that blockading vessels have left the ports at which they were stationed for distant expeditions, have been absent for many days, and have returned without notice either of the cessation or renewal of the blockade. In a word, that every prescription of maritime law and every right of neutral nations to trade with a belligerent under the sanction of principles heretofore universally respected have been systematically and persistently violated by the United States. Neutral Europe has received our remonstrance and has submitted in almost unbroken silence to all the wrongs that the United States have chosen to inflict on its commerce.

The Cabinet of Great Britain, however, has not confined itself to such implied acquiescence in these breaches of international law as results from simple inaction, but has, in a published despatch of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed to make a change in the principle enunciated by the Congress of Paris, to which the faith of the British Government was considered to be pledged—a change too important and too prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked, and against which I have directed solemn protests to be made, after a vain attempt to obtain satisfactory explanations from the British Government. In a published despatch from her Majesty's Foreign-office to her Minister at Washington, under date of February 11, 1862, occurs the following passage:—"Her Majesty's Government, however, are of opinion that, assuming that the blockade was duly notified, and also that a number of ships are stationed and remain at the entrance of a port sufficient really to prevent access to it, or to create an evident danger of entering it or leaving it, and that these ships do not voluntarily permit ingress or egress, the fact that various ships may have successfully escaped through it (as in the particular instance here referred to) will not of itself prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law."

The words which I have italicised are an addition made by the British Government of its own authority to a principle the exact terms of which were settled with deliberation by the common consent of civilised nations, and by implied convention with this Government, as already explained, and their effect is clearly to reopen, to the prejudice of the Confederacy, one of the very disputed questions on the law of blockade which the Congress of Paris professed to settle. The importance of this change is readily illustrated by taking one of our ports as an example. There is evident danger in entering the port of Wilmington from the presence of a blockading force; and by this test the blockade is effective. "Access is not really prevented" by the blockading fleet to the same port, for steamers are continually arriving and departing; so that, tried by this test, the blockade is ineffective and invalid. The justice of our complaint on this point is so manifest as to leave little room for doubt that further reflection will induce the British Government to give us such assurances as will efface the painful impression that would result from its language if left unexplained.

From the foregoing remarks you will perceive that during nearly two years of struggle, in which every energy of our country has been evoked for maintaining its very existence, the neutral nations of Europe have pursued a policy which, nominally impartial, has been practically most favourable to our enemies and most detrimental to us.

The exercise of the neutral right of refusing entry into their ports to prizes taken by both belligerents was eminently hurtful to the Confederacy. It was sternly asserted and maintained. The exercise of the neutral right of commerce with a belligerent whose ports are not blockaded by fleets sufficient really to prevent access to them would have been eminently

hurtful to the United States. "It was complaisantly abandoned. The duty of neutral States to receive with cordiality and recognize with respect any new Confederation that independent States may think proper to form was too clear to admit of denial; but its postponement was obviously beneficial to the United States and detrimental to the Confederacy. It was postponed.

In this review of our relations with the neutral nations of Europe, it has been my purpose to point out distinctly that this Government has no complaint to make that those nations declared their neutrality. It could neither expect nor desire more. The complaint is that the neutrality has been rather nominal than real, and that recognized neutral rights have been alternately asserted and waived in such manner as to bear with great severity on us, and to confer signal advantages on our enemy.

I have hitherto refrained from calling your attention to this condition of our relations with foreign Powers for various reasons. The chief of these was the fear that a statement of our last grounds of complaint against a course of policy so injurious to our interests might be misconstrued into an appeal for aid. Unequal as we were in mere numbers and available resources to our enemies, we were conscious of powers of resistance in relation to which Europe was incredulous, and our remonstrances were therefore peculiarly liable to be misunderstood.

Proudly self-reliant, the Confederacy, knowing full well the character of the contest into which it was forced, with full trust in the superior qualities of its population, the superior valour of its soldiers, the superior skill of its generals, and above all, in the justice of its cause, felt no use to appeal for the maintenance of the rights to other earthly aids, and it began and has continued this struggle with the calm confidence ever inspired in those who, with consciousness of right, can invoke the Divine blessing on their cause. This confidence has been so assured that we have never yielded to despondency under defeat, nor do we feel undue elation at the present brighter prospect of a successful issue to our contest. It is therefore because our just grounds of complaint can no longer be misrepresented that I lay them clearly before you. It seems to me now proper to give you the information, and although no immediate results may be attained, it is well that truth should be preserved and recorded. It is well that those who are to follow us should understand the full nature and character of the tremendous conflict in which the blood of our people has been poured out like water, and in which we have resisted, unaided, the shocks of hosts which would have sufficed to overthrow many of the Powers which, by their hesitation in according our rights as an independent nation, imply doubt of our ability to maintain our national existence. It may be, too, that if in future unfriendly discussions not now anticipated shall unfortunately arise between this Confederacy and some European Power, the recollection of our forbearance under the grievances which I have enumerated may be evoked with happy influence in preventing any serious disturbance of peaceful relations.

It would not be proper to close my remarks on the subject of our foreign relations without adverting to the fact that the correspondence between the Cabinets of France, Great Britain, and Russia, recently published, indicates a gratifying advance in the appreciation by those Governments of the true interests of mankind, as involved in the war on this continent. It is to the enlightened ruler of the French nation that the public feeling of Europe is indebted for the first official exhibition of its sympathy for the sufferings endured by this people with so much heroism, of its horror at the awful carnage with which the progress of the war has been marked, and of its desire for a speedy peace. The clear and direct intimation contained in the language of the French note that our ability to maintain our independence has been fully established, was not controverted by the answer of either of the Cabinets to which it was addressed. It is indeed difficult to conceive a just ground for a longer delay on this subject, after reading the following statement of facts contained in the letter emanating from the Minister of his Imperial Majesty:—"There has been established from the very beginning of this war an equilibrium of forces between the belligerents which has since been almost constantly maintained; and after the spilling of so much blood they are to-day in this respect in a situation which has not sensibly changed. Nothing authorizes the anticipation that more decisive military operations will shortly occur. According to the last advices received in Europe the two armies were, on the contrary, in a condition which permitted neither to hope within a short delay advantages sufficiently marked to turn the balance definitely, and to accelerate the conclusion of peace." As this Government has never professed the intention of conquering the United States, but has simply asserted its ability to defend itself against being conquered by that Power, we may safely conclude that the claims of this Confederacy to its just place in the family of nations cannot long be withheld after so frank and formal an admission of its capacity to cope, on equal terms, with its aggressive foes, and to maintain itself against their attempts to obtain decisive results by arms.

It is my painful duty again to inform you of the renewed examples of every conceivable atrocity committed by the armed forces of the United States at different points within the Confederacy, and which must stamp indelible infamy, not only on the perpetrators, but on their superiors, who, having the power to check these outrages on humanity, numerous and well authenticated as they have been, have not yet in a single instance of which I am aware inflicted punishment on the wrongdoers. Since my last communication to you one General McNeil murdered seven prisoners of war in cold blood, and the demand for his punishment has remained unsatisfied. The Government of the United States, after promising examination and explanation in relation to the charges made against General Benjamin F. Butler, has by its subsequent silence after repeated efforts on my part to obtain some answer on the subject, not only admitted his guilt, but sanctioned it by acquiescence; and I have accordingly branded this criminal as an outlaw, and directed his execution in expiation of his crimes if he should fall into the hands of any of our forces.

Recently I have received apparently authentic intelligence of another general, by the name of Milroy, who has issued orders in Western Virginia for the payment of money to him by the inhabitants, accompanied by the most savage threats of shooting every recusant, besides burning his house, and threatening similar atrocities against any of our citizens who shall fail to betray their country by giving him prompt notice of the approach of any of our forces. And this subject has also been submitted to the superior military authorities of the United States, with but faint hope that they will evince any disapprobation of the act. Humanity shudders at the appalling atrocities which are being daily multiplied under the sanction of those who have obtained temporary possession of power in the United States, and who are fast making its once fair name a byword of reproach among civilized men. Not even the

natural indignation inspired by this conduct should make us, however, so unjust as to attribute to the whole mass of the people who are subjected to the despotism that now reigns with unbridled license in the city of Washington a willing acquiescence in its conduct of the war. There must necessarily exist among our enemies very many, perhaps a majority, whose humanity recoils from all participation in such atrocities, but who cannot be held wholly guiltless while permitting their continuance without an effort at repression.

The public journals of the North have been received, containing a proclamation, dated on the first day of the present month, signed by the President of the United States, in which he orders and declares all slaves within ten of the States of the Confederacy to be free, except such as are found within certain districts now occupied in part by the armed forces of the enemy. We may well leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow-men of all countries to pass judgment on a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race—peaceful and contented labourers in their sphere—are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation "to abstain from violence unless in necessary self-defence." Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses. So far as regards the action of this Government on such criminals as may attempt its execution, I confine myself to informing you that I shall—unless in your wisdom you deem some other course more expedient—deliver to the several States' authorities all commissioned officers of the United States that may hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the States embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection. The enlisted soldiers I shall continue to treat as unwilling instruments in the commission of these crimes, and shall direct their discharge and return to their homes on the proper and usual parole.

In its political aspect this measure possesses great significance, and to it in this light I invite your attention. It affords to our whole people the complete and crowning proof of the true nature of the designs of the party which elevated to power the present occupant of the presidential chair at Washington, and which sought to conceal its purposes by every variety of artful device, and by the perfidious use of the most solemn and repeated pledges on every possible occasion. I extract, in this connection, as a single example, the following declaration, made by President Lincoln under the solemnity of his oath as chief magistrate of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1861:—"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehensions. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:—"Resolved—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest crimes."

Nor was this declaration of the want of power or disposition to interfere with our social system confined to a state of peace. Both before and after the actual commencement of hostilities the President of the United States repeated, in formal official communication to the Cabinets of England and France, that he was utterly without constitutional power to do the act which he has just committed; and that in no possible event, whether the secession of these States resulted in the establishment of a separate confederacy, or in the restoration of the Union, was there any authority by virtue of which he could either restore a disaffected State to the Union by force of arms, or make any change in any of its institutions. I refer especially for verification of this assertion to the despatches addressed by the Secretary of State of the United States, under direction of the President, to the Ministers of the United States at London and Paris, under date of 10th and 22d of April, 1861.

The people of this Confederacy, then, cannot fail to receive this proclamation as the fullest vindication of their own sagacity in foreseeing the uses to which the dominant party in the United States intended from the beginning to apply their power; nor can they cease to remember with devout thankfulness that it is to their own vigilance in resisting the first stealthy progress of approaching despotism that they owe their escape from consequences now apparent to the most sceptical.

This proclamation will have another salutary effect, in calming the fears of those who have constantly evinced the apprehension that this war might end by some reconstruction of the old Union, or some renewal of close political relations with the United States. These fears have never been shared by me, nor have I ever been able to perceive on what basis they could rest. But the proclamation affords the fullest guarantees of the impossibility of such a result. It has established a state of things which can lead to but one of three possible consequences—the extermination of the slaves, the exile of the whole white population of the Confederacy, or absolute and total separation of these States from the United States. This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition. It is also in effect an intimation to the people of the North that they must prepare to submit to a separation, now become inevitable, for that people are too acute not to understand that a restitution of the Union has been rendered for ever impossible by the adoption of a measure which, from its very nature, neither admits of retraction nor can co-exist with union.

Among the subjects to which your attention will be specially devoted during the present session, you will, no doubt, deem

the adoption of some comprehensive system of finance as being of paramount importance. The increasing public debt, the greater augmentation in the volume of the currency, with its necessary concomitant of extravagant prices for all articles of consumption, the want of revenue from a taxation adequate to support the public credit, all unite in admonishing us that energetic and wise legislation alone can prevent serious embarrassment in our monetary affairs. It is my conviction that the people of the Confederacy will freely meet taxation on a scale adequate to the maintenance of the public credit and the support of their Government. When each family is sending forth its most precious ones to meet exposure in camp and death in battle, what ground can there be to doubt the disposition to devote a tithe of its income, and more if more be necessary, to provide the Government with means for insuring the comfort of its defenders? If our enemies submit to an exchequer on every commodity they produce, and to the daily presence of the tax-gatherer, with no higher motive than the hope of success in their wicked designs against us, the suggestion of an unwillingness on the part of this people to submit to the taxation necessary for the success of their defence is an imputation on their patriotism that few will be disposed to make, and that none can justify.

The legislation of your last session, intended to hasten the funding of outstanding Treasury notes, has proved beneficial, as shown by the returns annexed to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury; but it was neither sufficiently prompt nor far reaching to meet the full extent of the evil. The passage of some enactment, carrying still further the policy of that law, by fixing a limitation not later than the 1st of July next to the delay allowed for funding the notes issued prior to the 1st of December, 1862, will, in the opinion of the Secretary, have the effect to withdraw from circulation nearly the entire sum issued previous to the last-named date. If to this be added a revenue from adequate taxation, and appropriation of bonds guaranteed proportionately by the seven per cents., as has already been generously proposed by some of them in enactments spontaneously adopted, there is little doubt that we shall see our finances restored to a sound and satisfactory condition, our circulation relieved of the redundancy now productive of so many mischiefs, and our credit placed on such a basis as to relieve us from further anxiety relative to our resources for the prosecution of the war.

It is true that at its close our debt will be large; but it will be due to our own people, and neither the interest nor the capital will be exported to distant countries, impoverishing ours for their benefit.

On the return of peace the untold wealth which will spring from our soil will render the burthen of taxation for less onerous than is now supposed, especially if we take into consideration that we shall then be free from the large and steady drain of our substance to which we were subjected in the late Union through the instrumentality of sectional legislation and protective tariffs. I recommend to your earnest attention the whole report of the Secretary of the Treasury on this important subject, and trust that your legislation on it will be delayed no longer than may be required to enable your wisdom to devise the proper measures for insuring the accomplishment of the objects proposed.

The operations of the War Department have been in the main satisfactory. In the report of the Secretary, herewith submitted, will be found a summary of many memorable successes. They are with justice ascribed in large measure to the reorganization and reinforcement of our armies under the operation of the enactments for conscription. The wisdom and efficacy of these acts have been approved by results, and the like spirit of unity, endurance, and self-devotion of the people which has hitherto sustained their action, must be relied on to assure their enforcement under the continuing necessities of our situation. The recommendations of the Secretary to this effect are tempered by suggestions for their amelioration, and the subject deserves the consideration of Congress.

For the perfection of our military organization no appropriate means should be rejected, and on this subject the opinions of the Secretary merit early attention. It is gratifying to perceive that under all the efforts and sacrifices of war, the power and means of the Confederacy for its successful prosecution are increasing. Dependence on foreign supplies is to be deplored, and should as far as practicable be obviated by the development and employment of internal resources. The peculiar circumstances of the country, however, render this difficult, and require extraordinary encouragements and facilities to be granted by the Government.

The embarrassments resulting from the limited capacity of the railroads to afford transportation, and the impossibility of otherwise commanding and distributing the necessary supplies for the armies, render necessary the control of the roads under some general supervision and resort to the power of impressment under military exigencies. While such powers have to be exercised, they should be guarded by judicious provisions against perversion or abuse, and be, as recommended by the Secretary, under due regulation of law.

I specially recommend in this connection some revision of the exemption-law of last session. Serious complaints have reached me of the inequality of its operation from eminent and patriotic citizens whose opinions merit great consideration, and I trust that some means will be devised for leaving at home a sufficient local police, without making discriminations, always to be deprecated, between different classes of our citizens.

Our relations with the Indians generally continue to be friendly. A portion of the Cherokee people have assumed an attitude hostile to the Confederate Government, but it is gratifying to be able to state that the mass of intelligence and worth in that nation have remained true and loyal to their treaty engagements. With this exception there have been no important instances of dissatisfaction among any of the friendly nations and tribes. Dissatisfaction recently manifested itself among certain portions of them; but this resulted from a misapprehension of the intentions of the Government in their behalf. This has been removed, and no further difficulty is anticipated.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, herewith transmitted, exhibits the progress made in this branch of the public service since your adjournment as well as its present condition. The details embraced in it are of such a nature as to render it, in my opinion, incompatible with the public interests that they should be published with this Message. I therefore confine myself to inviting your attention to the information therein contained.

The report of the Postmaster-General shows that during the first postal year under our Government, terminating on the 30th of June last, our revenues were in excess of those received by the former Government in its last postal year, while the expenses were greatly decreased. There is still, however, a considerable deficit in the revenue of the department, as compared with its expenses, and, although the grants already

made from the general treasury will suffice to cover all liabilities to the close of the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June next, I recommend some legislation, if any can be constitutionally devised, for aiding the revenues of that department during the ensuing fiscal year, in order to avoid too great a reduction of postal facilities. Your attention is also invited to numerous other improvements in the service recommended in the report, and for which legislation is required.

I recommend to the Congress to devise a proper mode of relief to those of our citizens whose property has been destroyed by order of the Government, in pursuance of a policy adopted as a means of national defence. It is true that full indemnity cannot now be made, but some measure of relief is due to those patriotic citizens who have borne private loss for the public good, whose property in effect has been taken for public use, though not directly appropriated. Our Government, born of the spirit of freedom and of the equality and independence of the States, could not have survived a selfish or jealous disposition, making each only careful of its own interest or safety.

The fate of the Confederacy, under the blessing of Divine Providence, depends upon the harmony, energy, and unity of the States. It especially devolves on you, their representatives, as far as practicable, to reform abuses, to correct errors, to cultivate fraternity, and to sustain in the people a just confidence in the Government of their choice. To that confidence and to the unity and self-sacrificing patriotism hitherto displayed is due the success which has marked the unequal contest, and has brought our country into a condition at the present time, such as the most sanguine would not have ventured to predict at the commencement of our struggle. Our armies are larger, better disciplined and more thoroughly armed and equipped than at any previous period of the war; the energies of a whole nation, devoted to the single object of success in this war, have accomplished marvels, and many of those trials have by a beneficent Providence been converted into blessings. The magnitude of perils which we encountered have developed the true qualities and illustrated the heroic character of our people, thus gaining for the Confederacy from its birth a just appreciation from the other nations of the earth. The injuries resulting from the interruption of foreign commerce have received compensation by the developments of our internal resources. Cannon crown our fortresses that were east from the proceeds of mines opened and furnaces built during the war. Our mountain caves yield much of the nitre for the manufacture of powder, and promise increase of product. From our own foundries and laboratories, from our own armouries and workshops, we derive, in a great measure, the warlike material, the ordnance and ordnance stores, which are expended so profusely in the numerous and desperate engagements that rapidly succeed each other. Cotton and woollen fabrics, shoes and harness, waggons and gun carriages, are produced in daily increasing quantities by the factories springing into existence. Our fields, no longer whitened by cotton that cannot be exported, are devoted to the production of cereals and the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton. In the homes of our noble and devoted women—without whose sublime sacrifices our success would have been impossible—the noise of the loom and the spinning-wheel may be heard throughout the land.

With hearts swollen with gratitude, let us, then, join in returning thanks to God, and in beseeching the continuance of His protecting care over our cause, and the restoration of peace, with the manifold blessings to our beloved country.

Richmond, Jan. 12, 1863.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

(From the *Times*, January 31.)

No failure of the Federal politicians has been more complete than that which has attended their efforts to bring English sympathy to their side in a war of ambition, by appealing to the hatred of negro slavery which animates all classes in this country. A more striking condemnation of the recklessness and cruelty which have marked the conduct of the Republican party could not be given than the stern silence with which all that is intellectual, and cultivated, and humane in English society has received the pretensions of Mr. Lincoln to be the friend of the oppressed and the champion of civilization. His famous proclamation has been the subject of discussion among us ever since it was threatened in September last. Three weeks have elapsed since we have known that it was really issued. The English people, who have been of late singularly at a loss for topics of home interest, have thought it over and talked it over, and read all that a prolific press can say upon it, and the result is that they are confirmed in their first opinions, and refuse to be drawn by philanthropic pretences into sanctioning a measure of desperate and vindictive warfare. If the Federals have had any hopes of conquering European sympathy by hoisting the flag of servile war, such hopes must be blighted when they appreciate the temper in which this act has been received by the English people. We have waited that we might speak with certainty, and passing events give us the power of doing so.

It is well known that within the last few weeks great efforts have been made in this country to obtain demonstrations in favour of the Federal cause. It is said, probably with truth, that agents of the Northern Government, provided with funds from America, have been at work on the familiar business of agitation, in order to restore their discredited party at home by making it appear that English opinion supports them in their acts. But, wherever the agitators come from, they have been especially busy for the last two months. It has been promised that the real sentiments of Englishmen should at last be made known. If meetings could be organized, if the subject could be properly discussed, and public opinion set free from a press which misrepresented it, then America might see that the feelings and the judgment of the old country were with her in her noble crusade for the freedom of the negro. The result of the great movement was given in this journal yesterday. For weeks it has been announced that there was to be a "monster demonstration" in London in favour of the North. Provincial meetings had been already held, and had been most provokingly avoided by any one whose opinion was of the slightest importance. But in London better luck might be hoped for. This is a great metropolis, and on the 29th of January, a week before the meeting of Parliament, it must be full of persons of considerable eminence and of all shades of opinion. The most distinguished names of a country where freedom of thought is carried into eccentricity were sure to be within reach of the Emancipation Society's circulars and advertisements. What doubt, then, that an imposing meeting, attended by men of genius, of high attainments, of great social position, of political renown, would bear witness to the interest with which large and influential sections

of English society follow the progress of Mr. Lincoln's policy? If even what is called the world—the frivolous, unthinking people who take their opinions from the press, who dislike Yankees for their pertness and boasting, and admire Lee and Jackson for their unexampled heroism,—if even jealous politicians or illiberal soldiers stood apart, surely there would be enough of the more original thinkers to fill a platform? More than this, in the centre of this great capital, with its hundreds of churches, in the neighbourhood of men who have spent their lives in advocating every charitable cause, it might have been thought that a meeting professedly in favour of negro emancipation would not have wanted names of eminence.

After weeks of preparation the meeting took place the day before yesterday. The speakers were a minor novelist and two or three Dissenting ministers, who seem to be of the usual intellectual calibre. Not one man who in opinion the country would listen to on any political subject—not one statesman, not one person endowed with genius, however self-willed and erratic; no representative of the Peerage, only one of the House of Commons, not one of the Church, of the gentry, or the commercial world, was found to stand on that platform and make himself responsible for Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. Of the eminent men who in past years have struggled, and will still struggle on for years to come, against oppression and evil-doing all over the world—of the philanthropists whose names are identified with this very phase of negro emancipation—there was not one who felt that he could in conscience come forward and encourage a ruthless invasion, and a still more hateful scheme of domestic warfare, by giving aid and comfort to Mr. Lincoln's tottering Cabinet. The persons we have alluded to were left alone to hold forth to the audience. What they said it is needless to comment upon, for it is quite in accord with their personal insignificance.

For our own part, we cannot but rejoice that there has been at length an organized attempt to evoke English opinion in favour of the war. It is well to know the full strength of one's own opinions, and to be able to calculate with certainty on the measure of assent which the world will give to them. That for two three months a number of men have been agitating to change the sentiments of Englishmen on this important subject, and that the result of the mountain's labour is the birth of a most ridiculous mouse, is especially satisfactory to us, who have for so long been labouring to promote a peaceful settlement of an unnatural quarrel. We now know that, in spite of importunity the most pertinacious and offensive, every man with a political character to lose has stood aloof from the Federal partisans in this country. Even the members for our populous boroughs, though their position often compels them to succumb to schemes of this kind, have in this case felt it necessary to their own dignity and the feelings of their respectable constituents to give a rebuff to the agitators. Happily, the situation of affairs in America is becoming such that the friends of peace in this country need fear no misrepresentations of the "Emancipation Society," or of the "wire-pullers," who stand behind it. While weak-minded men are congratulating President Lincoln from this side of the water, the public opinion of his own country is becoming every day more settled against him. The proclamation, by the confession of its authors, was intended to do two things—first, to conciliate European opinion; and, secondly, to terrify the South into submission. That the first object has not been attained we think is pretty clear, and the other, which is by far the more important, has been equally missed. Whatever may be the merits or faults of Mr. Lincoln's policy, his proclamation has had but one effect, and that is to make the Confederates more fierce and resolute than ever. When the last news left more than a fortnight had elapsed since the proclamation, and no sign of wavering had appeared at the South. The Confederates had opened the new year with a victory at Galveston, and at Vicksburg had inflicted on the Federals a defeat hardly less bloody, and quite as important as that of Fredericksburg. Two military disasters and a rise of gold to 50 premium are the first-fruits of the masterly document of the 2nd of January, and a still more important matter is the widespread anger of all but the Republican zealots. New York has spoken through Mr. Seymour, and now the Governor of Kentucky, a firm Unionist, and a man to whom the North is mainly indebted for keeping the State from secession, denounces the President and his schemes in a State paper which is certainly one of the most remarkable we have ever read. There are at last signs abroad that the bankruptcy of the North, the desolation of the South, and the ruin both of white man and negro will provoke some political reaction in the Federal States. At such a conjuncture it behoves us to stand aloof, and not to applaud assumptions of arbitrary power which are being sternly rebuked by the ablest men of the country where they have taken place.

(From the *Morning Post*, January 31.)

There seems to be a great tendency in a small but highly respectable section of our fellow-countrymen to run wild on the question of American slavery. The subject has lain dormant for some time, but the recent proclamation of the Federal President has revived it, and all sorts of excellent persons, who fancy themselves the disciples and successors of the men who carried negro emancipation in the West Indies, stand up in transports of joy, and shout "Lincoln for ever!" In the blindness of their ecstasy they can see nothing but unqualified good in the war policy of the North, and only unmitigated evil in the revolution in the South. The cause of the Union and the cause of negro emancipation is, in their view, one and the same. And in their eagerness to see it prosper they seem in great danger of sinking the distinctions between right and wrong. This is not the proper position for Englishmen. Our policy is that of strict neutrality, and it is inconsistent with that policy to take violently either one side or the other. England had no desire to see fulfilled what she could not help forecasting—the break up of the Union. Had the United States continued united Englishmen would not have grudged them their peace, nor any of the prosperity which might have come of it. Should the disunited States by any happy fortune become reunited, England's attitude towards them would be the same still. It is their affair, not ours. We are glad to see them prosper, and so long as they maintain friendly relations with us they are free to regulate their own affairs as they please. Our attitude is now what it was before the war broke out. Private persons will have their private opinions, and some will wish success to the North and some to the South, but the national feeling is purely neutral, and it is at once foolish and impertinent in voluntary associations to affect to represent the English mind, and in the name of the British public to address the American Minister in terms of unqualified adherence to the Northern policy.

The folly is greater when slavery is made responsible for the war, and emancipation the stalking-horse of officious interference. Englishmen, of course, abhor slavery. They wish

to emancipate the negro, but they know as well as the Americans themselves that slavery is no more the cause of the present civil war than the recent gales are answerable for the sudden rise in the rate of discount which so astonished the City two days ago. They know, too, that emancipation would no more follow the restoration of the Union than it will result from the meeting of the English Parliament. It is desirable that this slavery question should be put upon a right footing. Recent attempts to mix it up with the triumph of the Northern arms are not creditable to English common sense. The civil war had its origin in causes only indirectly affected by the slave question, and must be finished without reference to it. Those gentlemen, therefore, who go to Exeter Hall and make heavy speeches in favour of Mr. Lincoln and General Butler, and give in their adhesion to the Northern policy through thick and thin, and talk unctuously about the Divine blessing on the Federal arms, and go in on Christian principles for a war of extermination, and who blacken the names of Southern generals, and palliate the monstrosities of the Northern leaders, would do well to reserve their eloquence to a later stage, and in the mean time learn to distinguish a little more clearly between light and darkness.

At the meeting at Exeter Hall, on Thursday, an attempt was made to fix the responsibility of the civil war upon slavery; and at the same time, because slavery is repugnant to English feelings and principles, to get up a demonstration in the name of the English public on behalf of the whole Northern policy. Mr. Baptist Noel was the principal speaker, and went beyond all reason and truth in his ignorant and one-sided declamation in behalf of remission and emancipation. Mr. Noel greatly misreads the English mind if he thinks that it—in his own words—"gives all honour to Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, his Congress, and all anti-slavery men of all parties." The English mind is very much disgusted with a great deal for which "Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, and his Congress" are answerable. So much so that, in spite of the national hatred of slavery, the current of English opinion has set in with great strength towards the South. The news of Confederate successes in the field has been received in this country with satisfaction, and from the cruelty, the trickery, the incompetency, and braggery of the North, Englishmen have come to hope that the South may succeed in seeming the independence for which they have fought so bravely and endured so much.

This absurd confusion of the cause of emancipation with that of remission has led men usually accounted good into making compromises with most execrable evil. All the worst doings of the Federal Government, its false telegrams, its abominable violations of civil liberty, its recognition and reward of the acts of that infamous wretch Butler, its indifference to the butcheries of McNeil, its avowed hatred of England, the insolence of Seward, and the tyranny of Stanton—all are endorsed and held up to admiration by Dissenting preachers and second-rate *littérateurs*, who either cannot or will not see that Mr. Lincoln cares no more for the three millions of slaves in the Southern States, whom his proclamation liberates, than he does for that million and a half in the Border States whom he confirms in their fetters more strongly than ever. Apologists may put it how they will, no one who is not blinded by partisanship can help seeing that that proclamation was not intended to emancipate the slave, but to induce him to massacre his master and his master's family. Mr. Noel professes to scorn such an idea. He asks how that can be when there are 500,000 whites armed with rifles, and the slaves are unarmed? Mr. Noel ought to know that there are not half a million of whites apart from the army, and available against a servile insurrection; that the women and children of men serving or falling with the army are mainly dependent upon the protection of the slaves, and might at any moment become victims to their fury; that there are many modes of murder and means of conflagration which do not require the use of firearms, and are quite within reach of a legion of negroes in mutiny against the families of their masters. The meeting at Exeter Hall is a great disgrace to the Christian religion, and an egregious blunder regarded as a step towards emancipation. Let the quarrel between North and South be finished on its own merits; and let Englishmen wait the issue.

(From the *Daily Telegraph*, January 31.)

Whenever a flourish of trumpets of unusually aggressive volume is ventured upon, it becomes expedient to ask what manner of men the trumpeters may be who have so very fiercely attempted to blast down the walls of Jericho. Let us glance at some of the most conspicuous of the tribesmen who, by hook or by crook, were got together under the auspices of the Emancipation Society. The chairman was Mr. William Evans, doubtless a most worthy and estimable member of society, but who, as a politician, orator or public man, is utterly unknown beyond the confines of Exeter Hall. Mr. P. A. Taylor, M. P., is a rampant kind of republican, who very speedily found his level in the Commons' House of Parliament. Mr. Thomas Hughes is a crochety clever man, who gained some literary reputation by an amusing boys' book, called "Tom Brown's School Days," and lost it by an inconceivably stupid novel, called "Tom Brown at Oxford." The Revs. Newman Hall and Baptist Noel are fluent preachers, sufficiently popular in some Dissenting circles. Mr. Edmond Beales is, we believe, a respectable auctioneer. Mr. Morse is the American Consul-General in London, and nothing further need be said about him. Mr. Chamerovzow is, or was, the secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, and a gentleman whom we should be loth to suspect of the capacity of setting either the Vistula or the Thames on fire. Mr. Nicholay is a well-known tradesman in Oxford-street, and a capital vestryman, and Mr. G. J. Holyoake—well, Mr. Holyoake is not the author of Paley's "Evidences." The persons enumerated were really the only notabilities on the platform. There were many laymen and many clergymen, but, independently of the gentlemen whose names we have mentioned, the emancipators may be emphatically described as nobodies. We are ready to grant that the painful obscurity of this *personnel* was no fault of the promoters of the meeting. They had laboured hard to cajole individuals of real parts and influence into attending. They had asked Johnson and Burke, but, as in the famous instance of "the Haunch of Venison," Johnson and Burke "couldn't come." Good old General Thompson sent ten pounds to the funds of the association, but stayed away; Mr. Forster, M. P., would have come, but he was bespoken for a meeting at Bradford; Mr. John Stuart Mill had no time to spare for anything of the kind; Professor Newman was unfortunately engaged to lecture at University College; Professor Cairnes was simply "unable to attend;" Mr. W. Hargreaves was similarly incapacitated from coming, but sent instead a paragraph of florid nonsense about liberty, equality, and fraternity, and "the Bedchamber of the press;" and Colonel Salway had an appointment of long standing at Edinburgh.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 28s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 18, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1863.

A QUOTATION.—On the eve of the debate which will probably ensue in Parliament on the American question, it is not inappropriate to reproduce the memorable words of Earl Russell, spoken nearly twelve months ago, early in the last session. The passage occurs in a speech delivered in the House of Lords on March 10, 1862, in reply to a motion of Lord Campbell and Stratheden, relative to the blockade of the Southern ports.

If by some misfortune, if owing to the necessity to vindicate our honour, if owing to persuasions that this blockade could not be legally acknowledged, we had entered into this war, any thought of ending this great question by peaceable means would, I am persuaded, have vanished with the first cry which the North would have raised, and which would have been a proclamation of general emancipation and liberation of the slaves. I am sure we all wish that the sin and stain of slavery may cease; but there is nothing I should look at with greater horror than a sudden insurrection of 4,000,000 of people, the devastations they would cause, and the horrors, murders, and pillage which, in the name of liberty, might have been perpetrated. I trust, then, that when this conflict ends it will end in such a way that, although the cause of the emancipation of the negroes will have gained, it will be an emancipation conducted gradually and by peaceable means, and that the slaves of America will in time take their place as free labourers without loss of life or the destruction of the property of their holders. It is not owing to their masters that slavery now exists in the Southern States of America. It is an inheritance which they have derived from their country. But if we had taken up this question of blockade, if we had said that the vessels condemned in the various prize courts of America had been unjustly and unlawfully condemned, and the Federal Government had maintained that they were justly condemned, I know no course which would have been open but war with the United States. Having taken a different course, I do trust that within three months—perhaps, even sooner—we may see the close of this civil war in America. I have not, in any language I have used, intended to have taken the part of either the one side or the other, in this conflict. I trust that that contest may end, allowing each of them a course of happiness and freedom. It would, perhaps, be impossible—I believe it would be impossible—to renew the old feeling between the North and South; and, if that be so, I trust that whatever may be their military successes, whatever may be their naval victories, whatever positions they may capture, that the North will at last consent to the peaceable separation of two States which might both be mighty—of two States inhabited by persons of very different education and of very different nature perhaps, but respecting each other—and each going on in a course of peace and prosperity, which will not only benefit that great country in the present day, but will secure its position for centuries to come.

The Confederate States before Parliament.

Before this meets the eyes of a majority of our readers, the contents of the Speech from the Throne will be known throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is not very hazardous to predict that on the most important question of the day this exposition of the Ministerial policy will be, if not silent, at least indefinite and unsatisfactory. Beyond the expression of regret at the continuance of this unhappy war, and of hope that better counsels may soon prevail in America, there will probably be nothing to indicate the intentions of the Cabinet. Not that the Cabinet has actually decided on doing nothing, but that it has been unable to decide at all. This much the public

has a right to conclude from the contradictory tone of the public speeches of its members and supporters, and we do not anticipate that the Speech from the Throne will materially modify the conclusion. The Government, collectively, is far from hostile to the Confederate States, that hostility being confined to a section only of its least influential individuals, while the most important section are probably active sympathizers, and the remainder at least passive well-wishers of the South. So nicely do these various forces appear to be balanced as to completely neutralize each other, and to make any action of the Government, without a strong outside pressure, altogether impossible. So far from being able to lead Parliamentary opinion, in this respect at least, it must itself wait for the manifestation of that opinion, and thence receive its impulse. We purpose briefly to recapitulate a few of the principal points which may be urged and dilated upon in Parliament by the friends of recognition, and all of which have already been repeatedly and at length discussed in our columns during the last ten months.

The contest between the two groups of States formerly comprised under the name of the "United States of America," differs essentially, both in theory and practice, from a contest between an insurgent Power and its former Sovereign. The very style under which these States were known to foreign nations negatives the idea of unity or of a consolidated nationality, and implies what it distinctly professes to be, a Federation for certain specified common purposes of sovereign and independent States, each of which is the equal in rights and rank to every other. Whatever, from the terms of such a Federation, could be argued for or against the right of secession, it would be a self-evident absurdity to argue that the States north of the Potomac and Ohio were the sovereigns of the States south of those rivers. As members of the Federation the States severally retained unimpaired their powers and duties in regard to their own citizens. To the States, and not to the Federation, did the citizen look for the protection of life and property, and for all the laws regulating his intercourse with his fellow-men. In return his allegiance was owed to the State, and only indirectly, that is to say, through the State, was it owed to the Federation. Now secession from the Federal compact was the act of the States, and not of individuals. Nowhere was there any overthrow of, or even any outbreak against, the constituted authority. A conflict between the citizen and the authority which he was accustomed and bound to obey, could only have arisen in the case that the citizen had resisted the act of his State. If words have any definite meaning, the secession of the Southern States presents none of the features of an insurrection, and unless we assume that sovereign States can revolt against each other, it is absurd to term the secession a rebellion. Foreign nations, in their intercourse with the United States, could not possibly have assumed obligations toward one group of States to the prejudice of the other States; no obligations toward the Northern States which would not be equally binding in the case of the Southern States. When, therefore, the Southern States, by seceding from the old Federation and forming a new one, changed the agency through which they communicated with foreign Governments, and gave due notice of the same, it was clearly the right of those Governments to recognize the change, and it may be fairly argued that it was the duty of foreign Governments to do this so soon as they were satisfied that the change was consummated and permanent.

If the Confederate States might claim recognition by virtue of the relations which they sustained towards foreign Powers as members of the old Federation, no less can they claim this, when, despite the evidence of obvious facts, they are regarded only as an "insurgent Power" rebelling against its "former Sovereign." That former Sovereign, assuming the North to be such, has for two years been unable to exercise any act of sovereignty within the territory of the alleged insurgent, except in such few and isolated districts as the chances of war have tem-

porarily placed under his military occupation, and even there he has failed to shake the loyalty of the inhabitants. The "former Sovereign" has not indeed abandoned the "substantial struggle" to recover his lost sovereignty, but he has already expended, without effect, in the effort, greater means of men and money than those which he can now devote, or may hereafter be able to devote, to the same object; while, on the other hand, the "insurgent Power" is daily adding to its means of successful resistance. Recognition of the latter cannot therefore be opposed on the ground that the issue of the contest is still undecided and doubtful.

The recognition of the Confederate States is simply the official recognition of a fact, which may be ignored but cannot be denied, the fact that these States, whether rightly or wrongly, whether wisely or unwisely, have established their *de facto* independence, and now securely enjoy it. To recognize this fact is not to become responsible for it implies no judgment of the merit of any quarrel between the Confederate States and any other parties, and involves no obligation to aid them in such quarrel. To ignore this fact, on the other hand, when it has become patent to all the world, is practically to aid and abet the opponents of the Confederate States.

Regarding the American combatants as respectively a "foreign Sovereign" and an "insurgent Power," the recognition by some foreign Power is an indispensable preliminary of any arrangement between them, since no Government, however weak or insignificant, has ever in a similar case abandoned its pretensions to authority before some neutral, and therefore best qualified judge had pronounced the assertion of those pretensions to be hopeless. In other words, the "former Sovereign" has never been the first to recognize an "insurgent Power." The party most interested in success cannot be expected to be the most ready to abandon the hopes of success. The withholding of recognition by neutrals from an "insurgent Power" is therefore a virtual encouragement to the "former Sovereign" to persist in his pretensions.

Recognition of the Confederate States by other neutral Powers cannot be expected so long as it is withheld by this country, since Great Britain is naturally the head of the political societies of Anglo-Saxon race, and as such, as well as from the fact that she has greater interests at stake in the quarrel than other nations, and from her nearer acquaintance with its merits, she must be presumed to be most competent to decide on the propriety and the time of recognition.

Delay of this recognition has heretofore been justified on various grounds; notably, because, as was alleged, the war would speedily terminate without this means being resorted to; and also, as was urged by Earl Russell nearly a year ago, because of the danger that any foreign interference might induce the North to give the signal for a servile insurrection. This event, which Earl Russell then deprecated with expressions of horror, has since taken place. The experience of the past has amply demonstrated the futility of all hopes of a speedy solution of the American problem by a policy of inaction. Further delay is now attended with the certainty that more blood will be uselessly spilled, and more property wasted, and that another year's crop of cotton will be lost to commerce.

The Presidential Message.

It is not necessary for us to waste words in praise of the President of the Confederate States. His language and his actions speak for themselves. His statesmanlike tone, his wise and dignified moderation, his calmness in the hour of peril and of difficulty, his resolute and consistent policy, have won a tribute of respect and admiration from contemporaries whose impartiality is beyond suspicion. *Quis vituperavit Herculem?* The bitterest and most unscrupulous of his enemies can lay no specific fault to the charge of Jefferson Davis. They exhaust for him their vocabulary of abuse; English fanatics call him "a man-stealer," and Northern editors and placemen

revile him as "an accursed rebel," "a black-hearted traitor," whose diabolical machinations have broken up "the best Government that the wisdom of God or man ever devised;" but epithets of this kind carry their own refutation with them, and do not require from us either rebuke or reply. The confidence of his own countrymen, and the respect he has won in Europe, are his sufficient vindication and his noblest panegyric. If it were necessary for us to make any addition to the comments of all unbiassed critics on the vast and amazing contrast presented by the language, the bearing, and the policy of the statesmen who guide the destinies of the South, and the politicians who have found their way to the highest offices in the North, it would be rather in the way of explanation than of eulogy. It has been from the first the good fortune of the Southern States to combine the political constancy and clear-sightedness of aristocratic society with the width and freedom of democratic institutions. The people of those States have been content to accept the guidance of their natural leaders—to follow the counsels of the educated and enlightened classes—to repose confidence in their best men—to select as their political representatives while the Union subsisted, and as their rulers in the dangers and difficulties attending its dissolution, those statesmen whose ability had approved itself to those who are competent to criticise political men and measures, and to repose in them a hearty and encouraging trust, not to be shaken by disaster or suffering. It has been the curse of the North that democratic feelings have guided the working of political Democracy; that hatred of social and personal superiority, and dreams of an equality at once impossible and immoral, have led the people to renounce the control of the educated classes, and to put their trust, not in their best and wisest, but in their most supple and subservient politicians. The mob of the cities is king in the North-east; the rough populace of the prairies and backwoods is despot in the North-west; and like other despots, King Mob exacts from his courtiers a servility which honest men will not render, and chooses his courtiers as the directors of his policy, and the commanders of his armies. Mr. Davis and General Lee are not happy accidents, any more than Mr. Lincoln and General Butler are excrecences on the Northern system; each is the natural result of the character and habits of political thought which distinguish their respective nations. Thus the lesson of the present situation may serve to teach us what is the probable future of the rival Confederacies; what is to be feared for that country which, at the gravest crisis of its fortunes, is ruled by an Illinois attorney, and a Cabinet of mediocrities; and what may be hoped for a nation which, in the hour of its extremest and most sudden trial, has a Davis for its President, and sends its armies into the field under the command of such Generals as Lee and Johnston, Longstreet, Beauregard, and "Stonewall" Jackson. What superiority in wealth and numbers could compensate for the difference of national character between the electors of the accomplished soldier and gentleman who presides over the Confederate States, and those who entrusted their country's fortunes into the hands of Abraham Lincoln? In peace or war, in influence abroad or prosperity at home, how can a nation which is ruled by its best minds fail to surpass a people which submits to the tyranny of the meanest and most incapable of its politicians?

The Message of Mr. Davis is chiefly occupied with two subjects—the conduct of foreign nations towards the American belligerents, and the proceedings of the invaders of his country. On both these matters he speaks as the statesman should speak whom the confidence of a great nation has entrusted with the highest office in its gift at the most important epoch of its history; as a man worthy of the country which is proud of him. He has grave complaints to make of the course pursued by the European Powers; complaints which, in the opinion of his countrymen, are fully justified, and to some of which the governments of England and France would find it by no means easy to give a satisfactory reply. But he

does not speak in those tones of frantic wrath or feminine reproach which distinguish in turns the language of Northern Ministers on questions of foreign policy. Whatever are the miseries of the South in this war, at least she is spared the crowning misery of weakness. There is no word of menace or of passion; none of that "You'll see next time, and look out bimoby," which a Northern satirist deprecates in the language of his countrymen of every position and degree. The forbearance of the Confederate States in the present condition of their affairs is treated only as entitling them hereafter to friendly consideration and favourable construction in the event of future misunderstandings with foreign powers, and their wrongs are stated and discussed as calmly and impartially as they might be debated in the British Cabinet.

In the first place, the Confederate States have to complain of the persistent refusal by European Powers to recognize their independent existence; a refusal chiefly, if not solely, attributable to the obstinate hostility of a portion of the British Ministry. It must be conceded that on the general question of recognition Mr. Davis's views are rather American than English; that American jurists and statesmen have always "interpreted in favour of liberty" the somewhat uncertain rules of international law applicable to this subject, while England has generally leaned to the side of sovereignty and vested rights. But as to the particular case we hold that the arguments of the President are unanswerable. Five of the States forming the Confederacy have already been separately acknowledged by Great Britain and by France; four of them were so acknowledged before the Union existed; two of them have actually held direct intercourse with European powers while the Union existed, and in entire independence thereof—the States of North Carolina and of Texas. They never surrendered the independence so acknowledged; and it does so happen that Great Britain has practical reason to know that they did not surrender it; for she has had complaints to make against the State of South Carolina, when the Federal Government avowed its inability to afford any redress, and she has been obliged to admit the interference of the Sovereign State of Maine in a negotiation between herself and the Government at Washington. There is, therefore, no question of violated or repudiated sovereignty. What Great Britain is diplomatically bound to see in the Southern Confederacy is an assemblage of Sovereign States, delegating to a new common representative that charge of their foreign relations which they formerly delegated to the Government of the United States. The case is strictly analogous to that which may one day happen in Germany. Suppose the minor Powers, weary of the useless expense and weakness which attends their several representation at foreign Courts, should agree to delegate the charge of that representation to the Diet at Frankfort; and that afterwards Bavaria and Hanover should withdraw their assent to that arrangement, and send a common representative to London—would he be refused admission by the Court of St. James's? And if not, why is not Mr. Mason recognized as the Ambassador of the Confederate States of North America? The question is one of great practical importance. But for the erroneous view taken by Europe—that is to say, by England—it may be doubted whether the United States Government would have persisted in its utterly ridiculous claim of "sovereignty," and it is certain that long ere now that claim would have been practically abandoned. It is the refusal of recognition that has induced the Federal Government to persevere in the prosecution of a wicked and hopeless war; and in the consequences of that war Europe is suffering the penalty of the fault committed by over cautious statesmen, more careful to keep the peace, than to do right and render justice.

In regard to the Treaty of Paris, the case of the Confederate States is even stronger. They were asked to accept the code of maritime law embodied by that Treaty in four famous articles; they did so, with the specific exception of the first article, relative to privateering; and England and

France were fully satisfied with that qualified adhesion. It is only because that adhesion was given that England can confidently claim reparation for the destruction of English property on board Northern vessels—a claim distinctly asserted by Lord Russell. Now the fourth article of that Treaty asserts that blockades, to be binding—that is, to give the right of capturing neutral ships—must be enforced by a squadron able really to prevent access to the blockaded coast or port. England may possibly have done ill to accept that article; many English statesmen would be glad to see her acceptance of it formally and with due notice rescinded. But having obtained to that article the assent of the American belligerents, both North and South, she was bound by it, and should have enforced it. She has not done so; she has permitted a paper blockade, under which scores of her ships have been piratically captured; she has allowed its validity, when evidence of its utter inefficiency was in the hands of her Government, and when that inefficiency was actually alleged by the North as an excuse for the infamous barbarism of the "stone fleet." So far she has erred in common with France. But Lord Russell has been guilty of a piece of unfairness peculiarly his own. He has actually introduced a new definition of an effective blockade, practically repudiating that, the acceptance of which had been obtained from both the Federal and the Confederate Governments. He declares that a blockade is effective not only when an access is prevented, but when it is rendered "evidently dangerous;" and thus does a vast practical wrong to the Confederacy, and confers an inestimable advantage on its enemy. This is neither just nor honourable.

The truth is, that the neutrality of France and England has, under English influence, been systematically interpreted to the disadvantage of the weaker belligerent. The refusal of recognition, the exclusion of prizes from neutral ports, the permitance of the blockade, have all been of the most important service to the aggressors. Had the course of the great Maritime Powers been really impartial as well as neutral, it would hardly have been possible for the North to protract the war to the present time.

We have already written at length upon the savagery displayed by the North in the conduct of the war, and the painful necessity of retaliation enforced upon the Confederate Government. We have spoken also of the character and consequences of the infamous proclamation by which the Southern slaves are called to freedom and starvation through insurrection, murder, and incendiarism. We need not repeat what we have said on these topics, or do more than call attention to the distinct language in which Mr. Davis declares the utter impossibility of re-union—an impossibility always clear to him, and which this proclamation must have made evident to those who most dreaded that reconciliation, unsafe, precarious, and disastrous—might by some evil chance be brought about. "This proclamation," he says, "is an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition. It is also in effect an intimation to the people of the North that they must prepare to submit to a separation, now become inevitable, for that people are too acute not to understand that a restitution of the Union has been rendered for ever impossible by the adoption of a measure which, from its very nature, neither admits of retraction nor can co-exist with union."

The English Outrage at Brazil.

There are persons so lost to every honourable feeling, so thoroughly vitiated, that calling them liars or thieves, or applying to them every other infamous epithet that can be conceived, with one exception, will not irritate them; but there is one name of opprobrium that no one, be he ever so degraded, can fail to feel the sting, and that epithet is, coward. Brand a man as a liar or a thief, and he may find some who will not deem his companionship a disgrace, but brand him as a coward, and he will

find none so vile as not to shun him. A coward is one who truckles to the strong, and bullies the weak. A coward is one who will lick the dust off the shoes of those who kick him, who will bear any insult from those whom his cowardice makes him dread, and who will oppress and maltreat those whom he knows cannot resent his ill-usage and his injustice. What is true of individuals is true of nations. We do not say—we indignantly deny—that England is a cowardly nation, but we do say, and we challenge denial, that Lord Russell is making us appear as a coward to the world; for he, as the Foreign Minister of England, is, with unparalleled pusillanimity, submitting to the insults of a boastful Power which he dreads, and bullying, without stint, Governments that he thinks he can trample on with impunity. Those who remember his late despatch to Denmark, and consider his subserviency to the Federal Government; those who remember how he presumed to address the Court of Denmark in terms that a liege lord would hesitate to address his vassal, and consider how, on more than one occasion, he has submitted to the English flag being flagrantly insulted by the Federals, will not charge us with accusing him unjustly; but if there could be any doubt it is solved by the gross outrage which has just been perpetrated in Brazil, by the express orders of the British Government. We will give an unvarnished account of this affair, not that it affords us any pleasure to place such a transaction upon record, but because we believe that making the circumstances public, is the surest way of redressing the grievous wrong inflicted on Brazil, and of inducing that public condemnation of the act which to some extent may redeem the honour and reputation of this country. If any of our readers should think this a mere and perhaps unwarrantable outburst of declamation, we are convinced their opinion will be changed when they consider impartially the facts of the extraordinary proceedings which have just been made public.

Between Brazil and this country there are intimate relations and something more; every Englishman—perhaps we ought to except Mr. Christie, the English Minister—who has visited or lived in Brazil will testify to the cordial good-will that Brazilians on all occasions manifest towards Englishmen. We do not suppose that Lord Russell will deny this, or pretend that the many English residents in Brazil have not been sedulously protected in their interests by the Brazilian Government, and treated with the utmost respect and honour by the Brazilian people. Those who are familiar with the details of English commerce will not need to be reminded of the importance of our Brazilian trade. We do not suppose that there is any nation on the face of the earth more anxious to cultivate friendly relations with us than the Brazilians, or any Government more ready to treat us with all due honour than the Government of Brazil. Let us see what return we have made for this friendship and respect.

In June 1861—it is important, as regards the British Government, to mark the date—the Prince of Wales, a British ship, was wrecked on the coast of Albardao, to the south of the port of Rio Grande. It is alleged that a portion of her cargo, upon being brought ashore, was pillaged. Englishmen will understand this transaction, for it is not so many years past that the villages situated on our own coast were infested with wreckers, and it is said that to this day the same genus exists in some parts of the coasts of Scotland. This affair was one cause of complaint, but not important enough to permit Lord Russell to display his unflinching boldness, where he is safe from retaliation. The next charge was, that two officers and a chaplain of H.B.M. frigate *Forts* had gone ashore, it is said, *out of uniform*, were ill-treated by a sentinel, and confined for forty-eight hours, first in the guard-house, afterwards at the central police-station. Upon the 5th of December, a year and a half after the wreck of the Prince of Wales, Mr. Christie, the British Minister at Brazil, sent in an ultimatum, requiring the Brazilian Government to pay an indemnity for the cargo and freight of the Prince of Wales, and a further indemnity to the relatives of those of the crew whose bodies were stated to have been plundered. Mr.

Christie also demanded that the Brazilian officer who had arrested the English officers should be cashiered; that the sentinel should be punished; that satisfaction should be given for the insult to the British navy; and that the chief of the police and a subaltern should be publicly reprimanded.

We need hardly observe that to indicate in this manner the particular punishment that the Brazilian Government was to inflict upon its officers, supposing them to be guilty of the alleged offences, was exceedingly discourteous and even unlawful. The proper course would have been to have demanded the trial of the Brazilian authorities. English Ministers are not entitled to demand the punishment of men without trial, unless we are to be freemen at home, and despots abroad. And further, British officers out of uniform are exactly in the position of civilians, and any insult offered to them under such circumstances could not be construed into an insult to the British navy. The Foreign Minister of the Brazils replied that his Government could not accept any responsibility with regard to the matter of the Prince of Wales, and refused to pay any indemnity; but adding that it would pay, if compelled by force, whatever was required, under protest. Respecting the British officers, the Brazilian Minister said that the authorities had done their duty, and there was no ground for giving the required satisfaction.

What did Mr. Christie then do? Did he ascertain whether he had any right to demand the freight of a shipwrecked vessel? No doubt, for the shipwreck had happened a year and a half before, and he had already corresponded on that matter with the British Foreign Secretary. In this matter, at all events, we cannot doubt that he was acting under the express directions of Lord Russell. With respect to the imprisonment of the officers, he was bound, we think, to investigate the truth of the statement of the Brazilian authorities, that they were drunk, and merited their incarceration. But in this case also he had received instructions from his Government. Mr. Christie, as soon as he received the reply of the Brazilian Government, notified that Admiral Warren would make reprisals on Brazilian property, and on the 5th of January, to the intense indignation of the people of Rio de Janeiro, it transpired that the British steamer *Stromboli* had seized five Brazilian vessels, the cargoes of which were valued at £30,000 sterling. The irritation of the people, we are told, and we can readily believe it, became extreme. Foreigners, as well as natives, protested against the proceeding of the English Minister. For a while the act of Mr. Christie jeopardized the property, as well as the lives of the English residents, and the excitement of the populace was with difficulty allayed by the leading men beseeching them to make no reprisals upon English property and to refrain from molesting Englishmen, but at the same time counselling them to uphold the Government in resisting and resenting the violence. Lists of volunteers were opened and immediately filled; deputations waited upon the Ministry urging it not to give way to the outrage; national subscriptions were largely responded to by the citizens; the shareholders of the Bank demanded that no more English bills should be discounted, and the people were exhorted not to purchase English goods. We hope, we are confident, that there are few men in this country who will not sympathize with the indignation of the Brazilians. A serious catastrophe was only prevented by the activity of the Emperor, and the forbearance of his Government. On the 6th of January, when the popular fury was at its height, the Brazilian Government accepted the propositions of Mr. Christie, and the following arrangement was concluded:—

The prizes are to be restored. The Brazilian Minister in London, if so required by the British Government, will pay, under protest, whatever sum may be demanded for the owner of the Prince of Wales. With respect to the treatment sustained by the officers of the *Forts*, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians to decide whether or not such treatment can be regarded as an outrage upon the honour of the British navy.

The Brazilian Government is revenged; there is

a bitter irony in these terms. The vessels seized are to be restored, and Brazil will do what she offered to do before the outrage—pay whatever sum, be it large or small, that the cupidity of the strong Power may choose to extort. The Brazilian Government says in effect to Lord Russell, “We cannot go to war with you, we acknowledge that you have the strength as well as the will to prey upon our national honour and upon our revenue, but we have no desire to see our people revenge the insult; we are in your power; take what you will as ‘compensation’ for the wreck of the Prince of Wales. As to the insults to your officers, let the King of the Belgians, a monarch closely allied to your Royal Family, a monarch whose sympathies are notoriously with England, a monarch who can hardly help a feeling of partiality for your country—let him decide whether the arrest of drunken officers, out of uniform, is an insult to the British Navy.”

What will England say to this? It is not a party question. It concerns men of all parties, it touches the honour of the country. It may be that some few amongst us, Mr. Bright, for example, may think that national honour is a bugbear and a chimera; that the life of a nation is its riches and its commerce. We confess we are old-fashioned enough not to agree with this doctrine. We confess we feel, when our national honour is concerned, that a stain is less endurable than a wound. And we tell those who think that riches and power make us independent of the laws of honour, that they are grievously mistaken. As a matter of sordid interest, we tell those who believe in the omnipotence of Mammon, that England, with all her wealth and with all her might, cannot afford to play the part of a bully and a coward. If the British Government extorts compensation for the wreck of the Prince of Wales, or even if it does not forthwith apologise to the Brazilian Government for the outrage, it will show itself indifferent to the true welfare of England. The British Parliament meets to-day, and if the Government is unmindful of its duty, we trust, we are sure, that that assembly will protest against the system of bullying the weak and cringing to the strong, and will compel the English Government to make all the reparation in its power for the outrage perpetrated in its name, and, what is still more remarkable, by its express orders.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and the Throne of Greece.

Destiny, personified by Earl Russell, is too strong for the Greeks. If there was one thing more than another upon which they congratulated themselves when they heard that Otho had quietly taken his departure, it was that they had got rid for ever of the detested Germans. They promised themselves that wherever they might have to turn for a king, they would keep clear of Germany. Their experience of Otho himself, his councillors and servants, had given them a very bitter prejudice against our estimable Teuton cousins. They wanted an English prince, and they set to work at once to elect Prince Alfred. Him they found out that they could not have, and the Provisional Assembly, as soon as it had done quarrelling over the elections, was expected to look for another eligible princeling. England and France had recognized the right of the nation to discard Otho, and had promised to recognize any successor of good character, he being under no legal inability. The matter seemed clear enough; there was only an *embarras de richesses*; but whilst the Assembly has been constituting itself, Earl Russell has been looking for a king. What commission he has for the purpose nobody knows. The Greeks never gave him one; in electing Prince Alfred they did not offer to take any king the English Government might send them. However, Earl Russell has taken their fate into his hands and has been indefatigable in his endeavours, first to provide a king for them, when they wanted to choose one for them.

selves, and next to get a German when they were anxious, above all things, not to have a German. First his lordship applied to King Ferdinand of Portugal, there he met at once with a decisive refusal; next he turned to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, upon whom he tried all his arguments and entreaties, for a long time, in vain. The Duke did not wish for the throne of Greece, he has already a comfortable little sovereignty in Germany, and he is flattered every now and then by visions of the Imperial Crown of Germany. The Duke seems to have refused point-blank. Beaten, Earl Russell sought another German prince, who is reported to have had the rare modesty and wisdom to have answered that he was not fit to be a king. In despair, his lordship returned to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and it is now announced, by the organs of the Government, that his terms having been accepted, not by Greece, but by Earl Russell, he has consented to take the throne.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg is a prince of great ability and singularly liberal views. If the Greeks could forget his nationality, if he could divest himself of it, he would be perhaps as good a king as they could have. But the Greeks detest the Germans, and, in their detestation, will know no distinction between a Coburg and a Bavarian. Were they willing to forget that the Duke is a German, he would take care to remind them of it; for, by the terms upon which he has accepted the throne, he has shown that he does not take it at all heartily, and that German interests will always be superior with him to Greek. He will retain his two German duchies, and retaining them, will spend part of his time in them. The Greeks will therefore have every year, in a regency, the fact that their Sovereign is only partly theirs—moreover, that he is a German—brought home to them. What the Greeks wanted was a prince who, frankly accepting Greece as his country, would have made its prosperity the object of his life; a prince who could have founded a dynasty which should have rooted itself in the hearts of the people. Loyalty to a foreigner in race, religion, language, and custom, is impossible. The Greeks will never feel this sentiment, so necessary to the harmonious existence of a monarchy, until they have princes who are Greeks by birth, and have been bred up in Greek traditions and interests. Some portion of the loyalty given to such a family would be reflected upon its founder. A childless man, like the Duke of Coburg, clinging to another sovereignty, will never win their attachment. He offers them, it is true, a successor in the person of a nephew, who is ready, for the heirship, to embrace the Greek faith; but these bargains, for which German princes are so ready, although they may suit the Royal family of Russia, revolt a people; and the Prince of Coburg-Kohary would not find the loyalty which his uncle wants. But for all these objections, for all the repugnance of the Greeks to have a king chosen for them again, for all their detestation of Germany, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg will probably be elected to the Greek throne. France offers no opposition, England makes the cession of the Ionian Islands conditional upon his election. The Provisional Assembly will probably elect him by a majority, and the country will not oppose, although it is not likely to affirm, their choice. We cannot congratulate the Duke; we must condole with the Greeks. He will ascend a throne to find anarchy reigning throughout the land, corruption and intimidation the principal agencies in legislation, an exchequer empty, a people thoroughly discontented. The revolution promised them wonderful advantages, and they are not content with the explanation, that they must wait some years for the enjoyment. To restore order, and establish a sound system of liberty in such a land, and under such circumstances, will test the ability of the Duke to the utmost. He is sure in the first few months to dissatisfy the larger part of his subjects, and to become disgusted with his task. Coburg will afford him an inviting refuge from all the discomforts of Greek politics, and having no occasion to overcome his disgust with the task of Government, he will allow the disgust to overcome him. The talents

and virtues of the Duke will be lost in the hopeless endeavour to make the Greeks staid, sober, reflective politicians. Those hoping to govern them well must appeal to their feelings more than to their reason. The English people have as little reason as the Greeks to applaud this great triumph of Earl Russell's diplomatic genius. The election of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg will involve them in all those embarrassments the apprehension of which led to the refusal of the crown for Prince Alfred. If they put the Duke upon the throne they will have to keep him there. They must lend him their credit that he may start fair, and afterwards give him their protection in all he does against his own subjects and other Powers, in order that English influence, so happily established in Greece, may be maintained.

The Constitutional Struggle in Prussia.

The breach between the King of Prussia and his people widens every day. When the year began there was yet ground for the hope that a compromise might be effected, which would secure the nation its rights without humiliating the crown. That ground has been cut away. The contest has assumed a shape which makes no other issue possible than the signal discomfiture of one of the combatants. The King must surrender absolutist pretensions which he has solemnly declared he cannot and will not abandon; or the Chamber must subside into a mere consultative assembly, without the power of saying no, and the Constitution of Prussia be suspended during the Royal pleasure.

The Prussian Ministers employed the recess not in efforts to conciliate public opinion, and prepare the way for an amicable understanding, but in getting up addresses to the King, in which the Chamber was grossly vilified, in punishing the public functionaries who had rendered themselves at all conspicuous in its deliberations, and in persecuting the Liberal press. The result was that the Deputies arrived at Berlin for the opening of the session in no very pleasant mood. Their constitutional rights had been deliberately violated, and their fidelity to the Constitution had been denounced by the King and Ministers as so much disloyalty. But in all that irritation, they would have accepted frankly enough any propositions from the Ministry which, admitting their right, suggested an amicable solution. Even if such propositions would not have satisfied the extreme Liberals, they would have so effectually divided the Opposition, which is, in fact, the whole House, that any thing like united action of an energetic kind against the Government would have been out of the question. But the Government held out no hand of conciliation. The Royal Speech merely told the Chamber that, in the absence of a legal budget, the Government had been economical, and that the expenditure, when the accounts were closed, would be laid before it for its approval. No wish was expressed for the attainment of an understanding, the violation of the Constitution was treated as a matter not worthy of mention; and by the non-presentation of any legislative measures, the design was clearly betrayed of giving the Chamber nothing to do, and no opportunity of renewing its protest against the infringement of its rights. The Chamber was not content to accept the rôle thus cut out for it. It has adopted, by 255 votes to 68, an address to the King, in which it protests against the violation of the Constitution and the subsequent abuse of power by his Government. The address tells the King, in firm but respectful language, that his Ministers have, in opposition to the Constitution, carried on the administration without a legal budget, and, disregarding the express declaration of the Chamber, have incurred expenditure which it had definitively and explicitly refused. It complains that public functionaries, true to the Constitution, have been punished by oppressive measures, and that the press has been persecuted. It expresses the confidence of the Chamber in the King's will to maintain and protect the Constitution, but declares that his Ministers have already violated it; and, finally, the Chamber de-

clares that the internal peace and external strength of the country can only be restored by a return to a constitutional state of things.

Sixty-eight members of the House, as we have said, voted against this address; but this minority does not represent an unnational party; not a dozen of them approve the policy of the Government. The reactionary or absolutist party in the House numbers but eleven members. The bulk of the minority was composed of men who are prepared to vindicate as firmly as the majority the rights of the House, who repudiate as strongly as they do the absolutist pretensions of the Ministry, and condemn its interference with the public functionaries and the press; but who prefer a sort of negative policy, and believe no good result can be obtained by pressing upon the King's ear such unwelcome statements. Indeed, the speech of Herr von Bismarck Schönausen, the Prussian Premier, has rendered it quite impossible that any other than the feudal fraction, which, although using the Constitution, openly avows its desire for its overthrow, could support it. As if his design had been to irritate the House into violent measures, as if he wished to render all conciliation between King and people impossible, he defied the House in the most insolent manner, and put the King into a position of direct antagonism towards it. The address had adopted the constitutional dogma that a King can do no wrong, and has always the best intentions. Herr Von Bismarck protested that the King could not be separated from his Ministers; he declared that in everything he and his colleagues had acted in accordance with the King's orders; he accused the Chamber of seeking to extend its own privileges, and reduce the King to a mere ornamental appendage to the State; he taunted the public functionaries, members of the House, with inconsistency, in declaring the expenditure illegal, and yet accepting their own salaries; he sneered at the House as powerless, told the members that they had no power, and told them that the Government, having the power, would maintain the rights of the Royal House.

The House passed the address, but the King has refused to receive it at the hands of a deputation, as the rule provides. It will be sent to him as a letter. His answer, if he gives one, will be a rebuke of the Chamber. There can be no doubt that although Herr von Bismarck Schönausen, as the Minister of a constitutional estate, was guilty of a gross breach of the law in declaring that the Ministry had acted under the King's orders, the fact was stated truly enough. King William has shown, in his answers to the deputations who protested against the conduct of the Chambers, and more lately in his answer to a memorial from the notables of the Rhine provinces, against the Ministry, that he is determined not to admit the right given the House of Deputies by the Constitution to control the public expenditure. He regards the claim as little short of high treason, and unhappily he finds Ministers who think with him, or at least act as if they did so.

The Constitution of Prussia was granted by the late King, at a time when the revolution was at the height of its triumph. It is so framed as to give the King as much power, and the people as little, as a Constitution decently can give. It is a compact between King and people, all the advantages of which are on the side of the King. One of its articles does, however, give the people some power, and that article the King announces his determination to disregard. If the King claims a dispensive power, the people will do so too. King William is laying the axe to the important and exceptional privileges of the Prussian Crown.

Statistics of Southern Trade.

COTTON.

When the Southern planters turned their attention to the cultivation of cotton, they did not enter upon an enterprise in which they were free from rivalry. On the contrary they had to compete with growers in other countries, who had for generations been engaged in the occupation. This will be seen by quoting from

McCulloch the imports of cotton into Great Britain in the year 1786 :—

From British West Indies..	5,800,000 lbs.
French and Spanish Colonies..	5,500,000 "
Dutch Colonies..	1,600,000 "
Portuguese Colonies ..	2,000,000 "
Smyrna and Turkey ..	5,000,000 "

Total .. 19,900,000 lbs.

In 1790 American cotton was exported, but not in any considerable quantity. In 1795 the export value was \$2,000,000, which at the close of the century had increased to \$5,000,000. The progress of the cultivation is shown by the following abstract from a paper communicated to the Congress of the United States in 1836, by the Secretary of the Treasury :

Years.	In the whole world. Growth. lbs.	United States. Growth. lbs.	Export. lbs.
1801 ..	520,000,000 ..	48,000,000 ..	20,000,000
1811 ..	555,000,000 ..	80,000,000 ..	62,000,000
1821 ..	630,000,000 ..	180,000,000 ..	124,000,000
1831 ..	820,000,000 ..	385,000,000 ..	277,000,000

Thus the total increase in the growth of cotton was due to the development of the cultivation in the Southern States. The production of the rest of the world continued the same, though it varied in different countries. In India it increased; in the rest of Asia and in the West Indies it decreased. The development of the American cotton cultivation was of immense benefit to English manufacturers, for it diminished the price of the article, and by this diminution stimulated the demand for cotton fabrics. According to the report presented to Congress in 1836 the price of cotton in the United States was :—

1801 ..	44 cents per lb.
1811 ..	15½ " "
1821 ..	16 " "
1831 ..	9½ " "
1834 ..	13 " "

From the earliest time the progress of the British cotton trade has been concurrent with the increasing growth of cotton in America. McCulloch gives the following account of imports of cotton into Great Britain :—

Years.	Total Imports into Great Britain. lbs.	Amount of cotton in America. lbs.
1820 ..	147,576,000 ..	160,000,000
1821 ..	126,420,000 ..	180,000,000
1822 ..	141,510,000 ..	210,000,000
1823 ..	183,700,000 ..	185,000,000
1824 ..	147,420,000 ..	215,000,000
1825 ..	244,360,000 ..	255,000,000
1826 ..	170,520,000 ..	350,000,000
1827 ..	264,330,000 ..	270,000,000
1828 ..	222,750,000 ..	325,000,000
1829 ..	218,324,000 ..	365,000,000
1830 ..	259,856,000 ..	350,000,000
1831 ..	280,080,000 ..	365,000,000
1832 ..	270,690,000 ..	390,000,000

In twelve years the total increase in the United States' crop was 230,000,000 lbs. and the total increase of British imports was 123,114,000 lbs. Great Britain consumed more than 50 per cent. of the increase, and yet during this period the consumption in the United States was considerable; in 1832, being 194,412 bales in the Northern States and about 15,000 bales in the Southern States.

In 1832 the culture of cotton in the South and the British cotton manufacture were in their infancy. The following table sets forth their growth and connection. The figures are taken from the British official returns, and the statement given in the *New York Shipping List* of the 14th of September, 1859; the prices are from a report of the Secretary of the Treasury :—

Years.	Crop in Bales.	Consumption in United States. lbs.	Average price per lb.
1835	1,254,328	216,838	\$16.8
1806	1,360,725	346,753	16.8
1837	1,422,930	222,540	14.2
1838	1,800,497	236,063	10.3
1839	1,360,532	276,018	14.8
1840	2,177,835	295,193	8.5
1841	1,634,941	297,288	10.2
1842	1,683,574	267,850	8.1
1843	2,378,874	325,129	6.2
1844	2,030,409	346,744	8.1
1845	2,394,503	389,006	5.92
1846	2,100,537	422,596	7.81
1847	1,778,651	427,967	10.34
1848	2,347,634	616,644	7.61
1849	2,728,596	642,485	6.4

The decrease in price has been greater than the increase in quantity. To show how much the American cotton crop had to do with the advance of the British cotton trade we quote the following returns from a paper read to the British Association by Mr. G. R. Porter:—

CONSUMPTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.	
Years.	lbs.
1800 ..	56,010,732
1810 increased by ..	67,478,203
1820 " further by ..	19,183,720
1830 " " ..	42,287,797
1840 " " ..	328,526,548
1849 " " ..	1,182,981,008
Whole consumption in 1849 ..	775,433,908
400 lbs. to the bale equal to ..	1,932,692
Imports from Brazil, Sardinia, and all other ports of the North in 1849 ..	538,000
	1,394,692

In 1849, according to the same authority, the United States consumed 600,000 bales, and the Continent 1,000,000, and, consequently, Great Britain consumed nearly 50 per cent. of the entire American production—it did, in fact, consume quite 50 per cent., for the production of the year was only 2,723,596 bales—and of the American cotton exported, Great Britain consumed more than 50 per cent.

We will now continue the table of growth and consumption to the year 1859 :—

Year.	Crop in bales.	Consumed in United States.	Imports into Great Britain.	
			Total.	American.
1850	2,096,706	613,498	1,737,490	1,181,956
1851	2,355,257	485,614	1,903,475	1,396,178
1852	3,015,029	699,603	2,341,522	1,784,388
1853	3,262,882	803,725	2,264,717	1,532,034
1854	2,930,027	737,239	2,173,138	1,667,509
1855	2,847,339	706,412	2,275,553	1,621,403
1856	3,527,845	770,739	2,467,918	1,758,295
1857	2,939,519	819,936	2,421,487	1,478,437
1858	3,113,962	595,562	2,430,848	1,854,004
1859	3,851,481	927,651	2,294,000	1,907,000
1860	4,300,000	....	....	....

In a paper read by Mr. D. Chadwick before the London Statistical Society, he observed: "The import of raw cotton increased from 646,000,000 lbs. in 1844 to 1,034,060,000 lbs. in 1858; while the value of exports of cotton manufactured goods and cotton twist and yarns increased from twenty-six millions sterling in 1844 to forty-three millions sterling in 1858, an extension of one branch of trade in fourteen years unparalleled in the history of any country in the world." In order to show how this increase is the result of the development of the American cotton fields, we extract the following table from Mr. P. L. Simmond's valuable continuation of Dr. Ure's "Philosophy of Manufactures."

Average of each 5 years.	Imports of American. Bales.	Imports of other sorts. Bales.	Excess of American. Per cent.	Excess of other sorts. Per cent.
1800-5	105,813	149,787	41½	41½
1805-10	148,163	198,856	31½	31½
1810-15	102,629	196,157	91	91
1815-20	216,176	316,845	43½	43½
1820-25	357,666	253,112	41½	41½
1825-30	513,724	255,027	103	103
1830-35	677,833	277,803	144	144
1835-40	957,264	346,687	176½	176½
1840-45	1,211,840	391,820	209	209
1845-50	1,168,680	383,820	204½	204½
1850-55	1,600,840	594,280	169½	169½
1855-59	1,797,475	741,175	142½	142½

The above table is very important. We frequently hear people talk about fostering the growth of cotton in India and elsewhere, as though the growth of cotton in those places had been completely checked by the American growth—that no effort had been made by any cotton producing countries, except the Southern States, to supply the rapidly increasing demand—that the American planters have been without a rival. What is the true state of the case? In other cotton growing countries, beside the Southern States, great and successful efforts have been made to get a share of the commerce, and from the year when the American crop came into competition till 1859, the imports of "other sorts" into England had increased five-fold; but from 1820, when the excess of "other sorts" imported into England was 43½ per cent. till 1859—when the excess of American was 142½ per cent.—whilst the import of "other sorts" had increased three-fold, the imports of America had increased five-fold. It will thus be seen that the cotton growing countries have already exerted themselves to produce an abundant supply of cotton, and that the American supply was in excess of what they can supply—at all events, at a price to meet the demand and not to check it. We may here observe that it has been calculated by well-informed men that, at the present price of cotton, the native-made India fabrics are cheaper than English cotton fabrics; and so high prices are likely, in this respect, to discourage the export of India cotton, and to diminish the demand for English goods.

India is largely benefited by the cotton trade of the Southern States by the consumption of her gunny cloths. In 1858 the total export of that article from India was 5,892,079 pieces, of which 4,155,890 pieces were taken by America.

The Marquis of Lansdowne.

The English aristocracy are preeminently a working class. Labour as well as honoured titles are their heritage. Some prefer a life of inglorious ease, just as there are persons in other circles who prefer chronic insolvency perpetual dunning, or avowed pauperism, to earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. Nor must it be supposed that this remark applies solely to those who devote themselves to the public service of their country. Noblemen who are unknown at Westminster, who take no prominent part in politics, are nevertheless hard-workers. The duties in connection with their estates and their county are numerous and absorbing. My lord's man of business does not work harder than his em-

ployer. Demagogues may imitate the trap of Mr. Bright, and represent the aristocracy as an idle, enervated class, but the charge is utterly unfounded. He who is born to a large estate is born to a life of toil. Our great landlords are, in fact, the stewards of their property. When the English aristocracy ceases to discharge its functions, and accepts the gifts of fortune whilst repudiating the responsibilities, it will dwindle and sink into contempt as other aristocracies have done under like circumstances.

Lord Lansdowne, who died on Saturday last, full of years and honours, had an additional stimulus to work hard. He was a younger son, and his position depended upon his own exertions. His parentage gave him a fair start in the race, but could not assure to him the prize. The deceased peer, who was born in 1780, was destined for a public career, and was at an early age sent to Westminster School. His education was continued by a residence at Edinburgh, where, in company with Lord Palmerston (then Henry Temple), and Brougham—young men destined to obtain a world-wide celebrity—with Jeffrey, who was to play an important part in the literary history of the age, and with Francis Horner, he attended the lectures, and enjoyed the conversation of Dugald Stewart, who through the agency of others has done more than any one else to shape the policy of England.

Of course Henry Petty was a Whig—except by a species of family outrage he could not have been anything else—and Edinburgh was the place peculiarly favourable to the growth and development of Whiggery. After a short career at the Scottish University, and getting some reputation as an active member of the Speculative Society, he went to Cambridge and took his degree in 1801. A Continental tour—in those days a more serious affair than at present—finished his education, and he immediately entered upon political life as member for the family borough of Calne. The highest expectations were formed of him by his friends and party. The more sanguine regarded him as a second Pitt, but they were in this expectation doomed to disappointment. The late peer was not what is called a genius; but, gifted with excellent ability and indomitable perseverance, he gained that eminence—for though he was not Prime Minister, he had the refusal of the high office—by slow and sure advances, which men like Pitt and Canning reach with less toil, with more éclat, but not with more honour. Still Lord Henry Petty was from the first a Parliamentary success. He turned his attention to finance delivered his maiden speech on the Bank Restriction Act, and took rank as a debater by supporting the attack on Lord Melville, as Treasurer of the Navy, who was charged with making use of public money, of permitting his paymaster to do the same, and to gamble on the Stock Exchange.

After the death of Pitt, which event was supposed to be hastened by the disgrace of Melville, and the consequent increased difficulty of carrying on the Government, the Grenville Cabinet was formed, in which Fox was the *de facto* Prime Minister, although the *firmness* of the King—the courtiers' term for that species of imbecility which consists in unreasonable obstinacy and little-minded personal spite—would not permit him to assume the nominal position. Lord Henry Petty, then twenty-five years of age, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. His financial schemes were speculative and unpopular. He proposed to raise the Income Tax to 10 per cent., and to extend it to all property yielding more than £50 a year. John Bull is undeniably patient under taxation, and in some quarters it is supposed that he rather likes being heavily taxed, and it is not unnatural that he should have come to regard heavy taxation as a necessary part of that Constitution which he reveres not only as the bulwark of English liberty, but as the mainstay of English prosperity. But certain it is, that John Bull is not partial to the Income Tax. Any impost, no matter how onerous, in any shape or form, is preferred to that. It is somewhat inquisitorial in theory, and it is particularly oppressive. No wonder, then, that our fathers should have kicked at the proposal to take two shillings in the pound out of their incomes. Lord Henry Petty, like most young financiers, was under the impression that it was not impossible to indulge in a large and an increasing expenditure without getting into debt. He proposed that the war should be carried on with loans, of the amount of which 10 per cent. was to be raised by taxation, and half of that to be so raised was to pay the interest, and the remaining 5 per cent. to be put by as a sinking fund to redeem the debt in fourteen years. The idea of borrowing money, and at the same time of putting by something out of income, instead of making the income go as far as possible, and borrowing as little as possible, was too wild to find any favour. But if Lord Henry Petty was a dreamy financier, he was honest and outspoken. In introducing a Bill, on the 21st of May, 1806, for the more effectual examination of the public accounts, he stated that there had not been an audit at the Pay Office for twenty-four years; that other offices were in the same position; that the amount of accounts not passed was £167,000,000; that the amount of the accounts not proceeded with was £58,000,000; that the amount of Pay Office and naval accounts not delivered was £230,000,000. Administrative reform was certainly demanded fifty years ago.

The Grenville Ministry was short-lived. Fox died at the end of six months, and with him departed the vitality of the Cabinet. In 1809, by the death of his brother, Lord Henry Petty became Marquis of Lansdowne, and his removal to the Upper House weakened his party, already disorganized and disheartened. For nearly twenty years the Whigs were in opposition, and for the greater part of that period possessed hardly any influence even as an Opposition. Lord Lansdowne during the interval kept together his political friends by means of his social amenities. The head-quarters of the Whigs was in the drawing room, and not in the House of Commons. Upon the return of the Whigs to power, which they held for ten years, Lord Lansdowne was President of

the Council, and as leader of the Upper House pursued a course that kept his supporters in party order, and to some extent conciliated his opponents. Lord Lansdowne was again in office for six years during the Ministry of Lord John Russell, but it was evident that he did not court office, he did not seek the post of Premier, his ambition was for real power, not for high place, and his aspirations were under the control of his judgment. He did not fail, because he would not be seduced by a dazzling prospect to undertake that which he had not the strength to accomplish. In 1852, Lord Lansdowne announced his intention of finally retiring from the active duties of political life, but by the death of the Duke of Wellington, he was called on to assume the important function of advising the Monarch in the emergency caused by the resignation of Lord Derby in 1853. No one was more fitted for such an office. Lord Lansdowne was a party man, but respected by men of all parties. His views were not extreme. He was a moderate Free-Trader; and, on the question of Reform, he would have opposed any Radical measure that threatened the integrity of the Constitution with as much resolution as the most conservative peer of the realm. He had outlived the asperity of party warfare, and though he might not love Whiggery less than formerly, no one doubted that the venerable statesman would forget all party ties when he was called upon to advise his Sovereign as to the formation of a Ministry. The result of his counsel was the formation of the Aberdeen Cabinet, of which he consented to be a member, but without office. When the Aberdeen Ministry was overthrown, he continued to occupy a similar position in Lord Palmerston's Cabinet, which he retained until 1858. Since then he has devoted his time and attention to public affairs, and in him the House of Lords has lost a member whose counsels were always temperate and patriotic. The best tribute to his memory is that Conservative as well as Liberal organs have testified to his private and public virtues.

The biographer of Lord Lansdowne will have ample material for a work of absorbing interest. How the face of the world has changed since the late peer commenced his career as a Westminster school-boy. Then he attended the debates in the House of Commons, and listened to the harangues of Pitt, Burke, and Fox. He was in Parliament whilst this country was engaged in the mighty contest that ended in the overthrow of Napoleon, and the inauguration of forty years peace in Europe. He was a political veteran when the Reform Bill put an end to a political agitation that threatened to bring about a state of revolution. He lived to see the triumph of constitutionalism, the loyalty to the throne assured by the full liberty of speech and thought being granted to the people, and by the personal respect for the monarchical and domestic virtues of the sovereign. When he was young he must have heard bitter regrets that the American Colonies had been severed from the mother country; he lived to see England the mistress of a vast Indian Empire, the mother of flourishing colonies, and Australia become the heritage of the English race. He saw the early life of the United States, and the rapid development of the great Transatlantic Republic, and he lived to see that Federation dissolved and the prosperity of a Continent changed to ruin and disaster by the prosecution of a wicked and fruitless war. To the Marquis of Lansdowne Lord Macaulay owed his introduction to public life, and we cannot but regret that the Whig historian was not spared to bequeath to posterity a record of the character and conduct of the chief of his party. Many can, doubtless, do justice to the life of Lord Lansdowne; but no one can treat it so well, and perhaps so feelingly, as Lord Macaulay would have done if he had survived his early patron and his constant friend.

Reviews.

PARTY ORGANS ON THE PROSPECTS OF PARTIES.*

Our quarterly press occupies an exceptional and deservedly distinguished position. It is conducted with such ability that even in this age of intellectual activity it is the most satisfactory proof that can be adduced of our mental vigour. It appeals to that class which, so long as mind governs matter, will sway the destinies of England. A contributor to a Quarterly prepares his work with as much care as if he were about to publish a book upon the subject, and there are frequently articles that have cost more pains than books which have enhanced the reputation of their authors. It is, then, no wonder that our quarterly press should be so excellent in style; but besides its literary merit it has another claim on public respect. Quarterly reviewers are not necessarily journalists or even connected with literature. They do not work up a subject at the bidding of the editor to write an essay, but they write an essay because they happen to be especially familiar with the subject. This gives the utterances of the reviewer what we may call extrinsic weight. The name of the writer of such and such an essay is unknown to the public; but the reader is assured he is peculiarly fitted to deal with the subject. And this is even more true of the political essays. They are supposed to be the exposition of party views. When the *Quarterly* attacked Mr. Disraeli it caused a profound sensation, and

the political article in the current number has been received as an announcement of the Conservative policy. Parliament meets to-day, and we are told that the present session will be marked by a severe struggle, on the one side for office and on the other for the retention of office. Whether this be so or not, we think it an opportune moment for presenting our readers with a summary of party views according to the Quarterlies. For these views, not we but the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, and the *North British*, are responsible.

Before giving the substance of the articles we must remark that there is no pretence for describing them as party *pronunciamentos*. They are reviews of the past and present and make no allusion to the future. The first on our list assails the Ministry for what it has done but it does not inform us what the Conservatives would do in the event of their accession to office; the second defends the proceedings of the Ministry; and, the third attacks the Conservatives for their conduct when in power. The article in the *Quarterly* is, in this respect, likely to injure the Conservative party with those who accept it as an authoritative party declaration. According to the law of England a man cannot be deprived of an estate merely because his title is bad, but the claimant to it must prove that he has a better, or rather a good title to it. So it is with political warfare. It is not enough for the Conservatives to expose the evil policy of the Liberals; but if they are to obtain that public confidence which will alone make their accession to office probable, and their possession of power lasting, they must frankly avow their own policy. What the people of this country insist on is, that a Ministry shall have an avowed policy on all leading questions. It will not do to profess sympathy with the progress of Italy, and to point out that the proceedings of Lord Russell with regard to it have been prejudicial to the true interests of Italy, without frankly stating how the Conservatives would have acted, or are prepared to act. But the most remarkable instance of this reticence is in regard to America. The *Quarterly* reviewer does not think it worth his while to devote a separate paragraph to that momentous and absorbing topic, but gives just three lines to it in a miscellaneous paragraph, inserting them between a passing observation about Italy and a reference to garotting. And the three lines are singularly uncertain in their tone. The reviewer says: "Whatever may have been the merits of American policy, we have obtained in that quarter simply the hatred of the North, the contempt of the South, and the ruin of the staple industry of England." Whether the reviewer approves or disapproves of the American policy of the Government is not very clear. We presume he disapproves of it, yet hesitates to announce the policy of his party. If the Conservative leaders are equally reticent, their cause will be damaged in the estimation of Englishmen. But on such a question long continued silence, now that Parliament has assembled, is impossible.

The *Quarterly* reviewer ascribes the chief difficulties of Lord Palmerston to the compromise he had to make in order to obtain a majority in the House of Commons. He had to conciliate the Peelites and the Radicals. The first were won by office, even Mr. Gladstone, who had voted against him in the division that unseated Lord Derby being included in the Cabinet. The Radicals were difficult to satisfy. They were urgent for Reform; but there are two points upon which Lord Palmerston "entertains a sincere belief—the danger of invasion and the danger of democracy." Reform was promised, the promise could not be fulfilled, and the Radicals had to be compensated in other ways. Mr. Milner Gibson was admitted into the Cabinet; Mr. Cobden, having refused a seat in the Cabinet, was sent as a special envoy to the first Court in Europe; and Mr. Bright was gratified by the compulsory passage of the Paper Duties Bill through the House of Lords. The Church was offered to the Dissenting Radicals as a victim, and would have been seriously injured but for "the general movement among Churchmen, which had had so striking an influence in opening the eyes of the present House of Commons to Dissenting fallacies." The scheme for depriving the Church of the education of the people was defeated in Parliament, but in the Privy Council Office Mr. Lowe is striking a far more deadly blow by "turning Church schools from Church purposes to other purposes." The sentimental Radicals have been propitiated by the profession of sympathy with Italy. The effect of the policy of the Government has been to make the Italians determined to possess Rome, the Roman Catholic Church to believe that its very existence depends upon retaining possession of the temporalities, and to force the French Emperor to put a veto upon the aggressive projects of Turin. By these means, "Italy may be placed in a dilemma from which the wisdom of many statesmen and the devo-

tion of many patriots may fail to extricate her." In regard to finance Lord Palmerston is remarkably inconsistent. In 1857 Sir Cornwall Lewis, his then Chancellor of the Exchequer, advised the policy of taxes being laid in small per centages on a vast variety of articles; in 1860 Mr. Gladstone, his then Chancellor of the Exchequer, enunciated the doctrine that the revenue should be raised by heavy taxes laid upon a few articles of universal consumption. This fiscal policy, and the reward demanded by Messrs. Cobden and Bright for shelving Reform, have brought upon us the loss of the Ionian Isles. They are given up to decrease the army estimates and to console the Democracy for many failures by compensating "in some slender degree the disruption of America, by commencing the process of disintegrating the empire of England." The Ionian Isles have been ceded during the recess, at a time when Parliament could not protest, though it was not necessary to make the sacrifice so hurriedly—a sacrifice not demanded by any agitation—and to give them to Greece whilst Greece was without a Government and in a state of political anarchy. It is too much that Ministers "should assume of their own will, profiting by the absence of Parliament, to reverse the policy of fifty years, to straiten for all generations the power of their countrymen, and to strip the empire of their Sovereign of one of its most important bulwarks." Lord Palmerston has played off, in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's reputed opinions, the Conservatives against the Radicals with great tact; but are we always to be thus governed? The tactics of the Government inflict severe injury upon the public morality of the country. It is a system of corruption, less disgraceful than Sir Robert Walpole's, because veiled, but on that account more dangerous. It is an advantage that the Reform spectre has been laid; but we must beware of the continuance of the system. "The low morality and humiliating requirements of political life among the Americans have excluded from its arena anything like high honour or commanding talent; and the result is being worked out before our eyes. Let us look to it in time, lest their fate become our own."

The *Edinburgh Reviewer* ascribes the complete absence of party strife to the personal popularity of Lord Palmerston, who "has, to a great extent, outlived the distinctions of party;" and secondly, to the progress of political knowledge. The present Administration has not been encouraged by the temper of the country, or by its own supporters, to attempt organic reforms, but, nevertheless, it has had to discharge grave and difficult duties. The defences of the country, involving large expenditure, the remodeling of our Indian Empire, Church affairs, international law, Italy, Greece, Denmark ("we cannot believe" says the reviewer "that the British Government has intentionally departed from any of the principles which have regulated its policy in the Danish question for the last fifteen years") and, above all, America, have engaged the earnest attention of the Government; and these are national, not party, questions. In the present session it is presumed the War Department will give effect to the Report of the Commission on the Volunteer forces, and propose a vote of money large enough to meet certain charges that ought not to be thrown on the Volunteers, but not so large as to do away with that independence "which is the life of Volunteer organization." Holding that the fear of invasion would not be reasonable in time of war, and that it is a bugbear in time of peace, the reviewer cannot give an unqualified assent to the fortifications now erecting. Some are, no doubt, urgently required, but not such a line of defences as we have traced round Plymouth and Portsmouth. "Of all the permanent marks of the ascendancy which Lord Palmerston has acquired and exercised over Parliament, his own colleagues, and the country, none will be more surprising to posterity than these prodigious fortifications, on which upwards of ten millions sterling will ere long have been expended." We cannot hope to save much money by the reduction of our army; but the colonies now enjoying self Government ought to provide for the cost of their defence, which in 1859-60 was £2,000,000, of which the colonies paid about £300,000. The defence of Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands cost £1,200,000. The distress in Lancashire deserves serious consideration. The system of parochial poor law relief has not had a fair trial. On the 1st of September there was £3,750,000 in the local savings' banks, besides the money invested in Building funds and associated property, and "there is reason to believe that very large sums are held by the various committees of the trades' unions, which are reserved for the emergencies of strikes, and have not been used in the present distress of the manufacturing population." Absorption into other trades and emigration are the best remedies to apply.

Occurrences like this powerfully remind us how precarious, after all, is the tenure of the prosperity based on the complicated structure of modern society. Change but one of the conditions of our daily life, and a million of men may starve. The export of a pod from a certain portion of America is stopped, and a dozen towns of Lancashire are desolate. So it was, but from natural causes, that a potato blight decimated the population of Ireland, and changed the face of the land; an aphid, brought to light in a grape-house at Clapham, spread over the habitable globe, and for years destroyed the fruit of the vine; an epidemic seized upon the worm which spins our silk, and the rich towns of Lombardy were impoverished, the weavers of the costly tissues of Lyons were beggared. If a coccus were some day to appear in an ear of wheat, an immense fraction of the human race might perish. These are the visitations, mysterious and destructive as the plagues of Egypt, which from time to time arrest the growth of population and of wealth. War alone, when it rages with the ferocity now displayed in the United States, may undo the work of a century. And it is not impossible to recognize, in the course of human affairs, the irregular but not less certain recurrence of causes which belie and confound the unlimited pretensions of human progress. With

* "Four Years of a Reforming Administration," *The Quarterly Review*, January 1863.
 "Public Affairs," *The Edinburgh Review*, January 1863.
 "The Prospects of Parties," *The North British Review*, February 1863.

puerile complacency. President Lincoln has sought in his recent Message to Congress, to turn attention from the miseries of the present to the splendid prospect of two hundred millions of free American citizens covering, in the next century, the Western continent with wealth, knowledge, and freedom. Alas! does not this Alaschar of the West perceive that at this very moment causes are in active operation which will set bounds to these dreams, and which may, before the present century is completed, depopulate the most fertile regions of the globe!

The foreign policy of the Government has exercised a beneficent influence on the Continent, and "without firing a shot, it has made us respected abroad, and contributed to the progress of freedom and good government."

With respect to America, the reviewer treats us to a very able and valuable argument as to the right and duty of recognition. There are three degrees of recognition.—First, the bare recognition of belligerent rights; second, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the seceding States, accompanied by treaties of commerce and amity; third, a direct alliance amounting to interference in the quarrel. The first we were bound to make, the second we may make according to the prospects of the war and our own interests; and this moral recognition is not "a ground for remonstrance, much less of war."

It has been argued with considerable ability and authority, that foreign States are not warranted by the law of nations in extending their recognition to a province or colony contending for its independence, unless the contest be already terminated by the admission of the mother State, or unless, at least, the contest is so far advanced as to leave no doubt of the ultimate success of the separatists, and of the fact that they have actually established a lasting independent Government.

These propositions appear to us to call for some farther investigation by the light of precedents and of principles. It would be easy to quote numerous examples of a different, perhaps an opposite character. Thus to go back as far as the sixteenth century, at the time of the insurrection of the Netherlands against Spain, England at once entered into negotiations with them, and when they declared their independence in 1585, English agents were sent to Antwerp, and a treaty of alliance was concluded in the same year; yet the manifesto of Elizabeth, proclaiming her interest in the Low Countries, did not lead to an immediate rupture with Spain, though it was ultimately followed by war. The independence of the Netherlands was recognized by all the Powers of Europe, before it was acknowledged (in 1648) by Spain. In 1660, the Portuguese threw off the Spanish yoke, and raised the House of Braganza to the throne; the independence of Portugal was recognized within a year by England, France, and the Northern Courts; Spain only acknowledged the loss of the subject kingdom in 1668. These precedents were invoked by the American emissaries of 1777 to the Court of France; and within twenty months of the Declaration of Independence, France consented to espouse the cause of the young Republic. It is true that this was done on grounds of policy avowedly hostile to England, to avenge the loss of Canada fifteen years before. But the French rested their right to recognize the American Government on the simple fact that they were "in full possession" of their independence. The answer of the Court of St. James's was drawn up by Gibbon, and may be read in the fourth volume of his miscellaneous works; but he treats the question as an act of treacherous hostility, and repudiates, not so much the recognition, as the intervention, of a foreign State.

The next case was that of Greece, which it also fell to the lot of Mr. Canning to decide. When the Greek insurrection broke out in 1820, the British Government professed, and designed to maintain, a strict neutrality; but it was compelled, in obedience to the principles we have already adverted to, to acknowledge the belligerent character of the insurgents. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Greeks to the Turkish armies, they were, at the end of five or six years, exhausted by the unequal contest. Mr. Canning proffered the mediation of England, but it was indignantly rejected by the Porte. At length, in 1826, a protocol was signed by the Duke of Wellington at St. Petersburg, which virtually recognized the independence of Greece, at least on the footing of the other Christian Hospodarates. Turkey still resisted; and at length the battle of Navarino and the peace of Adrianople settled the question. In this case it is important to remark that the Christian Powers interfered and recognized the independence of Greece not because the contest was over, or because there was any well-grounded hope of the triumph of the insurgents, but precisely for the opposite reason. In 1826 it was apparent that the Greeks could not maintain their independence—that they must be beaten, if left to struggle single-handed against the whole power of Mahomet—and therefore, on grounds of humanity and policy, the Christian Powers interposed, even by force of arms, to extort from Turkey the recognition of their freedom.

On the last case, which is that of Belgium, it is hardly necessary to dwell, though in this case also France and England proceeded to recognize the independence of Belgium, not because that independence was already virtually established, but, on the contrary, because it could not have been established without their recognition and support. The King of the Netherlands had, in the first instance, appealed to the Conference to uphold the Treaties of 1815, which had placed Belgium under his sceptre. Two of the Powers refused to support his pretensions. They even compelled him to yield to terms, and terminated the quarrel by overruling almost all his claims.

With due respect, therefore, for the claims of a people now struggling with great difficulties and perils, and with entire deference to the principles of justice and law which may fairly be applied to the subject, we arrive at the conclusion that the conduct of the European Powers, and of England in particular, ought to be governed, not by any extreme consideration for either party in the United or disunited States, not by any imaginary restriction of law, but by the interest of our own fellow-subjects rightly understood. We hold that the war has continued long enough to give us full liberty of action; and we think it may fairly be assumed that whatever be the result of the struggle, it cannot restore the Union to its former condition. For all practical purposes, as regards the Southern States, the Union has ceased to exist. But owing to the terms of the late American Constitution, the Union alone represented the members of which it was federally composed in their foreign relations. Hence we are led back to the argument Mr. Canning applied to the case of the Spanish Colonies when he pointed out the absurdity of "the total irresponsibility of unrecognized States." Europe has many and great

interests in the South: how are they to be protected? how are her rights to be enforced? An appeal to the Cabinet of Washington against an outrage in Alabama would be a bootless absurdity. Even the Federal treaties can no longer be enforced in Southern ports, where foreign Consuls have now no more than a nominal authority. It is only by direct intercourse with the rulers of the South that these necessary conditions of daily life can be renewed. This state of things cannot last. A population of eight or ten millions, inhabiting a vast maritime territory, cannot be obliterated. Quite independently of any feeling for either side in this quarrel, and without any hostility to the North, the time is approaching when our relations with both fractions of the country must be placed on the same footing. Our policy ought not to be governed either by sympathy or by hostility to either party, but by "the plain and legitimate interest of the nation," which is confided to the Ministers of the Crown.

We have not space to do justice to the article in the *North British*. It is too full of thought and suggestion to be summarised in a few lines. It traces the present confusion of parties to the defection of Sir Robert Peel, and to the refusal of the Conservatives to follow their great leader, and in adopting Protection as their principle. Lord Palmerston's popularity is due to his exposition of foreign policy in 1850, to his disinterestedness when he consented to take the office of Home Secretary, and to his courage when in pressing emergency he accepted the post of Premier. We now occupy "a dignified position abroad," and have recovered from "Lord Malmesbury's feeble diplomacy." The foreign policy and the leaders of the Opposition excite the hostility "of the cultivated intelligence of the country." Mr. Disraeli's political career has not been long, but it has been marked by violent contrasts. Thirty years ago he was with Hume and O'Connell, and advocated Triennial Parliaments and Vote by Ballot. He was a Free-Trader before he was a Protectionist. He hates the middle-class. In 1858 he dragged his party through the mire by an alliance with the Radicals, and he is about, if he can, to play the same game over again. In spite of the warning in the *Quarterly*, Mr. Disraeli clings to the neck of the Tory party. But though the Government is safe, the position of the Liberal party is not satisfactory. The independent Liberals must remember that nothing can be done in politics without compromise, and that it is their duty to rally to the support of the Liberal Government.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MISSISSIPPI.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, DECEMBER 26, 1862.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens, Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, and Senate of the State of Mississippi:—

After an absence of nearly two years I again find myself among those who, from the days of my childhood, have ever been the trusted objects of my affections, those for whose good I have ever striven, and whose interests I have sometimes hoped I may have contributed to subserve. Whatever fortunes I may have achieved in life have been gained as a representative of Mississippi, and before all, I have laboured for the advancement of her glory and honour. I now, for the first time in my career, find myself the representative of a wider circle of interest, but a circle in which the interests of Mississippi are still embraced. Two years ago, nearly, I left you to assume the duties which had devolved on me as the representative of the new Confederacy. The responsibilities of this position have occupied all my time, and have left me no opportunity for mingling with my friends in Mississippi, or for sharing in the dangers which have menaced them. But, wherever duty may have called me, my heart has been with you and the success of the cause in which we are all engaged has been first in my thoughts and prayers. I thought when I left Mississippi that the service to which I was called would prove to be but temporary. The last time I had the honour of addressing you from this stand I was influenced by that idea. I then imagined that it might be my fortune again to lead Mississippians in the field, and to be with them where danger was to be braved and glory won. I thought to find that place which I believed to be suited to my capacity, that of an officer in service of the State of Mississippi. For, although in the discharge of my duties as President of the Confederate States, I had determined to make no distinction between the various parts of the country—to know no separate State—yet my heart has always beat more warmly for Mississippi, and I have looked on Mississippi soldiers with a pride and emotion such as no others inspired. But it was decided differently. I was called to another sphere of action. How, in that sphere I have discharged the duties and obligations imposed on me, it does not become me to constitute myself the judge. It is for others to decide that question. But, speaking to you with that frankness and that confidence with which I have always spoken to you, and which partakes of the nature of thinking aloud, I can say with my hand upon my heart, that whatever I have done, has been done with the sincere purpose of promoting the noble cause in which we are engaged. The period which elapsed since I left you is short; for the time which may appear long in the life of man is short in the history of a nation. And in that short period remarkable changes have been wrought in all the circumstances by which we are surrounded. At the time of which I speak the question presented to our people was, "Will there be war?" This was the subject of universal speculation. We had chosen to exercise an indisputable right—the right to separate from those with whom we conceived association to be no longer possible, and to establish a Government of our own. I was among those who, from the beginning, predicted war as the consequences of secession, although I must admit that the contest has assumed proportions more gigantic than I had anticipated. I predicted war, not because our right to secede and to form a government of our own was not indisputable and clearly defined in the spirit of that declaration which rests the right to govern on the consent of the governed, but saw that the wickedness of the North would precipitate a war upon us. Those who supposed that the exercise of this right of separation could not produce war, have had cause to be convinced that they had credited their recent associates of the North with a moderation, a sagacity, a morality they did not possess. You have been involved in a war waged for the gratification of the lust of power and of aggrandizement, for your conquest and your subjugation, with a malignant ferocity and with a

disregard and a contempt of the usages of civilization entire unequalled in history. Such, I have ever warned you, were the characteristics of the Northern people—of those with whom our ancestors entered into a union of consent, and with whom they formed a constitutional compact. And yet, such was the attachment of our people for that Union, such their devotion to it, that those who desired preparation to be made for the inevitable conflict were denounced as men who wished to destroy the Union. After what has happened during the last two years, my only wonder is that we consented to live for so long a time in association with such miscreants, and have loved so much a Government rotten to the core. Were it ever to be proposed again to enter into a union with such a people, I could no more consent to do it than to trust myself in a den of thieves.

You in Mississippi have but little experienced as yet the horrors of the war. You have seen but little of the savage manner in which it is waged by your barbarous enemies. It has been my fortune to witness it in all its terrors; in a part of the country where old men have been torn from their homes, carried into captivity and immured in distant dungeons, and where delicate women have been insulted by a brutal soldiery and forced even to cook for the dirty Federal invaders; where property has been wantonly destroyed, the country ravaged, and every outrage committed. And it is with these people that our fathers formed a union and a solemn compact. There is indeed a difference between the two peoples. Let no man hug the delusion that there can be renewed an association between them. Our enemies are a traditionless and a homeless race; from the time of Cromwell to the present time they have been disturbers of the peace of the world. Gathered together by Cromwell from the bogs and fens of the north of Ireland and of England, they commenced by disturbing the peace of their own country; they disturbed Holland, to which they fled, and they disturbed England on their return. They persecuted Catholics in England, and they hung Quakers and witches in America. Having been hurried into a war with a people so devoid of every mark of civilization you have no doubt wondered that I have not carried out the policy which I had intended should be our policy, of fighting our battles on the fields of the enemy instead of suffering him to fight them on ours. This was not the result of my will, but of the power of the enemy. They had at their command all the accumulated wealth of seventy years—the military stores which had been laid up during that time. They had grown rich from the taxes wrung from you for the establishing and supporting their manufacturing institutions. We have entered upon a conflict with a nation contiguous to us in territory, and vastly superior to us in numbers. In the face of these facts the wonder is not that we have done little, but that we have done so much. In the first year of the war our forces were sent into the field poorly armed, and were far inferior in number to the enemy. We were compelled even to arm ourselves by the capture of weapons taken from the foe on the battlefield. Thus in every battle we exchanged our arms for those of the invaders. At the end of twelve months of the war, it was still necessary for us to adopt some expedient to enable us to maintain our ground. The only expedient remaining to us was to call on those brave men who had entered the service of their country at the beginning of the war, supposing that the conflict was to last but a short time, and that they would not be long absent from their homes; the only expedient, I say, was to call on these gallant men; to ask them to maintain their position in front of the enemy, and to surrender for a time their hopes of soon returning to their families and friends. And nobly did they respond to the call. They answered that they were willing to stay, that they were willing to maintain their position and to breast the tide of invasion. But it was not just that they should stand alone. They asked that the men who had stayed at home—who had thus far been sluggards in the cause—should be forced, likewise, to meet the enemy. From this resulted the law of Congress, which is known as the Conscription Act, which declared all men, from the age of eighteen to the age of thirty five, to be liable to enrolment in the Confederate service. I regret that there has been some prejudice excited against the act, and that it has been subjected to harsher criticism than it deserves. And here I may say that an erroneous impression appears to prevail in regard to this act. It is no disgrace to be brought into the army by conscription. There is no more reason to expect from the citizen voluntary service in the army than to expect voluntary labour on the public roads or the voluntary payment of taxes. But these things we do not expect. We assess the property of the citizen, we appoint tax-gatherers; why should we not likewise distribute equally the labour, and enforce equally the obligation of defending the country from its enemies? I repeat that it is no disgrace to any one to be conscripted, but it is a glory for those who do not wait for the conscription. Thus resulted the Conscription Act; and thence arose the necessity for the Conscription Act. The necessity was met; but when it was found that under these acts enough men were not drawn into the ranks of the army to fulfil the purpose intended, it became necessary to pass another Conscription Act, and another Conscription Act. It is only of this latter that I desire to speak. Its policy was to leave at home those men needed to conduct the administration, and those who might be required to support and maintain the industry of the country—in other words, to exempt from military service those whose labour, employed in other avocations might be more profitable to the country and to the Government, than in the ranks of the army.

Permit me now to say that I have seen with peculiar pleasure the recommendation of your Governor in his Message, to make some provision for the families of absent soldiers of Mississippi. Let this provision be made for the objects of his affection and his solicitude, and the soldier engaged in fighting the battles of his country will no longer be disturbed in his slumber by dreams of an unprotected and neglected family at home. Let him know that his mother Mississippi has spread her protecting mantle over those he loves, and he will be ready to fight your battles, to protect your honour, and in your cause to die. There is another one of the Governor's propositions to which I wish to allude. I mean the proposition to call upon those citizens who are not subject to the Confederate conscription law, and to form them into a reserve corps for the purpose of aiding in the defence of the State. Men who are exempted by law from the performance of any duty do not generally feel the obligation to perform that duty unless called upon by the law. But I am confident that the men of Mississippi have only to know that their soil is invaded, their cities menaced, to rush to meet the enemy, even if they serve only for thirty days. I see no reason why the State may not, in an exigency like that which now presses on her, call on her reserved forces and organize them for service. Such troops could be of material benefit, by serving in entrenchments, and thus relieving the veteran and disciplined soldiers for the duties of the field, where discipline is so much needed. At

the end of a short term of service they could return to their homes and to their ordinary avocations, resuming those duties necessary to the public prosperity.

In considering the manner in which the war has been conducted by the enemy, nothing arrests the attention more than the magnitude of the preparations made for our subjugation. Immense navies have been constructed, vast armies have been accumulated, for the purpose of crushing out the rebellion. It has been impossible for us to meet them in equal numbers; nor have we required it. We have often whipped them three to one; and in the eventful battle of Antietam, Lee whipped them four to one. But do not understand me as saying that this will always be the case. When the troops of the enemy become disciplined, and accustomed to the obedience of the camp, they will necessarily approach more nearly to an equality with our own men. We have always whipped them, in spite of disparity of numbers; and on any fair field, fighting as man to man, and relying only on those natural qualities which men are endowed, we should not fear to meet them in the proportion of one to two. But troops must be disciplined in order to develop their efficiency, and in order to keep them at their posts. Above all, to assure this result, we need the support of public opinion. We want public opinion to frown down those who come from the army with sad tales of disaster and prophecies of evil, and who skulk from the duties they owe their country. We rely on the women of the land to turn back to these deserters from the ranks. I thank the Governor for asking the Legislature to make the people of the State tributary to this service. In addition to this, it is necessary to fill up those regiments which have for so long a time been serving in the field. They have stood before the foe on many hard fought fields, and have proven their courage and devotion on all. They have won the admiration of the army and of the country. And here I to day repeat a compliment I have heard which, although it seems to partake of levity, appears an illustration of the esteem in which Mississippians are held. It happened that several persons were conversing of a certain battle, and one of them remarked, that the Mississippians did not run. "Oh, no!" said another, "Mississippians never run." But those who have passed through thirteen pitched battles are not unscathed. Their ranks are thinned, and they look back to Mississippi for aid to augment their diminished numbers. They look back expecting their brothers to fly to their rescue; but it sometimes seems as if the long anticipated relief would never come. A brigade which may consist only of 1200 men is expected to do the work of 4000. Humanity demands that these depleted regiments be filled up. A mere skeleton cannot reasonably be expected to perform the labour of a body with all its flesh and muscle on it. You may have many who might assist in revivifying your reduced regiments—enough to fill up the ranks if they would only consent to throw off the shackles of private interest, and devote themselves to the noblest cause in which a man can be engaged. You have now in the field old men and gentle boys who have braved all the terrors and dangers of war. I remember an instance of one of these, a brave and gallant youth, who, I was told, was but sixteen years of age. In one of those bloody battles by which the soil of Virginia has been consecrated to liberty, he was twice wounded, and each time bound up the wound with his own hands, while refusing to leave the field. A third time he was struck, and the life-blood flowed in a crimson stream from his breast. His brother came to him to minister to his wants, but the noble boy said:—"Brother, you cannot do me any good now; go where you can do the Federals most harm." Even then, while lying on the ground, his young life fast ebbing away, he cocked his rifle, and aimed it to take one last shot at the enemy. And so he died, a hero and a martyr. This was one of the boys whose name sheds glory on Mississippi, and who, looking back from their distant camps, where they stand prepared to fight your battles, and to turn back the tide of Federal invasion, ask you now to send them aid in the struggle—to send them men to stand by them in the day of trial, on the right hand and on the left.

I may say here that I did not expect the Confederate enrolling officers to carry on the work of conscription. I relied for this upon the aid of the State authorities. I supposed that State officers would enroll the conscripts within the limits of their respective States, and that Confederate officers would then receive them in camps of instruction. This I believed to be the policy of your Governor's arguments. We cannot too strongly enforce the necessity of harmony between the Confederate Government and the State Government. They must act together if our cause is to be brought to a successful issue. Of this you may rest assured, whatever the Confederate Government can do for the defence of Mississippi will be done. I feel equal confidence that whatever Mississippi can do will likewise be done. It undoubtedly requires legislation to cause men to perform those duties which are purely legal. Men are not apt to feel any obligation to discharge duties from which they may have been exempted. Ours is a representative Government, and it is only through the operation of the law that the obligations towards it can be equally distributed. When the last Congress proclaimed that a certain number of men were required to fill up the ranks of the army, that class of men who were already in the field and who were retained in service, would not have been satisfied had there been no conscription of those who had remained at home. I may state also, that I believe this to be the true theory for the military defence of the Confederacy. Cast your eyes forward to that time at the end of the war, when peace shall nominally be proclaimed—for peace between us and our hated enemy will be liable to be broken at short intervals for many years to come—cast your eyes forward to that time, and you will see the necessity for continued preparation and unceasing watchfulness. We have but few men in our country who will be willing to enlist in the army for a soldier's pay. But if every young man shall have served for two or three years in the army, he will be prepared when war comes to go into camp, and take his place in the ranks, an educated and disciplined soldier. Serving among his equals, his friends and his neighbours, he will find in the army no distinction of class. To such a system I am sure there can be no objection.

The issue before us is one of no ordinary character. We are not engaged in a conflict for conquest, or for aggrandizement, or for the settlement of a point of international law. The question for you to decide is, "Will you be slaves or will you be independent?" Will you transmit to your children the freedom and equality which your fathers transmitted to you, or will you bow down in adoration before an idol baser than ever was worshipped by Eastern idolaters? Nothing more is necessary than the mere statement of this issue. What ever may be the personal sacrifices involved, I am surprised that you will not shrink from them whenever the question comes before you. Those men who now assail us, who have been associated with us in a common Union, who have inherited a Government which they claim to be the best the world ever saw—these men when left to themselves, have

shown that they are incapable of preserving their own personal liberty. They have destroyed the freedom of the press; they have seized upon and imprisoned members of State Legislatures and of municipal councils, who were suspected of sympathy with the South. Men have been carried off into captivity in distant States without indictment, without a knowledge of the accusations brought against them, in utter defiance of all rights guaranteed by the institutions under which they live. These people, when separated from the South and left entirely to themselves, have, in six months, demonstrated their utter incapacity for self-government. And yet these are the people who claim to be your masters. These are the people who have determined to divide out the South among their Federal troops. Mississippi they have devoted to the direst vengeance of all. "But vengeance is the Lord's," and beneath His banner you will meet and hurl back these worse than vandal hordes.

The great end and aim of the Government is to make our struggle successful. The men who stand highest in this contest would fall the first sacrifice to the vengeance of the enemy in case we should be successful. You may rest assured then, for that reason if for no other, that whatever capacity they possess will be devoted to securing the independence of the country. Our Government is not like the monarchies of the Old World, resting for support upon armies and navies. It sprang from the people, and the confidence of the people is necessary for its success. When misrepresentations of the Government have been circulated, when accusations have been brought against it of weakness and inefficiency, often have I felt in my heart the struggle between the desire for justice and the duty not to give information to the enemy—because at such time the correction of the error would have been injurious to the safety of the cause. Thus, that great and good man, General A. S. Johnston, was contented to rest beneath public contumely and to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, because he did not advance from Bowling Green with the little army under his command. But month after month he maintained his post, keeping the enemy ignorant of the paucity of his numbers, and thus holding the invaders in check. I take this case as one instance; it is not the only one by far.

The issue then being: Will you be slaves? will you consent to be robbed of your property? will you renounce the exercise of those rights with which you were born and which were transmitted to you by your fathers? I feel that in addressing Mississippians the answer will be that their interests, even life itself should be willingly laid down upon the altar of their country.

By the memories of the past; by the glories of the field of Chalmette, where the Mississippians, in a general order of the day, were addressed as the bravest of the brave; by the glorious dead of Mexico; by the still more glorious dead of the battle-fields of the Confederacy; by the desolate widows and orphans, whom the martyrs of the war have left behind them; by your maimed and wounded heroes—I invoke you not to delay a moment, but to rush forward and place yourself at the disposal of the State. I have been one of those who, from the beginning, looked forward to a long and bloody war; but I must frankly confess that its magnitude has exceeded my expectations. The enemy have displayed more power and energy and resources than I had attributed to them. Their finances have held out far better than I imagined would be the case. But I am also one of those who felt that our final success was certain, and that our people had only to be true to themselves to behold the Confederate flag among the recognized nations of the earth. The question is only one of time. It may be remote, but it may be nearer than many people suppose. It is not possible that a war of the dimensions that this one has assumed, of proportions so gigantic, can be very long protracted. The combatants must be soon exhausted. But it is impossible, with a cause like ours, we can be the first to cry, "Hold, enough."

The sacrifices which have already been made have perhaps fallen heavily upon a portion of the people, especially upon the noble little city of Vicksburg. After Memphis and New Orleans had fallen, two points which were considered to be admirably defended, two points which we had no reason to believe would fall, Vicksburg became the object of attack. A few earthworks were thrown up, a few guns were mounted, and Vicksburg received the shock of both fleets; the one which, under Commoire Foote, had descended the river, and the one which, under Farragut, had achieved the capture of New Orleans. Nobly did the little city receive the assault, and even the women said, "Rather than surrender, let us give them the soil, but with the ashes of our dwellings upon it."

This was the heroic devotion of a people who deserve to be free. Your Governor left his chair, and went himself to the scene of danger. Nothing more profoundly touched me amid my duties in a distant land, than to hear that the chief magistrate of my own State was defending the town which the enemy had made the object of his attack, and that the defence was successful. Now we are far better prepared in that quarter. The works, then weak, have been greatly strengthened; the troops assigned for their defence are better disciplined and better instructed, and that gallant soldier who came with me has been pouring in his forces to assist in its protection. Himself, the son of a Revolutionary hero, he has emulated his father's glorious example upon other fields, and comes to Mississippi to defend, and, I believe, to protect you.

In the course of this war our eyes have been often turned abroad. We have expected sometimes recognition and sometimes intervention at the hands of foreign nations, and we have had a right to expect it. Never before in the history of the world had a people for so long a time maintained their ground and showed themselves capable of maintaining their national existence, without securing the recognition of commercial nations. I know not why this has been so, but I say, "Put not your trust in princes," and rest not you hopes on foreign nations. This war is ours; we must fight it out ourselves, and I feel some pride in knowing that so far we have done it without the good-will of anybody. It is true that there are now symptoms of a change in public opinion abroad. They give us their admiration—they sometimes even say to us God speed!—and in the remarkable book written by Mr. Spence the question of secession has been discussed with more of ability than it ever has been, even in this country. Yet England still holds back, but France, the ally of other days, seems disposed to hold out to us the hand of fellowship. And when France holds out to us her hand, right willingly will we grasp it.

There are now two prominent objects in the programme of the enemy. One is to get possession of the Mississippi River, and to open it to navigation in order to appease the clamours of the West, and to utilize the capture of New Orleans, which has thus far rendered them no service. The other is to seize upon the capital of the Confederacy, and hold this out as a proof that the Confederacy has no existence. We have recently repulsed them at Fredericksburg, and I believe that under God and by the valour of our troops, the capital of the Con-

federacy will stand safe behind its wall of living breasts. Vicksburg and Port Hudson have been strengthened, and now we can concentrate at either of them a force sufficient for their protection. I have confidence that Vicksburg will stand as before, and I hope that Johnston will find generals to support him if the enemy dare to land. Port Hudson is now strong. Vicksburg will stand, and Port Hudson will stand; but let every man that can be spared from other vocations hasten to defend them, and thus hold the Mississippi River, that great artery of the Confederacy, preserve our communications with the trans-Mississippi department, and thwart the enemy's scheme of forcing navigation through to New Orleans. By holding that section of the river between Port Hudson and Vicksburg we shall secure these results, and the people of the West, cut off from New Orleans, will be driven to the East to seek a market for their products, and will be compelled to pay so much in the way of freights, that those products will be rendered almost valueless. Thus, I should not be surprised if the first day-break of peace were to dawn upon us from that quarter.

Some time since, for reasons not necessary to recapitulate, I sent to this State a general unknown to most of you, and, perhaps, even by name, known but to few among you. This was the land of my affections. Here were situated the little of worldly goals I possessed. I selected a general, who, in my view, was capable of defending my State and discharging the duties of this important service. I am happy to state, after an attentive examination, that I have not been mistaken in the general of my choice. I find that, during his administration here everything has been done that could be accomplished with the means at his command. I recommend him to your confidence as you may have confidence in me, who selected him. For the defence of Vicksburg I selected one from the Army of the Potomac, of whom it is but faint praise to say he has no superior. He was sent to Virginia at the beginning of the war, with a little battery of three guns. With these he fought the Yankee gunboats, drove them off, and stripped them of their terrors. He was promoted for distinguished services on various fields. He was finally made a colonel of cavalry, and I have reason to believe that, at the last great conflict on the field of Manassas he served to turn the tide of battle and consummate the victory.

On succeeding fields he has won equal distinction. Though yet young he has fought more battles than many officers who have lived to an advanced age and died in their beds. I have therefore sent Lee to take charge of the defences of Vicksburg. I have every confidence in the skill and energy of the officers in command. But when I received despatches and heard rumours of alarm and trepidation and despondency among the people of Mississippi; when I heard even that people were fleeing to Texas in order to save themselves from the enemy; when I saw it stated by the enemy that they had handled other States with gloves, but Mississippi was to be handled without gloves, every impulse of my heart dragged me hither in spite of duties which might have claimed my attention elsewhere. When I heard of the sufferings of my own people, of the danger of their subjugation by a ruthless foe, I felt that if Mississippi were destined for such a fate, I would wish to sleep in her soil. On my way here I stopped at the headquarters of General Johnston. I knew his capacity and his resolution. I imparted to him my own thoughts and asked him to come with me. I found that his ideas were directed in the same channel. He came in the shortest time for preparation; but whatever man can do will be done by him. I have perfect confidence that with your assistance and support he will drive the enemy from the soil of Mississippi. After having visited the army—after having mingled among the people of the State—I shall go away from among you with a lighter heart. I do not think the people of Mississippi are despondent or depressed; those who are so are those on whom the iron tread of the invader has fallen, or those who, skulking from their duty, go home with fearful tales to justify their desertion.

Nor is the army despondent; on the contrary, it is confident of victory. At Grenada I found the only regret to be that the enemy had not come on. At Vicksburg, even without reinforcements, the troops did not dream of defeat. I go, therefore, anxious but hopeful. My attachment to Mississippi, and my esteem for her people, have risen since the war began. I have been proud of her soldiers. I have endeavoured to conceal my pride, for I wished to make no distinction between the States of the Confederacy; but I cannot deny that my heart has warmed with a livelier emotion when I have seen those letters upon the boy's caps that have marked him for a Mississippian. Man's affections are not subject to his will; mine are fixed upon Mississippi. And when I return to where I shall find Mississippians fighting for you in a distant State, when I shall tell them that you are safe here, that you can be defended without calling upon them, and that they are necessary to guard the capital, and to prevent the inroads of the enemy in Georgia and Alabama, I shall be proud to say to them for you that they are welcome to stay.

As to the States on the other side of the Mississippi I can say that their future is bright. The army is organized and disciplined, and it is to be hoped that at no distant day it may be able to advance into that land which has been trodden under the feet of despotism, where old men have been torn from their homes and immured in dungeons, where even the women have been subjected to the insults of the brutal Federal soldiery—that under the flag of the Confederacy Missouri will again be free.

Kentucky, too, that gallant State whose cause is our cause, the gallantry of whose sons has never been questioned, is still the object of the ardent wishes of General Bragg. I heard him say, in an address to his troops, that he hoped again to lead them into Kentucky, and to the banks of the Ohio River.

I can then say with confidence that our condition is in every respect greatly improved over what it was last year. Our armies have been augmented, our troops have been instructed and disciplined. The articles necessary for the support of our troops and our people, and from which the enemy's blockade has cut us off, are being produced in the Confederacy. Our manufactures have made rapid progress; so much is this the case that I learn with equal surprise and pleasure from the general commanding this department, that Mississippi alone can supply the army which is upon her soil.

Our people have learned to economise, and are satisfied to wear homespun. I never see a woman dressed in homespun that I do not feel like taking off my hat to her; and although our women never lose their good looks, I cannot help thinking that they are improved by this garb. I never meet a man dressed in homespun but I feel like saluting him. I cannot avoid remarking with how much pleasure I have noticed the superior morality of our troops, and the contrast which in this respect they present to those of the invader. I can truly say that an army more pious and more moral than that defending our liberties, I do not believe to exist. On their valour and the assistance of God I confidently rely.

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 12, 1863.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The war news is important, for though no engagements are reported, we hear of extensive preparations for another series of bloody battles. The South-West appears to be the destined scene of the next conflict. The Federals are determined on making another effort to open the Mississippi by the capture of the gallantly defended Vicksburg. General McClelland has left the Arkansas River, and landed his forces on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi opposite Vicksburg. General Grant has left Memphis with his forces en route for Vicksburg. General Goran has been recalled from the White River, to add to the numbers of the invading army. The Confederates are prepared for the attack. General Joseph E. Johnston has, according to Federal accounts, concentrated 150,000 men for the defence of Vicksburg. Port Hudson, naturally a strong position, has been so fortified as to discourage any immediate attack. The only operation of the Federals has been a renewal of the attempt by General McClelland's troops to divert the course of the Mississippi by enlarging Commodore Farragut's little ditch. We will not speculate upon the probable issue of the impending conflict, but we may be sure that once more the clergy of New England, who, as the *Boston Courier* observes, "are not yet sated," and who "every friend of the country wants to know how much more blood will satisfy," the ministers of the Gospel who call a midnight assassin John the Baptist—will be gratified by a long list of killed and wounded; and that the Federal contractors will rejoice in having to replace the arms and stores that will be captured and destroyed. Unless the Federals draw back, the battle will not be long delayed.

The Federal General Foster is reported to have repulsed 13,000 Confederates at Pollocksville, North Carolina. The Federals claim to have captured a flag. If we may rely upon Federal accounts with regard to the strength of General Foster's command, he was at least ten times as strong as his enemy.

The Federal cavalry is said to have made an incursion into Onslow, Trent, and Jones counties, North Carolina, and to have captured some prisoners.

It is rumoured in New York that General Corcoran has gained a victory at Suffolk, Virginia, over the Confederates, under the command of General Roger A. Pryor; and that the Confederates have been defeated near Savannah.

The resignation of General Burnside could not have surprised anybody who has studied the ac-

counts of the Army of the Potomac. He had lost all command over his troops, who could not forget, and would not forgive, the carnage at Fredericksburg, where they were led up against an almost impregnable position, to be mowed down by the fire of the enemy. The Northern soldiers do not make sufficient allowance for the difficulties of a general who is the servant of the tool of a mob of fanatics. Burnside assumed the command "to go on to Richmond" without delay, and not to exercise his judgment as to the best use he could make of the Army of the Potomac. There is something exceedingly droll in the constant change of commanders. In his letter of resignation, Burnside hints that the army would, under more favourable circumstances, have accomplished great results. We do not doubt it. If the pontoons had arrived in time, if the Confederate troops had been, say a thousand miles from Richmond, it is not utterly impossible that Burnside would have got to Richmond. Burnside is too modest. He did effect great results. He crossed the Rappahannock, lost some 20,000 men, and recrossed the Rappahannock.

It is said in Washington that the immediate cause of the resignation of Burnside was a dispute with General Hooker. According to this story, when the artillery was mud-locked, Burnside determined to proceed with his infantry alone, and Hooker refused point-blank to take any part in such a movement. General Franklin has been relieved of his command absolutely, and demands a court-martial to inquire into the charges against him of tardiness and inefficiency. General Sumner was relieved at his own request.

General James Hooker has been appointed to succeed General Burnside, but how long he may retain the command is uncertain. There is a considerable agitation in favour of reinstating General McClelland. A resolution has been introduced in the Jersey Legislature, that the people are discouraged by reverses for which the generals in the field are not responsible, and that his restoration is the only means to save the country from utter ruin. General McClelland's popularity is daily increasing. He has had a brilliant reception. Mrs. McClelland has been presented with an elegant furnished house in the Fifth Avenue. Among the subscribers to this McClelland testimonial, we learn, are the names of Astor, Aspinwall, Morgan, and others equally distinguished and prominent. The Army of the Potomac and the Democratic party generally demand his restoration to the command.

The Alabama is now efficiently assisted in her warfare against American vessels. The Florida ran the blockade on the 15th of January, and lost no time in getting to work. She proceeded to the West Indies, and in two days captured and destroyed four American ships. The Northern papers are exceedingly indignant at the favour manifested at Havannah for the Confederate cause, but although there is pleasure expressed at the success of the Florida, it is not alleged that any undue privileges have been granted to the Confederates. There is, indeed, a story promulgated by Captain Adams, of the steamer *Eagle*, that the Florida was allowed to pass the guard-ship after nightfall on the 22nd of January, whilst Admiral Wilkes, who arrived in the gunboat *Wachusett*, was detained at the guard-ship until the next morning. But we all know that Yankee captains never hesitate to dress up a narrative. Much indignation, too, is evinced because Mr. Helm, the agent of the Confederate Government at Havannah holds weekly receptions, at which the most important personages of the place are present. The Northern press may be assured that in this respect the people of Havannah are not peculiar. The Florida has so alarmed the

American captains, that they are afraid to put to sea with their vessels.

The Northern papers give us an account of what they are pleased to call a Spanish outrage. It appears that on the 23rd of January the Federal steamer *Reanie*, which left the port of Havannah that morning, was fired into by the Spanish man-of-war, *Princess de Asturias*. The Federal captain returned to Havannah, to complain to the United States' Consul that that functionary had ordered him to return to his vessel. The details of this affair have not transpired, but there can be little doubt that in some way or other the Federals had been violating Spanish regulations. The Federals will soon learn that though they may insult the British flag with impunity, they must not try the same game with the Spanish flag.

An important Confederate naval triumph is the sinking the Federal gunboat *Hatteras*, off the port of Galveston, to after a smart engagement. This victory was achieved by the *Alabama*, whose commander is known to have been for a long time anxiously on the look-out for a fight with a Federal war vessel. The *Hatteras* was of considerable tonnage, and powerfully armed.

The Federal gunboats were engaged on the 14th of January at Bayou Tescbe, Savanna, the issue of the contest may be gleaned from the Northern account that "the Federal commander was killed. No Confederates were captured." Later accounts say that the Federals have destroyed the Confederate war steamer *Cotton*, which steamer, as we reported in our issue of the 15th, of January, had repulsed, about that date, the Federal gun-boats after two hours' fighting.

The Federals claim to have destroyed four vessels trying to run the blockade, and to have captured the Virginia and the steamer *Pearl*; the latter, carrying the British flag, was taken off the Bahama Banks.

The Lincoln Government has been guilty of a tyrannical proceeding, which is calculated to test the strength of the Democratic party. In the *Philadelphia Evening Journal* there was a review of President Davis's Message, which seems to have offended the Lincolnites. Mr. Boileau, the editor of the *Journal*, was taken from his home at midnight and conveyed to Washington. Mr. Carr, a joint editor, was also arrested, but subsequently released. Not only was Mr. Boileau thus seized and incarcerated, but his office was occupied by the Provost-Guard, and the publication of his paper entirely suppressed. The affair caused, as may be supposed, considerable sensation, and it was instantly resented. Judge Ludlow, of Philadelphia, instructed the Grand Jury to suspend all other business to inquire into the case. In his charge to the Grand Jury he said, "that it had come to his knowledge that within the last twenty-four hours a citizen of this Commonwealth and this county had been suddenly arrested at his residence in this city, and forcibly carried, against his will, beyond the limits of this State, and jurisdiction of this Court. Such events have heretofore taken place, but as we have been anxious to support the United States' Government in every way compatible with the proper discharge of our duty, we were not inclined to believe that those in authority would attempt to exercise a power, under all circumstances, questionable and delicate, when temporary excitement had given way to reason, and a patriotic and, I believe, an honest desire to do a great public duty, had resolved itself into a settled purpose to discharge that duty according to law, and with, at least, decent respect for the laws of this Commonwealth and for the constituted authorities of the State." Judge Ludlow then quoted from the Constitution of

the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth, to show that the inestimable rights of "a speedy and public trial," are guaranteed to every citizen by both instruments. In conclusion, he said: "Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,—I have alone taken the responsibility of addressing you to-day. It has not been done without the most serious reflection. From the commencement of the rebellion, I have endeavoured, in every possible legal method, to support the constituted authorities. A legal and moral necessity urges us to this step, not to counter-balance any act committed by any man against the authority of the general Government, but to sustain a right as clear as the noon-day sun, as vital as life-giving breath, without the existence of which the Government itself is a stupendous deception, and which, if firmly maintained, now and here, will go far to unite a people of immense resources, and which power can yet be wielded as a unit, when and as soon as the constitutional rights of each citizen shall be respected and enforced. I request you at once to suspend all other business before you at present, and to instruct the District-Attorney of this county to send for General Montgomery and the Provost-Marshal, together with all other persons who have any knowledge of this transaction, and after you shall have heard them, your duty will be simply to present the facts to the Court." The result of the inquiry was, the Grand Jury indicted all persons concerned in making the arrest. In the Legislature resolutions were introduced, authorizing the Governor of the State to proceed to Washington, and demand the release of Mr. Boileau. Mr. Lincoln has now provoked a conflict which cannot fail to damage him. If he recedes, he will offend his own party; if he refuses compliance, he will enrage the Democrats, and make them more activity hostile.

The negro is causing an irrepressible conflict in the North. The Secretary of War has issued an order authorizing Gen. Andrews to enlist negroes to garrison the posts of Massachusetts, and for the volunteer service: an order that the people of Massachusetts will probably not approve of even as a war measure. In the Federal House of Representatives, Mr. Hickman, of Pennsylvania, introduced a substitute for the Bill of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens for the enlistment of 150,000 troops of African descent. The Bill was warmly opposed by the Border States' representatives and the Democratic members, and its discussion, prevented by successive motions of adjournments, prolonged from noon till daylight next morning. The House ultimately adjourned without coming to a vote. Mr. Wadsworth, of Kentucky, has declared in Congress that if negro regiments were sent into Kentucky, the Kentuckians would resist their passage through the State.

A curious scene occurred in the Federal Senate on the 27th of January. Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware, "violently denounced the policy and character of the President, calling him 'an imbecile,' and using other epithets. As Mr. Saulsbury persisted in his disorderly remarks, he was taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and removed from the Senate. During the struggle Mr. Saulsbury exhibited a revolver, with threats of vengeance upon the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Speaker, and other senators. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Clarke, of New Hampshire, the next day, to expel Mr. Saulsbury from the Senate. When the motion came up, Mr. Saulsbury, whose friends assert that he was intoxicated at the time of his violation of the rules of the Senate, made an apology, and the matter was dropped.

Mr. Lincoln, not contented with employing negroes to fight his battles, is said, to favour a plan to enlist the Indians in Minnesota and Dacotah.

The excitement in Wall-street continues. On the 31st of January, gold was 59 per cent. premium, and exchange on London, 175. A great rise has taken place in cotton. On the 30th of January the price of Middling Uplands was 92 c. per lb.

ENGLAND.

The diminution of pauperism in Lancashire last week was about 7000; the total diminution since the tide first turned amounting to over 41,000. The number of paupers is now about 243,000; that of persons dependent for relief on parochial or voluntary charity, 466,000; that of those assisted by the Relief Committees solely about, 210,000. This state of things is lamentable enough; but the continuous decrease leads many persons to hope that the next half-year will not witness sufferings so severe as those of the last six months. It is found that only a small proportion of the recipients of relief are also provided with employment; and the difficulty of finding work for them is admitted and regretted by all who have turned their attention to this subject. It has been suggested that they should be trans-

ferred to those agricultural districts in which the rate of wages is highest; and the President of the Poor Law Board has offered, through Mr. Farnall, to furnish to the Central Executive at Manchester, and to the Local Relief Committees, the requisite information. We cannot feel confident as to the prudence or propriety of the scheme.

The condition of Lancashire has been touched upon in some of the desultory discussions which have already taken place in Parliament, and charges have been made against the manufacturers and the guardians of the poor which are not altogether devoid of truth, but which nevertheless are substantially unjust. Mr. Bentinck thinks that the distress has been caused not by the American war, but by excessive speculation, and that the manufacturers are responsible on that score. The fact, however, is that but for the war there would only have been a brief period of slack trade, the evil effects of which would have been first and most severely felt by the merchants and speculators, who are very seldom manufacturers; next, and much less severely, by the manufacturers; and last, and least, by the operatives. The merchants held large stocks, which, at the commencement of 1861, were almost unsaleable. The American war raised the value of those stocks, not as much or as quickly as it raised the price of cotton, but so quickly as to enable the merchant holders to realize large profits; which they further enhanced by speculations in cotton. In the meantime the mill-owners found their raw material increasing in price so much more and so much faster than their finished goods, that it became impossible for them to manufacture; and they were obliged, at an enormous loss, to close their mills, thus entailing severe sufferings on their hands. There had, indeed, been an excess of production; but it is obvious to those who consider the course of trade that the manufacturers were in no wise answerable for that excess. The merchant sends his order to the mill-owner; the latter executes it. It is not the business of the manufacturer to look further than Manchester; while he is sure of selling his goods there at a good price, it is his duty to make as much and as fast as he can. The Manchester market is regulated by the merchants in accordance with their expectations of a home and foreign demand; and if they err in those expectations, and stimulate the manufacturer to over-production, the fault is, and the punishment should be, theirs. The American war has come to save them from the consequences of their mistakes in 1859 and 1860, and has saved them at the expense of the comparatively innocent mill-owner and perfectly innocent operatives.

Again, the Poor Law authorities of the suffering districts are charged with having availed themselves of the liberality called forth by the distress to shift the burdens which the law imposes upon them on to the shoulders of the public. The answer is—first, that they have not refused relief to any who have applied for it; that it is not they, but the destitute, who, in their horror of pauperism, have preferred to depend on voluntary charity rather than on the parish allowance; second, that they have, in fact, expended enormous sums (no less than £15,000 weekly in the relief of the poor); third, that the condition of the ratepayers is such that they could not possibly fulfil their legal obligation to maintain all the destitute, for many of them are themselves on the verge of pauperism, most are in very evil case, and all are suffering; and finally, that of the relief funds provided by voluntary charity a very large proportion has come from Lancashire. It may fairly be said that the distressed districts are bearing half the burden of supporting their own poor; and we think that this, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case, is perhaps more than ought to have been exacted from them.

Lord Derby remarked, and we fear with truth, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the Relief Committees, a good deal of demoralization was necessarily the consequence of a system of support which did not and could not make maintenance dependent on labour. We cannot doubt that the factory towns have, like all other large towns, a floating population which subsists by inefficient and uncertain labour in a state not far removed from destitution. There are, of course, numerous cases of Irish and other families in Salford, Preston, Wigan, Oldham, and similar towns, whose aggregate income never exceeded half-a-crown or 3s. a head per week; these are now receiving 2s., or a little less, and doing nothing, and they find this pleasanter than living by honest work. The effect is, of course, demoralizing; but then these people were for the most part demoralized already. The better sort of factory hands, the great majority of that class who earned their 5s. or 10s. a head, are not likely to be demoralized by a system of relief which gives them 20d. or 2s. a head for doing nothing. They do not object to work, and they do not find themselves otherwise than exceedingly miserable on their present restricted means.

Complaints have been heard of late, that where work is given to the operatives in the mills which continue to run, it is on such terms that they can barely earn a subsistence. Some of these, in special cases, have been investigated and shown to be groundless. Nevertheless we believe that in some cases the manufacturers have acted unfairly; have reduced their rate of wages, or imposed a less profitable kind of work, without giving due notice. And we know that spinning Surat, in machinery adapted to American cotton, is a great loss to the workman; while he could make a pound of yarn out of the former, he could have made 1½ lb. or 2 lbs. out of the latter; and as he is paid by the quantity produced, he naturally grumbles at the change. The weaver is in the same predicament. Surat cotton is always breaking, and the time of the labourer is taken up unprofitably and vexatiously in piecing it. It has other faults; and even those who are accustomed, and whose machinery is suited to it, hate it and grumble against it. Whatever politicians may desire, the last thing that the operatives wish for is the substitution of Indian for American cotton. A Methodist preacher was praying one day that the Almighty would be pleased to send cotton, when one of his congregation, an old woman, endorsed his prayer, after the Methodist fashion, with a reservation—"Ay—do, Lord—but not Surat."

The debates on the Address led to no practical result, but they showed pretty clearly the feelings of both Houses in regard to the foreign policy of the present Government. The rejection of the French proposal of mediation in America does not meet the approval of any but the ultra-Radical sympathizers with the Northern States. The Opposition generally seem to desire, though not very strongly, the recognition of the Confederate States; but they are silenced by the decidedly-expressed opinion of Lord Derby, that recognition, unless we were prepared to interfere by force, would be neither effectual nor legitimate. As the *Standard*—whose close alliance with the Conservative party is no secret—reminded his lordship, it is evidently the opinion of both the American belligerents that recognition *per se* would go far, without any more peremptory action, to bring about a termination of the war, and the matter is one on which they are, of course, far better judges than the most clear-sighted of English statesmen can possibly be. Very few persons understand the Schleswig-Holstein question; but the action of the Government towards Denmark is condemned rather by the feelings than by the understanding of Parliament, as of the country. The offer of a refuge at Malta to the Pope, in spite of the Ministerial explanations, meets with general ridicule; but the Italian policy of Lord Russell is more in harmony with the sympathies of Englishmen generally than that which is attributed to the Conservative leaders. No one, except Lord Grey, seems to approve of the surrender of the Ionian Islands; and it was, perhaps, fortunate for the Government that Mr. Gladstone was not present when Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald cited against them his speeches when sent to Corfu on a special mission by Lord Derby's Ministry. This, and the Brazilian quarrel, furnish the only effective topics for dialectic attacks on the Administration. On the latter point very little has as yet been said, but it seems likely that when time has been given to study the documentary evidence on the subject, the Opposition will not fail to take advantage of an error so disgraceful to the Government and so dishonourable to England. The only question of domestic policy which has afforded material for a discussion of any interest, is the treatment of convicts; which gave to Lord Carnarvon an opportunity of saying what everybody thinks about Sir George Grey, but which cannot form the subject of a party fight. Altogether, the prospects of the Ministry seem rather brighter than they did a week ago.

A rather interesting trial has taken place in the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr. Clare claimed damages from the Crown (which was formerly done through a "petition of right," asking redress as a favour, and always answered by an injunction to the Court, "Let right be done," signed by the Sovereign, but which can now be done in a more straightforward manner) for the infringement of a patent of his by the builders of the Warrior. After a long investigation, it was decided that the patent had not been infringed, and that the plaintiff had no claim to any compensation.

The George Griswold, laden with provisions from America for the relief of the Lancashire distress, has arrived in Liverpool. An address of thanks has been prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of that port, which forbears the expression of any other feeling in regard to the American quarrel than a wish for its conclusion on terms consistent with the honour of the Northern people.

The Metropolitan, or "Underground" Railway is overwhelmed by the excess of traffic. Proposals are

being made for its extension in various directions. The Pneumatic Despatch Company is also preparing to extend its operations. It has already a line at work at Euston-square and preparing to lay down one of about five miles connecting some other principal points in London. Its machinery consists of an elliptical iron tube, perfectly air-tight, fitted with a pair of rails, on which runs a car nearly the size of the tube, propelled by a blast created by an engine, which the *Times* describes as follows:—

At each end of the tube we have described a hollow iron wheel is erected, working in an airtight box. This wheel is 21 feet in diameter, with a thickness of about 2 feet at the nave or centre—a thickness which gradually diminishes towards its outer circumference, so as to give it the same cubical contents at the rim as at the middle. This wheel is connected with a steam-engine of about 17-horse power, which turns it at a velocity of from 70 to 90 miles an hour, when the air which is drawn in through its hollow centre is thrown off from its periphery with a force which gives a pressure of from 5 to 7 ounces on the square inch, very nearly the pressure of a hurricane, and all of which, by opening a valve at the end of the tube, is driven through it with almost irresistible velocity. The cars we have already spoken of, when on the rails in the tube, fill it almost completely and expose a surface of nearly 5 square feet to the blast. They are, therefore, driven along it at the rate of nearly 30 miles an hour. In literal fact, the cars are either drawn or driven along by what is virtually a chain of air, which costs nothing and of which the weight and friction are almost nil.

The approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales will afford the English people a much-wished for opportunity of testifying their hearty attachment to the Queen and her family; an attachment which was quickened and deepened by the Royal bereavement, and which, since that sad event, has found no suitable opportunity for its expression. Nothing has yet been determined as to the manner in which the auspicious day is to be celebrated in London. At Southampton preparations are making to receive the Princess with unusual honours. At Nottingham there is to be a procession of the Masonic orders, wearing rosettes of Coventry ribbons; a suggestion thrown out for the benefit of the ruined silk trade. Other towns will follow suit, and the day will be one of rejoicing throughout the kingdom.

The case of the *Alabama*, in its legal aspects, has been discussed by the Juridical Society, under the presidency of Lord Stanley. Mr. W. Keer read an elaborate paper, arguing that we ought to have detained the *Alabama*, that we could not seize her on the high seas; that if she came into our ports her crew would be liable to a prosecution as offenders against the Foreign Enlistment Act. Different views were expressed by subsequent speakers. Lord Stanley thought that the questions whether the *Alabama* could have been detained, and whether her builders could have been prosecuted, were questions of evidence rather than of law. It was distinctly admitted that the *Alabama* was not a privateer.

Mr. Lincoln has sent an answer to the Manchester address, in which he refers to the "sublime Christian heroism" of the nobodies who, in the name of the working-men of Manchester, congratulated him on the policy of trying to stir up a servile revolt as a "war measure." Mr. Lincoln evidently thinks, or pretends to think, the Tooley-street Tailors represent the opinions of this country.

The election for the Borough of Cambridge has resulted in the return of the Conservative candidate. Mr. Powell polled 726 votes, and Mr. Fawcett, the Liberal candidate, 609. Such is the return of the Conservative committee, the Liberal statement gives a less majority.

It is understood that prominent capitalists in Paris and Frankfort, have offered to the Confederate Government £5,000,000 on moderate terms; of which £2,000,000 are said to have been accepted. This is a striking testimony of the confidence of European capitalists in the stability of the young nationality.

EUROPE.

The insurrection in Poland has now become a national rising. The isolated resistance of a few bands of desperate conscripts has developed into a revolution which tasks all the strength of Russia to make head against it. The only trustworthy information which reaches this country of the progress of the movement, in the shape of telegrams from the Austrian and Prussian frontiers, is necessarily very imperfect, and somewhat confusing. We are told of a great many fights between parties of military and insurgents, which say very little, except that the insurrection extends over a very wide area. This much, however, may be said with some certainty, that the insurgents have, on the whole, had for a few days the advantage, and are now beginning to lose it; that they are far better provided with arms than could have been expected, and that they are commanded by officers of some experience. A rough notion of the seat of the conflict may be given by describing a crescent extending on the one hand from the point of junction of the Austrian

and Prussian frontiers a little to the north-east of Cracow, passing thence by the frontier of Galicia, and then by the frontier between Russia proper and Poland, to the Prussian frontier again, directly to the north of Warsaw. Within the whole of the district embraced by these lines, that is to say, by far the larger part of the kingdom of Poland, the insurrection is general. It extends, however beyond the frontier into Russia itself; and it seems probable that it will very soon, to its certain destruction, extend over the Prussian and Austrian frontiers. In fact, the insurrection seems to have a stronger hold at the junction of the Prussian and Austrian frontiers than anywhere else; although it has also spread over the whole of the provinces of Sandomier and Lublin. The Prussian Government, which at first was not much disturbed, is now, it seems, seriously alarmed, and troops are pouring into Silesia, at the south-west corner of which province the danger seems to threaten most. Later accounts speak of part of Western Prussia as in a very excited state. Telegrams from Russian sources speak of decisive victories gained by the Russian troops over considerable bodies of insurgents, the one near Wouczok, in the province of Lublin, in which 6000 insurgents were attacked by General Mack, and were completely defeated—two battalions of peasants throwing down their muskets at the first fire—and the other near Wilna, in which the insurgents lost 1000 men, and the Russians but twelve, of whom, however, six were officers. Of course these statements must be received with some distrust, but it may be assumed that victories of some sort were gained, and, indeed, it is to be expected that whenever a large Russian force, well equipped, comes into conflict with the insurgents the latter will be signally beaten. Their strength lies in the guerilla warfare. The Russian Government is evidently alarmed at the progress which the rebellion is making, and the Emperor now seems disposed, after having deliberately provoked them—the official journal of St. Petersburg admits that the recruitment was conducted in an unusual manner, but excuses it on the ground that the Government had been aware for months that it would be the signal for insurrection—to try to conciliate the Poles. The recruitment has been stopped. Many of the conscripts have been liberated. The reports of the Council of State are henceforth to be drawn up in the Polish language; and the Council of the Empire has been ordered to prepare several measures—of but slight import it must be allowed—for the reform of the administration of the kingdom of Poland. These offers come too late; if Poland is to be conciliated, it must be by more substantial concessions. There is no midway now between a large measure of justice and rigorous repression. When a Russian general does not give satisfaction, he always falls unwell. General Ramsay, the commander in Poland, a descendant, we suppose, of some Scotch soldier of fortune, has had an attack of apoplexy, and General Samukin takes his place. We will use the falsehoods told by the Russian telegrams about the massacre of the soldiers by the insurgents, to justify a hope that the story of the attempted poisoning of the Marquis Wielopolski and his family is a foul invention to deprive the Poles of the sympathy of Europe.

The debates in the *Corps Legislatif* upon the address, in answer to the Emperor's speech, have been of a very interesting character. The little opposition of five has attacked the policy of the Government with the greatest boldness. The points selected for attack have been the internal administration, taken up principally by M. Ollivier, the Mexican Expedition, and the Italian policy of the Government. The greatest sensation has been produced by M. Jules Favre's speech upon the subject of Mexico, in which the Jecker claim played the principal part. The excitement has been much increased by the very unwise intimation given to the newspapers not to discuss the subject. The contrast between the Emperor's liberal promises and the oppressive acts of his Ministers has produced a very disagreeable impression.

An insurrection has broken out in the recently acquired dependencies in Cochin China. The natives in large numbers attacked the fort of Saigon, and although ultimately compelled to retire with great loss, fought with the utmost desperation. This was on the 17th of December. An attack was made, with the same result, on Fort Mytho on the 27th of December. Reinforcements have been despatched from France.

Some correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome has been laid before Parliament.

It includes the despatch of Earl Russell of October 31st, urging upon the French Government the evacuation of Rome, with the existence of which M. Drouyn de Lhuys' despatch in the *Libre Jaune* had acquainted us: Lord Cowley's despatch, summarizing his conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the delivery of that despatch, the

substance of the conversation being, as our readers are aware, a reference to previous opinions of the English Government in favour of the occupation of Rome; the despatch of Earl Russell in which he invites the Pope to retire to Malta, and another despatch from his lordship, in which he gives his own version of the attempt to get the Pope away from Rome.

That version really differs in substantial points very little from that of the French Ambassador, which it is designed to impugn. Mr. Odo Russell says that the Pope asked him whether, if circumstances should at any time lead him to ask a refuge in England, he would be well-received. The French Ambassador wrote that the Pope said, "Who knows whether one day I may not have to ask from you a hospitable reception?" This was on the 25th of July. It was only on the 25th of October that Earl Russell wrote his despatch, urging the Pope to leave Rome, and offering him a mansion at Malta. The principal point in the despatch is the suggestion that, as the Pope believes that Providence will maintain the temporal power in its full splendour, he had better, in reliance upon Providence, abandon Rome. The old watchword was, "Trust in Providence, boys, and keep your powder dry." Earl Russell says to the Pope, trust in Providence and carefully damp all your powder. Cardinal Antonelli politely acknowledged the offer, but pointed out the impossibility of accepting it. Earl Russell, we should observe, denies that he wrote any private letter to Mr. Russell, regretting that the Pope had not accepted his offer, and expressing the opinion that his Holiness would soon regret his determination.

That is the one error made by the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne in his account of this strange business.

The King of Prussia has answered the address of the House of Deputies, after the fashion which his reply to the Notables of the Rhine Provinces presaged. He presumes, from the tenor of the address, that the Deputies desire to know his personal will, and therefore he replies to them without the intervention of the Ministers—another infringement, we may observe, of the Constitution, which requires all documents of the kind to be countersigned by the Ministers; but one which impartial critics will, under the circumstances, easily pardon, although the House of Deputies grumbles. The King declares all the complaints of the Chamber unfounded. He denies that his Ministers have violated the Constitution, and declares that all their acts have had his sanction, thus assuming the position of direct personal antagonism to the Chamber, into which Herr von Bismarck had, in the course of the debate, thrust him. He also repeats the quibble of his Minister, that the budget law requires the assent of the three legislative bodies, and therefore, in default of that assent, the Government has a right to govern without a budget—announces his intention to maintain undiminished the rights of the Crown—takes credit for his regard for the nation in giving up four millions of taxation, a temporary tax voted in 1853 for three years, which he only gave up because he knew that the House of Deputies would not renew it; and having thus declared himself anxious for reconciliation, on the condition, well understood, that the Deputies give way in everything, trusts the House will meet his views. His reply removes all chance of reconciliation. Meanwhile the Upper House had prepared its address, a very vague and ambiguous document, hardly intelligible, except by reference to the debates which preceded its adoption. In substance it deplored the difference of opinion between the three legislative factors, for which case the Constitution had made no provision, and suggested that, in the German word *Landesvater*,—"Father of his Country,"—a solution of the difficulty presented itself. In plain English, that the King should, in his profound wisdom, do as he pleased. Some members of the House thought the address too moderate; one suggested that the words "Lord and Subject," should be introduced; but the leader of the party pointed out that cases might occur in which even the Upper House would not like to be bound to unconditional obedience, and so, after several ebullitions of the same sort as this, that the "present struggle was one between Anti-Christ and Christendom," the address, in its mild form, passed. Naturally, it proved very agreeable to his Majesty, who has informed the *Herrnenhaus* that the Government will firmly maintain the position it has taken up, but will attend to any overtures the House of Deputies may make, with a view of increasing Prussia's military power!

The fiftieth anniversary of King Frederick William the Third's appeal to his people, the signal for that great uprising which liberated first Prussia, and then Germany, from the Napoleonic yoke, has been celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Prussia. In the popular mind the institution of the *Landwehr*, now threatened by the army reorganization, is

closely connected with this anniversary, and it was the occasion for the display of much enthusiasm for the maintenance in its integrity of the old military system. At Berlin, as elsewhere, the day was celebrated by banquets, at two of which the King looked in, in the pleasant, familiar way, in which only German princes meet their people, and proposed toasts to the Fatherland and the army.

The Greek throne is still open to competition. The Duke of Coburg, according to Lord Palmerston—who shows more respect for the Greeks than his organs, which talk about the Duke's declining the throne—has decidedly refused to become a candidate for the throne of Greece. A few days ago it was authoritatively announced that he had accepted it. It appears, from the explanation of the Government organs, that the blunder arose in this wise: The Duke refused to accept the throne, except upon certain conditions, *inter alia*, that Greece should be materially strengthened and that the Duke should retain his German duchies. These conditions Earl Russell could not accept, and looked out for another king. The Prince of Leiningen having, as our contemporaries complain, preferred his ease as the captain of an English ship of war, Lord Russell had to return to the Duke of Coburg, and accepted his conditions. His lordship seems to have assumed that, as he had accepted the Duke's conditions, the Duke would accept the throne. But he reckoned without his host. The Duke declined, and the place is open, to the great disgust of the English Government; but the failure will apparently not trouble the Greeks much, who still cling to their hopes of Prince Alfred.

Some correspondence respecting the revolution in Greece has been laid before Parliament. It gives a history of the insurrection and the subsequent diplomatic action of the British Government. It may be thus summarized:—Earl Russell at first declared distinctly that Prince Alfred would not accept the throne; then, being also anxious to exclude the Duke de Leuchtenberg, he applied to the Russian Government to make a common self-denying declaration. The Russian Government thought it unnecessary, and did not agree that the Duke was a member of the Imperial family. Earl Russell then allowed the Greeks to suppose that Prince Alfred would accept the throne, and by that means frightened the Russian Government into the expression of its readiness to make the renunciation. The renunciation made, the Greeks were told that they could not have Prince Alfred; and the Ionian Islands were offered them in compensation.

The National Assembly, having at last constituted itself, has declared the throne forfeited by Otho, his Queen, and dynasty, and Prince Alfred elected King of the Greeks by 230,000 votes. The official notification of the Prince's election has been made to the English Government.

From Spain we have fresh rumours of a Ministerial crisis, and of a dissolution of the Cortes, the sittings of which have been already suspended. Marshal O'Donnell has been ill, and General Serrano, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, has developed at some length, in answer to an interpellation in the Cortes, the reasons of the Government for not recognizing at present the kingdom of Italy. One of them deserves mention. King Charles Albert refused for seven years to recognize Queen Isabella. The children suffer for the sins of their fathers.

A curious picture of the disorganization and demoralization of the Neapolitan kingdom has been supplied in the story of the capture of the Marquis Avitabile, president of the Neapolitan Bank, by a band of brigands. The Marquis was on a visit to his villa at Torre del Greco, the scene of the last destructive outbreak of Vesuvius, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. According to one account, he was out shooting; according to another, the Philistines had their Dahilah, when he was surrounded by a company of armed men and conducted to a secluded spot on the skirts of the mountain. There an exorbitant sum was at first demanded of him for his ransom, but at last his price was agreed at 20,000 ducats or \$5,000 lire, or francs. A messenger was sent to Naples for the money, the Marquis being courteously treated meanwhile by Pilone, the chief of the band, and when he returned, bringing the ransom in hard Napoleons, the marquis was set at liberty, and got home the same evening. The only novelty about the story is the largeness of the ransom, the same kind of thing takes place in the neighbourhood of Naples every day, and as for the outlying provinces, nobody is safe there, in spite of General La Marmora's 90,000 men, who is not known to sympathize with Francis II. It is quite evident that the system the Piedmontese Government has been pursuing, will never extirpate the evil. Cruelty has been found ineffectual, why not try justice and mercy? The Parliamentary Committee appointed to investigate the question of

brigandage is now on its way through the provinces. If Pilone, or some other adventurous leader, could manage to get hold of the members, they would probably learn a great deal more about brigandage than they will draw from the civil functionaries and military commanders who surround them. *Apropos* of the brigandage, we may add that a public meeting has been held at Naples to put it down, at which two priests denounced the Pope with extreme violence, and the Turin Government came in for a great deal of abuse. Some members of the Italian Parliament have been expressing their sympathies with Poland, but the Ministry took care to hold their peace. They remembered that Russia had just recognized Italy, and that part of the price was the extinction of a Polish educational establishment.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The fifth session of the present Parliament commenced on Thursday last. Her Majesty, for a well-understood reason, did not open it in person. The Commissioners appointed for the purpose entered the House of Lords at 2 o'clock. Very few peers were present, but the Opposition benches and the galleries were nearly filled with ladies. The Commons having been summoned, and appearing at the bar, the Lord Chancellor read the Royal Speech. It referred briefly to the treaty concluded for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and requested provision for an establishment suitable to the rank and dignity of the Heir-Apparent to the throne. The offer of the Greek Crown to Prince Alfred, who had been compelled by the diplomatic engagements of England to decline it, was made the ground of a hope that the Greeks would choose a wise and non-aggressive Sovereign, in which case the Queen would be disposed, if the Ionian Islands were so disposed, to take steps for the abandonment of the British Protectorate over the Septinsular Republic. The Speech continued:—

Her Majesty's relations with foreign Powers continue to be friendly and satisfactory.

Her Majesty has abstained from taking any step with a view to induce a cessation of the conflict between the contending parties in the North American States, because it has not yet seemed to Her Majesty that any such overtures could be attended with a probability of success.

Her Majesty has viewed with the deepest concern the desolating warfare which still rages in those regions; and she has witnessed with heartfelt grief the severe distress and suffering which that war has inflicted upon a large class of Her Majesty's subjects, but which have been borne by them with noble fortitude and with exemplary resignation. It is some consolation to her Majesty to be led to hope that this suffering and this distress are rather diminishing than increasing, and that some revival of employment is beginning to take place in the manufacturing districts.

The Queen expressed her admiration of the generosity of her subjects, in all parts of her empire, towards their suffering countrymen; and informed Parliament that papers relating to Italy, Denmark, Greece, and Japan, would be laid before it. It was also stated that the condition of the revenue was "not unsatisfactory," and that the commerce of the country had not sensibly diminished. The remaining paragraphs of the speech were of a purely formal character.

The Houses then adjourned. The Lords met again at 4 o'clock, when the House and galleries were crowded. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, accompanied by several lords, who are members of the Cabinet or of the Royal Household, all wearing their peers' robes, entered the house. The Prince wore the scarlet robe with ermine bars, proper to his rank as a duke, over his general's uniform. He advanced to the woolsack, and placed in the hands of the Lord Chancellor his "writ of summons," entitling him to take a seat in the House. He then took the oaths, and seated himself on the Chair of State, which is his formal place, on the right hand of the Throne. Rising immediately, he received the congratulations of the Chancellor. The sitting was then suspended. When it was resumed, at five o'clock, his Royal Highness took his seat on the "cross benches" at the lower end of the House, opposite the Throne; the place where are usually to be seen Lord Grey, Lord Overstone, and other peers, who are not attached at present to either of the great political parties.

The Address to the Crown, which is so exact an echo of the speech that no paper ever thinks of publishing it, was moved by the Earl Dudley, and seconded by the Earl of Granard. The Earl of Derby then rose, and delivered a speech which may be regarded as a full and complete expression of the views of the Opposition on all the questions treated in the Royal speech. He began by congratulating the Royal Family and the country on the auspicious marriage treaty, concluded on behalf of the Heir-Apparent. He then passed to the American question, and expressed his regret that her Majesty's Government had not thought fit to accept the proposal of the Emperor of the French for a joint endeavour to persuade the belligerents to an armistice; at the same time, he admitted the possibility that Ministers might have information not open to the public as to the probable issue of such an endeavour, which would justify their refusal. Mediation he considered to be one of the questions, so long as the South insisted on absolute separation, and the North on enforcing union; for any mediator must, in such a case, take one side or the other, and thereby place himself in a position of hostility to the party against whom he decided. Several of his friends wished to see the recognition of the Confederate States. He did not think that the time had come at which such a step would be wise,

politic, or even legitimate:—"I do not think the circumstances have yet occurred under which a revolting State is entitled to recognition from neutral Powers. The first of those circumstances is where, although the State from which a secession has taken place has not acquiesced in it as a *fait accompli*, yet the war is, in point of fact, at end, and no struggle is going on for the restoration of the original dominion. That was the case when the States of South America revolted from Spain. For a long period before those States were recognized by the Powers, Spain had ceased to take any active steps to keep them under her rule. Another set of circumstances under which recognition is legitimate is where other nations, having in the interests of humanity determined that a desolating warfare shall no longer be continued, agree to recognize the revolting party. But in that case recognition is always followed by something further, for it means nothing unless the Powers who join in it are ready to support by force of arms the claims of the State which they recognize. (Hear, hear.) That was the case when Belgium separated from Holland, and when Greece separated from Turkey. No doubt there are occasions when the horrors of war and the danger to the public interests of the world, from the prolongation of a contest, are so great that it is essential it should be terminated by other nations intervening to recognize the secessionist, but in that event they must be prepared to go a step further, and to maintain by force the independence which they have acknowledged. I cannot but think that this consideration has not been sufficiently weighed by those who are anxious for the recognition of the South." He believed, however, that the restoration of the Union was utterly impossible. Any Government that might be in power in this country would gladly seize any opportunity of putting an end to the war; but he feared that it must go on till both parties simultaneously should see the necessity of coming to terms. He dwelt on the widespread distress which the war had inflicted on the manufacturing districts, and on the length of time which must elapse ere they could recover from the blow. The public had been very liberal; and he feared there would be for a long time a continued call upon public generosity. The working classes had endured nobly; but it was his duty to remark that one portion of them—not the best and best paid, but the lowest class, who were always on the verge of pauperism, were almost as well off now, subsisting on alms, as ever they had been, however severe might be the sufferings of those who, formerly laborious, skilful, and therefore comparatively rich, had been suddenly reduced to the level of the former set. Of course the charity which made the worst class of labourers as well off without work as with it, had a demoralizing effect. It was, however, impossible to make a distinction in affording relief between families wont to earn 35s., and those wont to earn 7s. a week; and therefore, while the highest class of operatives felt the distress very severely, the lowest scarcely felt it all. He thought that the state of the foreign, and especially of the Oriental markets, was such as to make it certain that for a long time to come, with cotton at abnormal prices, only large capitalists, and only some of these, would be able to employ their workmen; and he therefore saw no prospect of a speedy abatement of the sufferings of the operatives.

The foreign policy of the Government did not meet with Lord Derby's approval. He censured the intrusive intermeddling of Lord Russell in the affairs of Denmark, and reminded him of the characteristic advice of Lord Melbourne, in a Cabinet of which they were both members. "Can't you let it alone? It will do very well if you will only let it alone." But to let it alone was just what Lord Russell never could do. The speaker alluded lightly to Sydney Smith's famous saying, that the present Foreign Secretary would undertake at an hour's notice to cut for the stone or take command of the Channel fleet. But if he could not let Denmark alone, he might have avoided giving his advice in such a form as to encourage her enemies to put upon her a pressure which, without the aid of England, she was not able to resist. Lord Derby also ridiculed the proposal of Lord Russell to receive the Pope at Malta, as a protégé of Great Britain; a proposal which, if accepted, would have led to the most serious complications. He censured the long delay allowed to intervene between the recommendation of Prince Alfred as a suitable King by the Greek Government to the electors, and the declaration of the English Government that he could not accept the throne, and he expressed the strongest disapproval of the cession of the Ionian Islands. It was nonsense to suppose that Greece would give up her dreams of aggression on Turkey; and Corfu, eighty miles from the Greek and within one mile of the Turkish coast, was admirably fitted to assist her in such aggressions; while, on the other hand, the cession would materially diminish our strength in the Mediterranean.

Earl Russell thought that he had done quite right in rejecting the French proposal. One day, perhaps, the Americans would voluntarily invite foreign mediation. In the meantime, he did not think we should be justified in recognizing the South, as we were not prepared to interfere by force. He thought that the subjugation of the South would be fatal to the liberties of the North, to order in the South, and to the well-being of the negro race—would be a frightful calamity; though he should be glad to see the Union restored if sentiments of amity and confidence could be restored with it. He retorted on Lord Derby that the advice given by the Conservative Government to the Sovereigns of Naples and Tuscany, to remain neutral in the late Italian war, had proved disastrous. He explained that his advice to Denmark was the consequence of a previous intervention of England to prevent a Federal attack on Holstein;

and that the idea of a refuge in British territory had been suggested by the Pope himself, and not by Mr. Russell, our unofficial agent at the Papal Court, who reported that the offer made in consequence of that suggestion had produced the most friendly feeling in the minds of the Pope and his Ministers. He said that when the Greek revolution rendered the throne vacant, England was the first of the Protecting Powers to insist on the exclusion of all members of their three reigning families, but that she had insisted that the Duke of Leuchtenberg was a member of the Imperial House of Russia; a point on which some difficulties had at first been raised by the Government of the Czar. He did not, however, fully explain how it was that the Greeks were allowed to entertain hopes of Prince Alfred's acceptance of their Crown. As to the cession of the Ionian Islands, he remarked that it was in no sense a dismemberment of the empire. Those islands constituted an independent Republic under the protection of the British Crown; and when that protection ceased to be necessary for their interests and those of Europe, and proved obnoxious to themselves, it was best that it should be withdrawn.

Lord Malmesbury (late Secretary for Foreign Affairs) agreed with Lord Derby that we could not recognize the Confederate States unless we were prepared to go further. But he strongly condemned the conduct of the Government in not joining with France to bring about an armistice, and passed a high eulogium on the conduct of the Emperor. He asked if Ministers had done anything to mitigate the horrors of the American War, especially the diabolical barbarity of the North in declaring medicines and surgical instruments contraband. He defended the advice given, in 1859, to the Sovereigns of Tuscany and Naples, and strongly censured the policy of Lord Russell in reference to Rome, Greece, the Ionian Islands, and the Danish question.

Earl Grey was the next speaker. He is one of the ablest members of the Upper House, a son of the great Whig chief who bore the same title; and formerly Secretary for the Colonies under Lord Russell. For the last twelve years he has been out of office, and now, when either party would be delighted to obtain his co-operation, he is understood to be too Conservative to act with the Liberals, and to distrust some of the Conservative leaders too much to join the Opposition. He approved of the conduct of the Government in avoiding anything like mediation in America, so long as the North insisted on re-union, and the South on independence. He thought that we could do very well without the Ionian Islands, both in peace and in war. It was the French occupation of Italy which made them so important during the Napoleonic wars, and as Italy was about to become united and strong, it did not seem to him that this condition of things was likely to recur. The protectorate, and Ionian hostility to it, had brought the Government of the islands to a dead lock; and he thought it was time that the attempt to govern those who wished to be free from our rule should be given up.

The Earl of Carnarvon (a rising member of the Conservative party, and formerly an Under-Secretary of State) disputed the wisdom of the cession of the Ionian Islands, and contended that if they were ceded on economical grounds there could be no greater fallacy. It was said that the cession was a gift on our part, but two parties were necessary for such a gift, and before we ceded them we ought to consult those who had placed that trust in our hands.

Lord Wodehouse, (formerly Lord Russell's Under-Secretary) replied; after which the Address was agreed to, and their lordships adjourned.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Address was moved by Mr. Calthorpe, who eulogized the policy of the Ministry, and Mr. Lincoln's emancipation edict. It was seconded by Mr. Bazley, of Manchester, one of the most ardent advocates of efforts to dispense with American cotton, and a disciple of Mr. Bright. This gentleman entered into an elaborate statistical disquisition on Lancashire distress and the prospects of the cotton supply. He was followed by Mr. Disraeli, who spoke evidently under great constraint upon American affairs, embarrassed by the knowledge that Lord Derby was to commit himself peremptorily against the recognition of the Confederate States. He said that he had approved the strict neutrality in act and in language at first observed by the Ministry; but regretted to see that during the recess they had individually expressed themselves in a manner anything but neutral. The Secretary for Ireland had said that the Lord of Hosts was on the side of the South; the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared that the Southern leaders had made "an army, a navy, and a nation." If that were true, then the South was entitled to recognition; and if Government were not prepared for recognition, then Mr. Gladstone had no right to use such language. The President of the Board of Trade had used very different expressions, and displayed a very opposite feeling. Surely it was much to be regretted, unless a change had taken place in their policy, that the members of the Cabinet did not observe a stricter silence during the recess. Whatever their objection, however, to interfere in the American States, they had exhibited very little reluctance to interfering in the affairs of other states. In fact, the Government had occupied the greater part of the autumn in interfering in every part of the world except America. Their objection to interference, therefore, must be to interference in the abstract, not to interference in particular cases and under particular circumstances. He should like to know, for instance, what was the precise nature of our relations with China, and what was going on there at the present moment. So far as he could learn, there was constant

fighting in that country, conducted in great measure by our fellow-subjects, whilst officers in her Majesty's service were enlisting our countrymen to interfere between the Emperor of China and his rebellious people. Our Chinese policy, begun by the noble lord at the head of the Government about twenty-five years ago, at first consisted of making war upon the Tartar dynasty; but now that policy had been changed, and we made war in favour of the Tartar dynasty against the Taepings. He contended that we had nothing to do with the Taepings, and that if we attempted in this roundabout manner to support the Tartar dynasty we should ultimately be again involved in a war with China, but on different sides and for different objects. A few months ago they were told that if they ventured to retrench the expenditure, the country would be subservient to France. He was happy to find, however, from the Speech of her Majesty's Commissioners, that they could not only retrench, but that retrenchment did not mean the humiliation of the country or subservieny to France. But hitherto, wars with China had seriously increased the expenditure of the country, and it was the duty of the Government to take care that they did not pursue a policy in this instance that would lead to expenditure. If they meant to effect a real reduction, then they must change their policy, not only with regard to Chinese, but many other questions. The right hon. gentleman also commented upon the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty—a question which everybody affected to understand, but none could explain. Explanations were required upon these questions, and also regarding Rome, the incredible conduct of the Government in respect to Brazil, their policy upon Turkish affairs, and Greece and the Ionian Islands. Why, he asked, had they delayed for four months to refuse the acceptance of the Crown of Greece by Prince Alfred, if, as the Royal Speech stated, diplomatic engagements existed to prevent it? And what was the effect of offering the Ionian Islands to the Greeks but favouring the policy which that time last year the Government denounced? He considered these islands as British territory, acquired by conquest, and if they were ceded to Greece they would be accepted only as an instalment of what that country hoped to obtain hereafter from Turkey.

Colonel Sykes (formerly Chairman of the East India Company) made a strong speech in favour of the Taepings, whose cause he always espouses, in season and out of season, with a vehemence which amuses the House. Lord Robert Montague—a Conservative malcontent, without any following, but with a perseverance that ensures him a respectful hearing from the green cushions, and the gentlemen who take it in turns to keep their seats on the front bench, on either side of the Speaker's Chair—made a rambling speech on the revenue, the cession of the Ionian Islands, and a few other topics. He was succeeded by Mr. Maguire, who strongly approved the abandonment of the Ionian protectorate, but dwelt chiefly on the distress in the north of Ireland, which was, he declared, so serious as to amount to a public danger. Several other members spoke on miscellaneous subjects; and then Lord Palmerston rose. He retorted upon the preceding Government, of which Mr. Disraeli was a member, the charge of an intriguing policy. No such charge was applicable to his Ministry. The selection of an English Prince for the crown of Greece had been avowedly influenced by the straightforwardness of policy for which England was renowned, and by her reputation of the invariable protector of the weak against the strong. He defended the consistency of his policy in China. The obstructions to our trade there had at first proceeded from the Imperial Government. We had to remove those obstacles by force. Now, the Chinese Government was on the most friendly footing with our own. The only obstacles to our trade were interposed by the Taepings—murderous marauders, who destroyed peace, industry, and commerce wherever they went; but we did not make war against the Taepings, we only required them to keep at a distance from the cities in which we had establishments. We had, indeed, allowed British officers to engage in the Imperial service to assist in restoring order. It was our interest that order should reign in China, where we had succeeded in making friends of the people, once suspicious of all foreigners. In regard to Denmark, we had long been engaged in an endeavour to mediate between that Power and the German Confederation. Last year the Diet threatened to march troops into Holstein. We prevented that step, and after that it was with the view to a permanent arrangement Lord Russell wrote the despatch which has called forth so much censure. As to Greece, the opinion of the Government, that Prince Alfred could not accept the Throne, had been communicated to the Greek Minister at the earliest possible moment. Whatever delay had occurred had been caused by the necessity of negotiation with Russia as to the exclusion of the Duke of Leuchtenberg. The Ionian Islands formed no part of the British dominions, our Queen was not their Sovereign, our treaties did not bind them. They were a separate republic, under British protection, and at present the abandonment of that protectorate appeared to him a wise and generous measure. As to the offer of a refuge for the Pope—the fact was, that the Pope had asked whether he would be received in England; and Lord Russell directed our agent at Rome to reply, that if the Pope were obliged to quit that city, he should be received at Malta in a manner befitting his rank.

Sir John Bowyer (the representative of a certain section of English Catholics) complained that Lord Palmerston had spoken more courteously of the Government of a Mahomedan Sultan, than of that of a Christian bishop. The noble lord had not given a correct account of what had passed between the

Pope and Mr. Odo Russell. All that the Holy Father had really said was, "Well, if I am in trouble, perhaps some day I may ask you for assistance." On this Lord Russell wrote, offering a reception at Malta, and telling the Pope if he did not accept it now he was likely, ere long, to be compelled to do so. The speaker then launched into a bitter tirade against the Roman Triumvirate of 1849, and the present Government of Italy; and declared, to the great amusement of the House, that the British Ministry would be "eternally cursed" for the support they had given to the latter.

Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Lord Derby's Government) expressed surprise that Lord Palmerston had made no reference in his speech either to America or Poland. He censured the interference of Lord Russell on behalf of Germany against Denmark, and declared the cession of the Ionian Islands to be impolitic, inexpedient, and unjustifiable. He quoted the opinions of various authorities upon their political and military importance, and cited especially the strong expressions used by Mr. Gladstone, when sent on a special mission by Lord Derby's Government, against their annexation to Greece. Mr. Whalley, who has succeeded to the heritage of Mr. Spooner's hatred to Popery closed the debate, and the House adjourned at a quarter to 12.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A conversation took place on the condition and prospects of the Volunteer force, whose claims were pressed on the Government by several peers. The Under-Secretary for War said it was the intention of the Government to make a grant of money to Volunteer corps for specified purposes.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to a question from Mr. Laird, Mr. Layard said that the papers relating to the Brazilian difficulty would be laid on the table. The facts were as follows:—Our Consul at Rio Grande do Sal had received information of the wreck of a British ship on an inhospitable part of the coast. He went thither, in the company of a judge and some coastguards, found the remains of the vessel and its cargo, and heard that some bodies had been washed ashore. With difficulty he obtained an inquest on some of these bodies, but the result of that inquest was not satisfactory. It was the belief of the Consul the seamen had been murdered, and that the local magistrate had shared in the plunder of the vessel. The Brazilian Government thought otherwise, and refused to proceed against him, though it punished others of the culprits. While the negotiation was pending on this matter, an indignity was offered to three officers of H.M.S. Forte. Reprisals were made by the Admiral commanding our squadron at Rio, and thereupon Brazil yielded, promised to pay damages for the wreck, and deferred the other question to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians.

Mr. Bentinck (a Conservative, who affects independence, and envies Mr. Disraeli) expressed his approval of the surrender of the Ionian Islands, and said that he thought that if he were again as last year to propose for the recognition of the Confederate States, the proposal would be more favourably received. The war was not a war about Slavery, if it were, the South would have no sympathizers in England. The strong sympathy which was felt was due to the infamous conduct of the Federal Government, and the gallantry of the Southern people. He thought that the distress in Lancashire was chiefly attributable to over-speculation, and expressed a fear that the habit of depending on charity would demoralize the Lancashire population. Mr. Newdegate, the exponent of Ultra-Protestant views in the House of Commons, approved of the offer of a refuge at Malta to the Pope, and thought the place exceedingly well chosen. Several other gentlemen took part in a general conversation. A brief discussion subsequently took place on the removal of Irish paupers from England, and on the expenses of the Railway legislation. The House adjourned at half-past 8.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Wrottesley called attention to the condition of the multitude of charitable endowments existing throughout the country. Under the present system a great deal of money is wasted, or so applied as to do harm, not good. Many founders had attached to their bequest conditions which are now absurd or mischievous. He cited many particular instances in which educational funds were simply wasted, and others in which periodical donations of bread or money were found productive of wide-spread demoralization and drunkenness. He thought the general administration of such charities should be transferred to a competent Board. Lord Granville replied, that in the opinion of Government the Charity Commissioners had sufficient power to deal with the abuses referred to.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Colonel Sykes asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether, as permission was given, by a notification in the *Gazette* of January 13th, to British officers to accept commissions in the service of the Emperor of China, similar permission extended to British officers and British subjects to accept commissions in the service of the Taeping Emperor or his Government.

Mr. Layard said that no permission had been given to officers to hold commissions under the Taeping Emperor, with whom our Government was not acquainted.

In answer to Mr. Gregory, Lord Palmerston said, that notice had been given to the Galway Packet Company that whenever their vessels should be in a condition to fulfil the services required, her Majesty's Government would recommend to

the House the renewal of their postal contracts. In answer to another question from the same gentleman, Mr. C. Fortescue, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, said negotiations were going on among the British American Colonies in regard to the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway, and that, on certain conditions, the Imperial Government would lend its credit to the enterprise. In answer to Lord Stanley, the Secretary for India gave an account of the progress making in the harbour of Sedashegur, the available port for the cotton districts of Bombay.

In answer to a question, Lord Palmerston said, the Greek question at present stands thus: the Greek nation fixed upon the election of Prince Alfred, son of her Majesty, and it was only yesterday that the Greek Minister communicated that decision to my noble friend at the head of the Foreign-office. To that, of course, the answer given was in conformity with the announcement in the speech; but no other candidate has yet been proposed to the Greek nation in any formal manner. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg has been sounded privately to know whether, in the event of his being proposed and elected, he would accept the throne, and he has decidedly declined being put in nomination. (Laughter.)

On a formal motion that a supply be granted to her Majesty, Mr. Hennessey began a strong speech upon Poland, but was informed by the Speaker that he was out of order. Sir George Grey asked leave to bring in a bill relating to Corrupt Practices at elections, which was granted. After a short conversation, the Secretary for War moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter the manner in which the Militia accounts are at present prepared. They have hitherto been submitted to a Select Committee. It is proposed that they shall be directly submitted to the House along with the other military accounts. Some members, especially officers, objected to the measure, but leave was given, as a matter of course.

Sir Robert Peel, Chief Secretary for Ireland, asked leave to introduce a bill to establish an efficient system of registration of births and deaths in Ireland. Some discussion took place as to the propriety of including marriages, on account of the anomalous state of the Irish Marriage Law. Great difficulty is evidently felt on this subject from the danger of affronting the religious prejudices of the Irish, and of collision with the Catholic clergy. Leave was given, and the House adjourned at a quarter to 8.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A rather interesting conversation took place with regard to the release of convicts on tickets of leave. In answer to Lord Stanhope, Lord Granville said that in the case of persons re-convicted of felony, orders had been given by the Home Office, that no portion of the second sentence should be remitted. Complaints were made that the conditions annexed to the ticket of leave were virtually inoperative. The Earl of Carnarvon censured severely the recent conduct of Sir George Grey, and the frequency with which he had pardoned prisoners sentenced to death, contrary to the advice of the Judges. He thought that the mercy of the Crown ought to be much more sparingly exercised.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

No business of any importance was done. The order of the Home Office, in reference to re-convicted persons, referred to in the House of Lords, was asked for, and promised. Leave was given for the introduction of several Bills, and Mr. Hennessey and Mr. Darby Griffith put questions regarding Poland and the Ionian Islands. Mr. Peacock took occasion to censure the surrender of Corfu, which commands the Adriatic, as an unfriendly act to Austria, whose commerce is greatly increasing, and whose only forts are situated on that sea. Lord Palmerston said there had never been any question of reconstituting the kingdom of Poland, and that the Austrian Court was bitterly opposed to any such project. He stated also that, in his opinion, the Crown had unquestioned right to cede any of its possessions, but that it could not hand over the Ionian Islands to Greece without the consent of the other parties to the Treaty of Vienna. The House adjourned at a quarter to 6.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 11.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met at 12 o'clock.

The sitting was occupied almost entirely by the discussion of Mr. McMahon's bill for the amendment of the Salmon Fishery Laws in Ireland, providing for the abolition of "fixed engines" for the capture of fish. The bill was read a second time. Some formal business was transacted, and the House rose at twenty minutes after 4.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Feb. 11.

Our last report closed on a quiet market with Fair Dhollerahs at 17d., and Middling Orleans at 22½d.

The good feeling which was manifested during the few previous days, had disappeared, and we had again relapsed into dullness.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the daily sales were only 2,000 bales. Speculators held aloof, and the trade and exporters bought only to relieve their pressing necessities, while each day sellers became more anxious to realise and to effect sales, submitted to a large concession in price.

On Monday with sales of 3,000 bales, the same pressure to sell existed with great irregularity in prices, and sales were forced at a decline of fully 1d. per lb. on the rates ruling a week previous.

On Tuesday, the receipt of good India news imparted a steadier tone to the market; at Calcutta, a rise in goods of 6d. per piece was reported; at Bombay an improvement had also taken place, and native dealers were buying pretty freely for the interior markets.

The cause of this recent panic is owing to an impression on the part of many that the North is so beset with difficulties, that she soon will be glad to accept the friendly offices of European Powers, and that the French Emperor's proposal recently made may possibly be accepted. It was argued by such that the Northern armies were fully matched at all points, and, if forced to advance, would meet with fresh defeats; that no confidence was entertained on behalf of the troops for their commanders, and that on the expiring of the time of service of the nine months' recruits, it would be impossible to raise another army. To these were added their financial difficulties, whilst many believed the North was on the point of breaking up, and a revolution imminent. Such impressions as these exerted a greater influence here through the non-arrival of the usual American steamers.

To-day, however, the Hibernian's news are to hand, which have restored a measure of confidence again. No mention is made of the French mediation offer, the accounts are warlike and no Northern reverses reported. Cotton had reached the enormous figure of 92 cents, showing a margin of 5d. to 6d. to the shipper from the market.

Confidence here has consequently been restored, and with sales of 7000 bales, prices are ½d. to ¾d. over the depressed sales over the last few days. Fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttee worth 15½d., and Middling Orleans 22½d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, February 10, 1863.

The amount of business done in yarn and cloth during the past week, has been on the most limited scale, owing in a great measure to the drooping tendency of the Liverpool market from day to day.

Yarns whether for export, or home consumption, have been in little demand, and in cases where parties were inclined to buy, a considerable concession would have been submitted to on the part of the seller.

Cloth has been equally neglected, although there is not the same disposition shown by holders of this staple, to give way at all, on the quotations of last week.

To day we have had an exceedingly flat market, notwithstanding the receipt of further telegrams from Calcutta and Bombay, of dates 26th and 27th January respectively, advising an advance on shirting of from two to four annas per piece, and a further advance in price of yarns.

Home trade yarns from No. 32s to 40s twist and pineops, were sold at from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. under last week's prices, and the reduction in price of 60s twist may be set down at 2d. per lb. below last Tuesday's quotations.

Cloth remains nominally firm, although there is no business doing by which to test prices.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The hon. Mr. Seddon, of Virginia, has been appointed Confederate Secretary of War, in the place of General Randolph, who resigned the office and reported himself for service in the field.

The Honourable R. W. Johnson has been re-elected Confederate States' Senator from Arkansas. Mr. Johnson has represented his State in Congress for many years. The Hon. W. A. Graham has been elected Confederate States' Senator for North Carolina, in place of the Hon. George Davis, whose term expires on the 4th of March. Mr. Graham was the Conservative nominee.

STATE GOVERNORS.—The following is a list of the Governors of the "Confederate States of America":—Alabama, J. G. Shorter; Arkansas, H. Flanagan; Florida, John Milton; Georgia, Joseph E. Brown; Kentucky, Richard Hawes; Louisiana, Thomas O. Moore; Mississippi, John J. Pettus; Missouri, C. F. Jackson; North Carolina, Zeb. B. Vance; South Carolina, F. W. Pickens; Tennessee, Isham G. Harris; Texas, F. R. Lubbock; Virginia John Letcher.

Amongst the deaths in the army we notice that of General Heiman, of Nashville, who died at Jackson, Mississippi; and of Major Moore, of General Tilghman's Staff, who died suddenly at Abbeville, Mississippi.

General Toombs having declined the position of Senator for Georgia, to which he was chosen, and which has been filled temporarily by the Hon. John W. Lewis, the Legislature of Georgia has filled the vacancy thus created by the election of the Hon. Herschel V. Johnson.

CONFEDERATE FINANCES.—An important movement is being made in reference to the Confederate debt. It is proposed that it shall be guaranteed by the several States in proportion to their representation, so that each State will definitely assume a fixed amount of responsibility. The following resolutions have been lately adopted by the Legislature of Alabama:—

Whereas, The Government of the Confederate States is involved in war for the independence of each of the States of the

Confederacy as well as for its own existence; And, whereas, the destiny of each State of the Confederacy is indissolubly connected with that of the Confederate Government: And, whereas, the Confederate Government cannot successfully prosecute the war to a speedy and honourable peace without ample means of credit; be it therefore—

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, in General Assembly convened, That, in the opinion of this General Assembly, it is the duty of each State of the Confederate Government to guarantee the debt of that Government in proportion to its representation in the Congress of that Government.

Resolved further, That the State of Alabama hereby proposes to her sister States of the Confederacy, to guarantee said debts on said basis, provided that each of said States shall accept the proposition, and adopt suitable legislation to carry it into effect, in which event these resolutions shall stand as the guaranty of this State for the aforesaid proportion of the debt of said Confederate Government.

Resolved further, That His Excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Governor of each State of the Confederacy, and to the President of the Confederate States.

Passed 28th of November, 1862.

As early as the 19th of May, 1862, the Legislature of Virginia adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Confederate stock should be guaranteed by the several States of the Confederacy, according to their respective Confederate proportions, and that Congress be requested to bring the subject to the attention of the Legislatures of the several States.

Judge L. W. Crook died at Dalton, Georgia, on the 27th of November. Early in the war Judge Crook entered the military service as captain of a company in the 39th Georgia Volunteers, and had recently been promoted to the rank of Major in that regiment.

THE RETRIEUTION.—Captain John Parker is first officer of the ship, and C. Carroll Hicks second officer.

A new daily paper is announced at Jackson, Mississippi, to be called the *Southern Crisis*, by Judge J. W. Tucker, late editor of the *St. Louis State Journal*, and who was one of the first victims of Lincolnite despotism in that city.

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG,

13th December, 1862.

KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, COMPILED FROM THE RICHMOND PAPERS.

List of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of Pender's Brigade. 38TH NORTH CAROLINA.

Company A.—Wounded: Sergeant M. W. Brown, Privates Lewis Thomas, Daniel Thomas, J. C. Pollock, J. A. Best.

Company B.—Wounded: Sergeant H. B. Brown, Private L. W. Wooten.

Company C.—Wounded: Lieut. R. F. Allen, Private T. Myers.

Company D.—Wounded: Privates M. Locamy, R. Shipp.

Company E.—Wounded: Sergeant J. J. Elliott, Private F. M'Duffie.

Company H.—Wounded: Private J. J. Scarlett.

Company K.—Wounded: Captain M. M. McLaughlin. Total wounded, 15.

34TH NORTH CAROLINA.

Company A.—Wounded: Captain N. E. Woodde, Private E. J. Wiles.

Company B.—Wounded: Privates W. Brooks, J. H. Davis, Sergeant T. J. Straut.

Company C.—Wounded: Captain F. L. Twitty, Private J. T. Henderson.

Company D.—Wounded: Privates J. T. Freeland, J. R. Kurf, M. N. Fricze.

Company E.—Killed: Privates L. Pendleton, W. Hutson. Wounded: Privates George W. Robinson, John F. Bess, S. Hoyl.

Company F.—Wounded: Privates J. J. London, L. S. Kindrick.

Company G.—Wounded: Privates R. T. Stevens, J. H. Puckett.

Killed, 2; Wounded, 17.—Total, 19.

22ND NORTH CAROLINA.

Company L.—Killed: Sergeant J. W. Luther.

Company M.—Killed: Corporal S. W. Trogden.

Company A.—Wounded: W. B. Clark, Sergeants P. Barlow, and S. A. Dula, Privates C. A. Grier, John Coleman, Wm. Estes, G. L. Nelson, I. Palmer, H. Coffey, W. A. Fingle, J. Badger, W. A. Allen, G. H. Sider, L. J. Sadderth, James Statings, R. Deal.

Company B.—Wounded: Corporal J. E. Burnette, Private W. F. Burnette.

Company E.—Wounded: Privates W. H. Reeves, S. Y. Baker, J. B. Jester, W. H. Dean, Richard Long, A. L. Wad.

Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. D. Edwards, Sergeant B. H. Edwards.

Company G.—Wounded: Sergeants R. T. Blackwell, M. R. Sartin, Privates J. H. Rogers, T. G. Robertson, R. Simpson.

Company H.—Wounded: Privates J. T. Langford, W. S. Joyce, Jerry Collins, P. H. Padget, C. H. Joyce. Missing: Private Jas. Fair.

Company I.—Wounded: Privates D. Faulkner, Eli Johnson, P. Aldridge.

Company K.—Wounded: J. D. Burger. — Yarborough.

Company L.—Wounded: Privates H. D. Perry, A. P. Hutton, C. C. Jones, W. J. May.

Company M.—Wounded: Privates C. Foust, B. Y. Langley, J. A. Webster, J. A. Alfred. Missing: Sergeant W. A. Pounds.

Killed, 2; Wounded, 49; Missing, 2.—Total, 53.

16TH NORTH CAROLINA.

Company B.—Wounded: Lieut. Ira Proffitt, Privates T. F. Brooks, J. B. Callan. Missing: J. A. Woodnop, A. Brown, W. A. Thomas, Levi Hall, J. Divinnie.

Company C.—Wounded: Privates J. W. Wilson, Wm. Collis, W. S. Young. Missing: Lieut. J. W. Edney, Sergeant W. M. McLelland, Privates W. Hensley, J. L. Ray, E. M. Hannicutt, J. M. Hall, J. Keek, Wm. Barnett.
 Company D.—Wounded: George Harris, D. D. Lancaster. Missing: Private W. R. Harris.
 Company E.—Wounded: Private J. W. McGalliard, Corporal H. K. Branch, Sergeant S. K. Cannon, Private E. Baker. Missing: Private A. Chapman.
 Company F.—Wounded: Privates J. A. Green, S. W. Hutchison.
 Company G.—Wounded: Captain L. P. Erwin, Corporal W. G. Blanton, Private J. M. Atkinson, J. C. Mills, J. N. Pope, J. Steadman, B. G. Arrowood, Lieut. J. B. Ford.
 Company H.—Wounded: Privates W. Sorrels, B. P. Jacobs.
 Company I.—Killed: Captain W. B. Whittaker, Lieut. L. A. Ward. Wounded: Sergeant T. D. Brittain, Corporal G. W. Jones, Privates J. M. Dewbury, J. G. Lowry, K. D. McCarson, E. K. Nelson. Missing: Private M. Sutton.
 Company K.—Killed: Corporal P. B. Green, Corporal W. Slewine. Wounded: Captain J. C. Camp, Sergeant J. C. Wilson, Privates John Cooley, S. Johnston, P. M. Henderson.
 Company M.—Wounded: Lieut. W. W. Noland, Privates A. Hoves, J. Huffstetler, J. H. Hooper, Stephen Pettus, J. R. Benton.
 Killed, 4; Wounded, 42; Missing, 16.—Total, 64.

13TH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Company A.—Killed: C. O. Hawkins, Frank Sawyers. Wounded: Sergeant J. H. F. Graves, Privates J. C. Reagan, A. Harrielson.
 Company B.—Killed: Private L. W. McGinn. Wounded: Privates W. J. Taylor, W. R. Wryfield, J. W. Mulvey.
 Company C.—Killed: Sergeant J. L. Hamlett, Privates A. Powers, W. Campbell. Wounded: Privates Wm. Brandon, S. Covington.
 Company D.—Wounded: Private G. N. Austin.
 Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. Frank Williams, Lieut. A. M. C. Dobbins, Corporal J. D. James, Privates G. W. Petrows, J. Hodges, H. Gartin, D. C. Wallace.
 Company G.—Killed: Corporal W. J. Andrews. Wounded: Corporal H. E. Wilkerson, Private W. E. Garrett.
 Company H.—Wounded: Lieut. J. M. Smith, Private T. Featherston.
 Company I.—Killed: Private H. Perdne. Wounded: Privates Chas. Davis, B. Wall, Geo. Troxler, Corporal J. A. Thomas, Lieut. W. H. Winchester.
 Company K.—Wounded: Corporal N. A. Maxwell, Privates J. R. Gulleck, James Warren, F. Pettigrew.
 Killed, 8; Wounded, 29.—Aggregate, 37.

RECAPITULATION.

38th North Carolina.—Wounded, 15
 34th North Carolina.—Killed, 2; Wounded, 17.—Total, 19.
 22nd North Carolina.—Killed, 2; Wounded, 49; Missing, 2.—Total, 53.
 18th North Carolina.—Killed, 4; Wounded, 42; Missing, 16.—Total, 62.
 13th North Carolina.—Killed, 8; Wounded, 29.—Total, 37.
 Grand Total.—Killed, 16; Wounded, 152; Missing, 18.
 S. S. KIRKLAND, A. A. A. G.

List of Men Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of Brigadier-General James J. Archer's Brigade, Major-General A. P. Hill's Light Division.

1ST TENNESSEE.

Company K.—Killed, Lieut. McQuire.
 Company D.—Killed, Private T. J. Davis.
 Company I.—Killed, Privates S. G. Mulliken, John Tinsam.
 Company G.—Killed, Private A. D. Small. Total, 5.
 Company A.—Wounded, Private Louis Cash.
 Company B.—Wounded, Sergeants M. Kennedy, N. M. Spiers, Corporal B. F. Cochran, Privates G. R. Poe, Edmond Jones, seriously, J. Fletcher, T. H. Gaines, W. S. Vaughn.
 Company C.—Wounded: Private C. C. Carner.
 Company D.—Wounded: Sergeant T. A. Rogers, leg; Corporals Wm. N. Lewis, arm; H. C. Rolin, leg; Privates H. S. Hill, shoulder; A. G. Pollock, thigh; J. H. Byron, shoulder and arm; Joshua Dean, wrist; T. G. Braisier, face; N. F. Anderson, leg; Sergeant M. Rogers, elbow; Private J. F. Tims, hip, grape shot.
 Company E.—Wounded: Privates T. E. Brown, leg; Wm. B. Taylor, back; J. H. Brandon, slightly; Alex. Bailey, slightly.
 Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. W. E. Donaldson, severely; Sergeant T. J. Hall, slightly; Privates Michael Ashley, mortally, since dead; A. Reeves, slightly.
 Company I.—Wounded: Lieut. Bowers, leg; Privates John Sells, face; John Bruce, leg; James Hill, head, slightly; A. F. Williams, leg, slightly; R. H. Barnes, head, slightly; John Bowers, leg, slightly.
 Company K.—Wounded: Sergeant G. W. Sawyers, head; Privates J. W. Sanders, head; M. B. Hill, shoulder; T. B. Wright, M. B. Hampton, leg; Captain T. B. Turney, slightly.
 Company G.—Wounded: Privates J. G. Millard, slightly; J. T. Cathey, slightly.
 Company M.—Wounded: Private Newton Arnold, slightly; Sergeant Wm. Cashon, leg and thigh; Privates A. Bennett, head; J. E. Bray, shoulder.
 Colonel T. Turney, severely, month; Lieut.-Colonel N. J. George, severely, thigh and hand; Major Buchanan, severely, head.
 Wounded, 51; Missing, none.

7TH TENNESSEE.

Company C.—Killed: Privates J. B. Love, Gillman Eubanks.
 Company I.—Killed: Lieut. W. C. Baird, Private J. W. Wilkerson.
 Company K.—Killed: Jas. Tate.
 Total 5.
 Company A.—Wounded: Captain J. S. Dowell, slightly; Private W. C. Yeagan, slightly.
 Company B.—Wounded: Sergeant B. B. Shaxton, Sergeant R. C. Johnson, Corporal J. A. Bradley, Privates E. H. Knight, seriously, J. Shoemaker, seriously; T. Derickson, finger shot off; F. M. Goodall, slightly; E. Smith, slightly; S. H. King, slightly.
 Company C.—Wounded: Sergeant J. A. Franklin, slightly; Privates Thomas Lowndbore, slightly; T. Branshan, slightly.
 Company D.—Wounded: Lieut. J. H. Martin, slightly; Sergeant Hart Harris, slightly; Corporal T. H. Johnson,

seriously; Privates W. F. Hawkins, slightly; T. E. Brown, seriously; W. F. Evitts, slightly; S. P. Evitts, slightly.
 Company G.—Wounded: Lieut. N. A. Jennings, seriously; Privates Lafayette Hutchinson, seriously; B. P. Young, seriously; R. B. Hager, slightly; T. J. Draman, slightly.
 Company H.—Wounded: Privates T. J. Holloway, slightly; J. D. New, slightly; D. D. Hamilton, slightly; John Rutland, slightly; F. J. Harris, slightly.
 Company I.—Wounded: Privates J. A. Sullivan, slightly; G. G. Harkreader, slightly; T. A. Clemmons, slightly.
 Company K.—Wounded: Private James Tarpley, slightly.
 Wounded, 35.

MISSING, SUPPOSED TO BE PRISONERS

Company B.—Privates T. G. Dillard, W. H. Bradley, J. H. Horn, George McKinny, James B. Texton. Total, 5.

List of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the 14th Tennessee Regiment.

Company A.—Killed: Private R. C. Whitfield.
 Company C.—Killed: Sergeant R. G. Highsmith, Private John Haley, junior.
 Company D.—Killed: Private C. J. Hagler.
 Company E.—Killed: Sergeant A. A. Waggoner.
 Company F.—Killed: Privates John Smith, Andrew Rogers.
 Company H.—Killed: Private S. W. Spurrier.
 Company I.—Killed: Private John S. Baldwin.
 Company K.—Killed: Captain J. P. Brown, Lieut. Z. G. Gunn.
 Company L.—Killed: Private W. H. King. Total, 12.
 Company A.—Wounded: Privates F. M. Barnes, severely in arm; G. H. Tompkins, severely in shoulder; T. D. Johnson, slightly in arm.
 Company B.—Wounded: Sergeants James L. Hicks, in month; John B. Cross, in head, slightly; Privates James Hamlett, thigh, severely.
 Company C.—Wounded: Sergeant H. C. Crank, in leg, flesh wound; Corporal N. C. Ross, in leg, slightly; Privates J. M. Jones, in head, missing; F. M. Bell, in arm severely; John W. Virgin, in foot and side, severely; R. B. Hollman jawbone broken; T. H. Benton, arm broken; W. K. B. Lowe, in arm, and missing.
 Company D.—Wounded: Corporal Jacob Walker, severely in head; Privates John F. Lock, slightly in side; J. L. Edwards, severely in thigh; A. F. Sudeith, severely in jaw.
 Company E.—Wounded: Lieut. T. J. Donnell, severely in abdomen; Sergeant W. P. Randle, slightly in breast; Sergeant D. C. Moore, severely in shoulder; Private Thomas S. Sykes, severely in side; Lieut. Charles C. Cockerell, wounded and missing.
 Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. John Largent, severely through both thighs; Privates L. O. Brendon, flesh wound in leg; J. A. Holms, in arm; George Marboro, slightly in hand; John McAskill, middle finger shot off; William McAskill, contused; Henry Norris, severely through thigh; Thomas Smith, slightly in head.
 Company G.—Wounded: Corporals James H. Wilson, in thigh; W. O. Hogan, slightly in side; Privates, W. H. Page, slightly in hand.
 Company H.—Wounded: Privates R. T. Murphy, severely in shoulder; G. H. Spencer, slightly in hand.
 Company I.—Wounded: Lieut. Durrett, Private J. M. Kiger in leg; J. Solomon, in shoulder.
 Company K.—Wounded: Sergeant A. W. Payne, in arm, slightly; Privates W. W. Moses, severely; J. T. Rogers, in hand severely; J. E. Ransdall, in arm, slightly; W. R. Crum-perry, in head, slightly.
 Company L.—Wounded: Lieut. John W. King, in side, severely; Sergeant George Moore, in arm, slightly; J. K. Chester, in shoulder, slightly; George B. Riffin, in breast slightly.
 Missing: W. E. Munford, Acting-Adjutant. Total—48.

Company A.—Missing: 1st Lieut. P. L. Waters, Privates P. M. Mitchell, Daniel Farris, C. J. Kelly, Geo. Razor, Daniel Sullivan.
 Company B.—Missing: Corporal James Tyson, Privates H. W. Childs, Geo. W. Horn, L. O. Meyers, E. H. Steel.
 Company C.—Missing: E. C. Kirk, James E. Henley, C. D. Cannon, A. T. Samuels.
 Company D.—Missing: 1st Lieut. W. P. Horn, Sergeant E. K. Moore, Corporal Geo. A. Sinclair, Privates Jethro Bass, John P. Buckner, H. L. Cobb, Joshua Pugh, W. W. Webster.
 Company E.—Missing: Sergeant L. D. Scarborough, Corporal B. A. Smith, Privates J. G. Boyd, W. B. Dunn, D. H. Johnson, R. L. Lancaster, T. J. Marbury, W. S. Herndon, J. M. Robinson, G. C. Robinson, J. S. P. Wimberley, J. L. Wyatt.
 Company F.—Missing: Sergeant J. P. Brigham, Sergeant Cole Clarke, Corporal W. O. Thompson, Privates N. J. Hamilton, William Smith, Jas. H. Shanwell.
 Company G.—Missing: Sergeant Thomas Davidson, Privates J. H. Aree, C. J. Horn, L. B. Buck, Lafayette Hogan, C. M. Norfleet, Gus Norfleet.
 Company H.—Missing: Sergeant Jas. H. Ligon, Privates A. J. Howell, R. E. McCulloch, J. T. S. Nickolson, D. C. Jackson, W. D. Madison, R. W. Pritchett, E. B. Cobb.
 Company I.—Missing: Sergeant H. M. Petty, Privates A. V. Shout, J. D. Dorris, H. C. Dorris, D. L. Durrutt, Daniel L. Long, Thomas J. Murphy.
 Company L.—Missing: Corporal J. C. Ingram, Privates Jas. N. Bernane, J. H. Cox, J. H. Chester, E. Hewell.
 Missing, 69.

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Company C.—Missing: E. C. Kirk, James E. Henley, C. D. Cannon, A. T. Samuels.

Company D.—Missing: 1st Lieut. W. P. Horn, Sergeant E. K. Moore, Corporal Geo. A. Sinclair, Privates Jethro Bass, John P. Buckner, H. L. Cobb, Joshua Pugh, W. W. Webster.

Company E.—Missing: Sergeant L. D. Scarborough, Corporal B. A. Smith, Privates J. G. Boyd, W. B. Dunn, D. H. Johnson, R. L. Lancaster, T. J. Marbury, W. S. Herndon, J. M. Robinson, G. C. Robinson, J. S. P. Wimberley, J. L. Wyatt.

Company F.—Missing: Sergeant J. P. Brigham, Sergeant Cole Clarke, Corporal W. O. Thompson, Privates N. J. Hamilton, William Smith, Jas. H. Shanwell.

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Company H.—Missing: Sergeant Jas. H. Ligon, Privates A. J. Howell, R. E. McCulloch, J. T. S. Nickolson, D. C. Jackson, W. D. Madison, R. W. Pritchett, E. B. Cobb.

Company I.—Missing: Sergeant H. M. Petty, Privates A. V. Shout, J. D. Dorris, H. C. Dorris, D. L. Durrutt, Daniel L. Long, Thomas J. Murphy.

Company L.—Missing: Corporal J. C. Ingram, Privates Jas. N. Bernane, J. H. Cox, J. H. Chester, E. Hewell.

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Company B.—Missing: Corporal James Tyson, Privates H. W. Childs, Geo. W. Horn, L. O. Meyers, E. H. Steel.

Company C.—Missing: E. C. Kirk, James E. Henley, C. D. Cannon, A. T. Samuels.

Company D.—Missing: 1st Lieut. W. P. Horn, Sergeant E. K. Moore, Corporal Geo. A. Sinclair, Privates Jethro Bass, John P. Buckner, H. L. Cobb, Joshua Pugh, W. W. Webster.

Company E.—Missing: Sergeant L. D. Scarborough, Corporal B. A. Smith, Privates J. G. Boyd, W. B. Dunn, D. H. Johnson, R. L. Lancaster, T. J. Marbury, W. S. Herndon, J. M. Robinson, G. C. Robinson, J. S. P. Wimberley, J. L. Wyatt.

Company B.—Wounded: Lieut. Peter Fenlon, leg broken; Lieut. John McGhee, slight in breast; Sergeant T. O. Kelly, in shoulder; Privates John Murray, in foot; Michael Harverty, in head, slightly; James McCaffray, in thigh.

Company C.—Wounded: Privates J. F. Leatherwood, in head, slightly; H. J. Little, in head, slightly; J. L. Weaver, in arm, slightly; R. Greer, in leg, slightly.

Company D.—Wounded: Captain J. D. Hunter, in leg and thigh, and arm fractured; Lieuts. W. J. Bridges, in leg; W. P. Stallings, in thigh; Sergeant D. Olson, in jaws; Privates W. B. Anderson, in head, since died; W. H. Spance, in howels, since died; R. G. Wiggins, through breast; J. C. Elmore, slight in finger; S. Bonner, flesh wound in leg; W. Suggs, in head, and missing.

Company E.—Wounded: Captain C. W. Mabry, slightly in hand; Lieut. D. H. Simms, flesh wound in thigh; Privates T. J. Porter, mortally through body; A. Butler, slightly in hand; P. Butler, slightly in hand; Ruffin Hard, slightly in shoulder and head; J. D. Allmond, in back.

Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. M. L. Hamilton, in head; Sergeant E. J. Kingsbury, slightly in hip; Corporal M. T. Ried, in wrist; Privates John Burford, thigh fractured; E. J. Campbell, slightly in head; C. B. Gladner, slightly in hip; Henry Long in hip, and missing; J. W. Michael, in head, mortally; Abel Pate, in thigh; R. M. Ried, in head; Thomas H. Richards, in side; D. M. Tillman, in hand; A. E. Yaney, in breast, mortally; J. W. Moore, in head, since died.

Company G.—Wounded: Lieut. J. R. Seldridge, in thigh; Lieut. M. J. Love, thigh broken, and flesh wound in leg and arm; Sergeant G. L. Elliott, thigh broken; Privates James Johnson, in head, mortally; D. D. Morris, flesh wound in thigh.

Company H.—Wounded: Corporal W. J. Harris, thigh broken; Corporal S. R. Watson, slightly in head; Private D. B. Rose, in thigh; Private A. J. Yearwood, head, mortally.

Company I.—Wounded: Sergeant J. C. Scales, in knee, slightly; Privates J. H. McCurdy, finger; J. W. Vingo, shoulder; J. L. Hill, in hip, flesh wound; J. W. Wynn, in thigh, hip, wrist, and face.

Company K.—Wounded: Captain John W. Hooper, in foot; Privates J. R. Jordan, J. R. Sherman.
 Total, 65.

Company A.—Missing: Corporals N. B. Bateman, J. R. Gwinn, Privates J. M. Guest, R. Newton, James Lloyd, A. Queen, J. Smith, J. Willis, J. N. Wooten.

Company B.—Missing: Corporal John Hurley.

Company C.—Missing: Corporals R. Miller, J. T. Stevens, Privates D. M. Eshew, John Miller, J. Nixon, J. M. Renfro, J. S. Richardson, J. E. Whits.

Company D.—Missing: Private A. J. Wilson.

Company E.—Missing: Sergeant J. H. Stuart, Privates J. D. Lampter, J. W. Ferrill, J. M. Davis.

Company F.—Missing: Privates W. F. Hooper, W. G. Hanny, B. O'Gray, young Jucks, W. W. Jones, I. J. Pollard, I. H. Silsey, G. W. Alford.

Company G.—Missing: Corporal A. M. Aglenty, Privates A. E. Rawden, T. M. Sikes, J. C. Spier, W. N. Underwood, H. F. Elliott, A. J. Hand, F. Strigham.

Company H.—Missing: Sergeants B. Yartenough, S. R. Crenit, J. C. Boheran, Corporal D. E. Morris, Privates A. W. Kemp, E. B. F. Morgan, W. J. Allen, J. R. Canterell, W. Farben, R. P. Hattaway, J. H. Lucketsen.

Company I.—Missing: Lieut. N. D. Lavelor, Sergeant W. W. A. Thomas, Corporal J. M. Haynes, Privates A. J. Ayres, Joe Adams, M. Cole, A. Talbright, J. B. Ellsberry, W. M. Hanton, Joseph Wilson, B. F. Turner, N. L. Bates, James McBrayer, S. M. McBrayer, J. W. Richards, J. D. Richards, W. M. Scogin, J. W. Tidnell, B. L. Leatherwood, W. W. Tice, H. Waldrus, W. Wright, W. B. Ballard.

Company K.—Missing: 1st Lieut. J. A. Roe, 2nd Lieut. A. M. Payne, wounded and missing; jun. 2nd Lieut. W. J. Gibson wounded and missing; Sergeants G. W. Street, Robert Siley, H. A. Holland, James Bird, Corporals Seorch, F. M. Martin, Privates A. R. Scott, Thomas Lee, Robert White, J. M. Arnold, J. F. Dye, James Goodright, C. C. McLane, J. P. Neal, K. Stupp, and J. M. Taylor.

Total 92.

Company A.—Missing: Lieut. N. D. Lavelor, Sergeant W. W. A. Thomas, Corporal J. M. Haynes, Privates A. J. Ayres, Joe Adams, M. Cole, A. Talbright, J. B. Ellsberry, W. M. Hanton, Joseph Wilson, B. F. Turner, N. L. Bates, James McBrayer, S. M. McBrayer, J. W. Richards, J. D. Richards, W. M. Scogin, J. W. Tidnell, B. L. Leatherwood, W. W. Tice, H. Waldrus, W. Wright, W. B. Ballard.

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TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOIZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1863.

The Military Situation.

The black frost has come and gone; early spring, with its rain and mud, its swollen torrents and inundated plains, is close at hand, and the Federals have accomplished nothing. The grand Army of the Potomac, its ranks thinned by desertion, disease, and exposure, lies motionless along the north bank of the Rappahannock. The great armada that was to sweep the Mississippi from Cairo to New Orleans has met with signal defeat. Rosecrans in Tennessee barely holds his own; and on the sea coast, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile are still only threatened. The solitary success that has fallen to the Federal commanders is the surprise of an isolated post on the White River in Arkansas, which has about as much influence on the issue of the war as the capture of Scarborough Castle would have upon an invasion of Cornwall. But if the Federals have hitherto reaped only a crop of disasters in the winter campaign, they are not yet disposed to abate one jot of the magnificence of their original programme. The latest accounts show that the *Anaconda* scheme is still the grand idea of the Washington Government. Everything is changed but the hardihood of conception which has distinguished the Federal war administration from the beginning. The notable project of General Scott has not only survived the military reputation of its author, but is to this day destroying army after army, and ruining general after general; although the most casual observer, outside Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, must perceive that what might have been achieved eighteen months ago, when Scott was Commander-in-Chief, is utterly impracticable now; and that the first failure of his plans for the subjugation of the South was equivalent to a demonstration that they never would succeed; for the hope of the North lay in the first twelve months of the war. General Scott had good reason to believe that the enormous forces the North could bring to bear, both by land and sea, would literally sweep away all opposition from men unorganized, surprised, without the *materiel* of war, and without hope of obtaining it. The North saw a great army, magnificently accoutred and equipped, spring from the soil, like the offspring of the dragon's teeth of old. It beheld great fleets of steamers in its ports, a powerful navy scouring the coast, an inexhaustible mine of wealth in the profuse eagerness of its impressible population. What wonder that General Scott, too, saw only one side, and believed that he had only to set these great armaments in motion, to encircle "rebellion" East, South, and West, with a chain of fire and sword, to march with overwhelming numbers upon Richmond, the life and centre of the "rebellion," in order to ensure a swift and complete success. But General Scott's scheme, barely practicable in 1861-62, is impossible now. The conditions of its success no longer exist. The South is prepared; its assailable points secure; its lines contracted; its internal communications guarded; its manhood properly trained and armed; its whole society organized for defence.

It is not with armies beaten in almost every encounter in the field, demoralized by frequent change of commanders, distracted by diverse policies, and led by inefficient officers, that so vast and intricate a programme can be carried out with a hope of success.

From first to last the Federals have aimed at accomplishing too much, and this cardinal error in military operations is still ruining their cause. At this moment they are conducting half-a-dozen campaigns, and yet the Army of the Potomac has not advanced seventy miles from Washington. Richmond is probably more secure than she has ever been during the war; and an army of some 100,000 men is cooped up at Falmouth, by six feet of snow, leaving General Lee comparatively free to reinforce the Confederate troops in Tennessee, North or South Carolina, as occasion may require. A little further South, we find another great Federal army concentrated at Newbern in North Carolina territory, on the direct line of communication between Richmond, and Wilmington, and Charleston, and destined, it is said, to operate immediately upon Wilmington, in conjunction with a powerful force of gunboats and iron clads. Wilmington is strongly fortified, and its defences are entrusted to Gustavus Smith, who has the reputation of being an able and resolute general. Fort Caswell, commanding Wilmington Harbour, has already repulsed one attack of the Federal squadron. Charleston in South Carolina, and Savannah in Georgia, are threatened in their turn, and fighting is already reported at the latter place. Both towns are prepared for a determined defence. Beauregard, who has personally superintended the coast fortifications, is in command at Charleston. Every available means for opposing a lengthened resistance to the enemy has been employed. In either case a strong army will be required to co-operate with the sea attack. No doubt the capture of all these posts would inflict great injury on the Confederates. Independently of its moral effect, it would effectually shut them out from intercourse with the world, and place three of the most important States of the Confederacy at the mercy of the North. But here, again, the multiplicity of the objects of attack is safety to the South. There is railroad communication between Savannah and Charleston, and between Charleston and Wilmington. The North has not three squadrons and three armies sufficiently strong to attack simultaneously; whilst the Confederates can readily succour the point which may be most pressed. Charleston alone would, we believe, give ample employment to all the available Federal strength on the eastern sea coast. When we add Mobile, Alabama, to the list of towns already marked out for destruction this spring, we have said more than enough to prove that the North is doomed to new disappointments, probably to new disasters.

But the attack on the fortified towns of the eastern coast is only a small portion of the Northern programme. The Mississippi has yet to be cleared, and the Confederacy riven asunder by gunboats and armies from Memphis and New Orleans. Long ago President Davis pointed out Vicksburg and Port Hudson as the keys of the Mississippi. On these two fortresses, naturally strong, the Confederates have bestowed all their abundance of labour, and all their engineering skill. General Joe Johnston, than whom there is no more daring or accomplished officer in the Southern army, has the supreme command. The issue of the war in the South-West depends upon their powers of resistance. General Banks' force, with Commander Farragut's flotilla, is at Baton Rouge and New Orleans, waiting for the rise of the river to attack Port Hudson. General McClelland, who superseded General Sherman, has returned from his raid in Arkansas, but, more prudent than his predecessor, has settled down to digging his way past Vicksburg. The Mississippi at this point takes a sudden wind, leaving a narrow neck of land on the western bank, immediately opposite Vicksburg. If this neck of land can be cut through, it is hoped that portion of the river will change its course, and the batteries of Vicksburg be left high and dry. The experiment is

not a new one. It was tried last year, and failed. We shall see whether McClelland and Grant succeed better. At Port Hudson there is no such chance for the Federals. What they do there must be done by hard fighting. And as the Confederate works extend some distance along high bluffs, the gunboats, exposed as they will be to a plunging fire, must suffer considerably. But until Port Hudson is reduced, Banks cannot assist at the capture of Vicksburg, and if the Confederates have anything like the strength attributed to them at these two points, with their power of rapid intercommunication, we may expect that they will not only successfully resist attack, but severely cripple the enemy.

In the meantime considerable anxiety is felt in the North for the safety of Rosecrans. By the last accounts that general was in command of some 40,000 or 50,000 men at Shelbyville, a few miles south of Murfreesboro', in Tennessee. There seems no reason to doubt that Longstreet, with a considerable force detached from the army of Richmond, has taken Bragg's place, and that another battle, on which the fate of Tennessee depends, is imminent. Both sides have received reinforcements. Both armies are composed of the same stuff—sturdy backwoodsmen, accustomed to the use of axe and rifle, probably about the best material for soldiers that could be found in the States. General Rosecrans has displayed more ability than any of his predecessors in the South-West: and he possesses to a greater degree than any Northern commander, except McClelland, the confidence of his soldiers. General Longstreet's reputation has been won in half-a-dozen hard-fought battles in Virginia and Maryland. If Rosecrans is defeated, the whole of Tennessee will be lost to the Federals, and the war will be once more transferred on a grand scale to Kentucky. If the Federals are victorious, they will secure a strong position in Eastern Tennessee on the Tennessee River, and obtain the command of the Richmond and Memphis railroad. Such a success could not fail to be of serious disadvantage to the Confederates. We are, however, more inclined to believe in a retrograde movement of the Federal army upon Nashville, than an advance, in which defeat would be destruction. On the whole, there is nothing in the military aspect to betoken a want of vigour on either side. In one quarter or another great battles must be fought before another month is passed, but everywhere the advantage of position is with the Confederates, who, with secured communications and concentrated forces, are acting against an enemy frittering away his strength in desultory and unconnected efforts. Moreover, in another month or two the term of service of the nine months men in the Federal army will have expired. There are upwards of 200,000 of these men in the ranks at the present moment. How they will be replaced it is impossible to see. Only a series of successes, which will reinspire the North, or a change in the Administration at Washington, will fill up the gap caused by their retirement. The North, then, must strike at once. But we should be ignoring all military experience; we should have lost our recollection of the struggle of the last eighteen months, if we could doubt for an instant that victory will once more be with the good generalship, the discipline, and the daring enterprise which have illustrated the Confederate cause from the commencement of the contest.

The Party Leaders on the American Question.

Among the slanderous tales told of extra-Metropolitan and Welch juries, is one of twelve honest men refusing to give a verdict, though the case was proved. "Can I assist you on the points in which you have a difficulty in coming to a decision?" inquired the judge. "Oh no, my lord," replied the foreman, we are all agreed that the plaintiff has proved his case, and we say so frankly, but we do not think he ought to have a verdict." This story illustrates the treatment of the Confederate States in Parliament on Thursday last.

We never remember such unanimity on any important subject. On the American question the Ministers and the Opposition leaders are agreed. They admit the independence of the Confederate States is a fact, and not a theory, but they also think that it becomes England to officially ignore a fact that is too palpable to be veiled from observation. There was some difference of opinion as to the refusal of the French offer of a joint mediation, but so mildly did Mr. Disraeli touch upon this point, that if his observations had fallen from an influential supporter of the Government, they would not have disturbed the confidence and happy composure of the occupants of the Treasury Benches. The most singular part of the business is, that among Lord Palmerston's and Lord Derby's followers are a majority of members who would gladly vote for recognition; but so perfect is our parliamentary system of party warfare—a system which may sometimes result in a gross injustice, but which is one of the causes of the good-working of our Constitution—that when party leaders refuse to give the word of command the pleas of justice and expediency are disregarded by their supporters. Happily these differences are not of any long continuance, and generally the leaders take the earliest opportunity of making a graceful concession; but in the present instance we do not look for an early solution of the difficulty, for though recognition of the Confederate States cannot be adjourned *sine die*, it may be postponed until that more convenient season, when the North is further impoverished and destroyed by fruitless efforts to subdue the South, when the manhood of the South is further decimated in the defence of home and country, and when the English cotton trade is permanently crippled.

Lord Derby, as usual, was frank and explicit. He said: "*I declare my firm conviction that there is no possibility of re-establishing the union between the North and the South.*" That is to say, it is his lordship's firm conviction, not only that the independence of the Confederate States is accomplished, but that there is no question as to its stability—that there is no possibility of reunion. Lord Derby is firmly convinced that this bloody war is utterly in vain; that the North is fighting to conquer the Southern nationality, which is impossible. His lordship very sensibly and emphatically repudiates the idea of a mediation or negotiation that is not based upon the fundamental principle of the recognition of Southern independence. Yet, regretting to differ from his personal and political friends, he had "no fault to find with, no objection to raise to, the course which her Majesty's Government has pursued with respect to what is justly called the 'desolating warfare' now raging." He was sorry the proposal of the French Emperor to make an attempt—however hopeless it might be—to bring about an armistice was not entertained; but even on this point he assumes the Ministers to be much better informed than he is. We know not why they should be. Our Minister at Washington may be better acquainted with the sentiments of the Lincoln Government, but it is not a question what the Government, but what the people, of the United States would think of the offer, and her Majesty's Government have no exclusive means of ascertaining the views of the Northern people. It must be confessed that Lord Derby was remarkably inconsistent, for he approves the conduct of the Government in not recognizing the Confederate States, yet he regrets they did not join in an offer of mediation, which he shows conclusively could only be based on recognition. We will not review the precedents for recognition recited by Lord Derby; but we presume no one will dispute that the principle to be deduced from them is, that a *de facto* nationality is to be recognized—that is, a nationality so firmly established that in the opinion of foreign nations there is no hope of its being conquered. The petty wars going on in Italy did not prevent our recognition of the kingdom of Italy. And why? for no other reason than that the struggle on the part of the dethroned Princes of Italy was considered hopeless. So, too, when the revolted colonies of Spain were recognized. No one supposed that Spain was incapable of further effort; no one denied that she had more blood and treasure to expend in the vain

contest. Spain protested that she had the power to continue the contest; but in spite of that protest the great Powers recognized the colonies, upon the plea that the attempt to subjugate them was hopeless. Now, as far as the American belligerents are concerned, these precedents are all-sufficient. From the proximity of the hostile nations, no matter how long the war lasts, great armies can be kept in the field, and great, and bloody, but indecisive battles fought. Well, when are we to recognize Southern independence? Are we to wait until the North is utterly exhausted? Are we to wait until the ravages of war have destroyed the manhood of the North and of the South? No; such is not the law of nations, such is not the rule taught us by precedents. We are not speaking of intervention, but of recognition. We are not saying, whatever may be our opinion, that the moment has arrived when it behoves Christian Europe to declare that they will no longer permit the prosecution of a useless war. But we contend that when Europe believes that the independence of the Confederate States is established, it is bound to recognize that independence. Lord Derby emphatically declared that he was firmly convinced that reunion is impossible, or, in other words, that the independence of the South is established on an enduring basis. Yet his lordship thinks we have a right to deny to the Confederates their hard and nobly-won title to independence. We confess we are unable to understand how the noble lord arrives at such a conclusion.

Lord Malmesbury also approved of the action, or rather inaction, of the British Ministry; but he hoped that Lord Russell had remonstrated with the Washington Government upon the barbarous conduct of the war. We do not deny that such a remonstrance has been called for by Federal atrocities, but to have so remonstrated would have been to intervene to a far greater extent than is implied in simple recognition, and would be much more likely to cause ill-will in the North.

Lord Russell was not to be outdone by the Conservative leader, and he went as far as to declare that the worst disaster that could happen would be the success of the North. He said: "If the old feelings of affection and attachment towards the Union could be revived in the South, I for one would be glad to see the Union again formed." Thus, the Foreign Secretary admits that the Union is dissolved; and, of course, he knows that the revival of affection and attachment is utterly impossible. His lordship is very accommodating; if the Union cannot be restored on those terms, he would be glad to see peace established on the basis of a separation. He then goes on to discuss another alternative.

But there might be, I say, one end of the war that would prove a calamity to the United States and to the world, and especially to the negro race in those countries, and that would be the subjugation of the South by the North. One of the first consequences of such a subjugation would be that the North must keep up a large army, must renounce all its former policy, and must put down by force free discussion and a free press in the South. That would be a dangerous thing. Would not anarchy prevail in the South? Would not the whole state of society, and of labour be disorganized, perhaps for a century to come?

This language is indeed plain. It tells us that the subjugation of the South means, not only the degradation of the white race, but the oppression of the negro. His lordship is right. A direr curse could not fall upon the negroes than that they should come under the dominion of Northern Abolitionists. But the noble lord does not fear such a catastrophe; he does not imagine that the North can subdue the South. He knows that between the two sections this wicked war has put a sea of blood that would keep them asunder for ever, even if they were not eternally parted, as they are, by national differences. Nothing remains, then, but peace at some time or other, upon the basis of separation; but Lord Russell will not yet recognize the accomplished and inevitably lasting independence of the Confederate States, and by placing the true issue before the people of the United States, hasten the advent of peace.

In the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston did not vouchsafe to say a word on the subject,

and we appreciate the reason of his reticence. His Cabinet is notoriously divided, and he could not speak without offending some members of it. But as he followed the leader of the Opposition without questioning his views on the war in America, we may assume that, so far as the right honourable gentleman's observations had reference to the question of recognition, they met with the approval of the Premier.

Except that Mr. Disraeli uttered a few brilliant and telling sarcasms about the Ministers delivering themselves each of his individual speech on the American question, he said ditto to the opinions of his noble chief. He acknowledged that the Southern States were struggling for some of the greatest objects of existence, but he completely endorsed the policy of the Government. He said it had taken up a position "of politic and dignified reserve," and that the course of her Majesty's Government was "honourable and beneficial." Mr. Disraeli sympathizes with and respects the Southern people, but he thinks it right to withhold an official acknowledgment of their existence.

There is no doubt that the refusal to recognize the South arises from the fear of offending the North. We are convinced that the fear is groundless, and by the refusal to do this simple act of justice we are laying up for ourselves bitter and lasting enmity. When the war does end—when the North wakes from her fevered dream and finds herself ruined, she will reproach us that we stood anxiously yet idly looking on, and not only refused to stretch forth a hand to snatch her from her peril, but even encouraged her to persevere in her disastrous course by refusing to officially warn her of the hopelessness of the struggle. We cannot agree with Mr. Disraeli that it is politic or dignified for this, the mother country of the Anglo-Saxon race, not to make some effort, at all events the moral effort of recognition, to stop the war. At present the United States could not resent such a measure; hereafter they would thank us for it. Now, if they desired to do so, although it is the eleventh hour, recognition would make the South our ally against any future aggression of the North; but if the war goes on to the bitter end we shall be without a friend on the continent of America. It seems to us that the policy of inaction is cruel, unjust, and impolitic.

A Word for the Negro.

The emancipation scheme of the North is condemned in advance by the insincerity of its motive, since its authors scarcely care to deny that they regard it purely as a military measure to "crush the rebellion"; and Mr. Lincoln has himself publicly declared, that if he could restore the Union by freeing none of the slaves, or by freeing some, and leaving the others in slavery, he would do so. It is condemned by the interests of mankind and of civilization, since it aims at converting into a barren waste one of the most fertile and productive regions of the inhabited globe. It is condemned by the laws of God and man, since it is in open violation of that Constitution for which the North professes to wage war, and since it incites and employs servile insurrection, with the attendant horrors of rapine and murder, which are crimes alike against the laws of God and man. For these reasons the unanimous voice of the virtue and intelligence of this country has denounced the scheme, and the most active efforts to enlist or entrap respectable sympathies in its behalf have signally failed. But if men are found with whom these reasons are not sufficient, who would disregard divine and human laws in the blindness of fanaticism which does evil that good may come from it, and who would set the interests of four million blacks above those of eight million whites, of humanity at large, and of civilization; then, even in the views of such men—even in the interest of the four million of negro slaves—must the Northern scheme of emancipation be condemned.

Within less than fifty years, unaided by immigration or importation from abroad, the African race in the slaveholding States of North America has grown from half a million souls to nearly four millions,

This unprecedented natural increase argues, according to the ascertained laws of population, not merely a high degree of physical well-being, but a much better moral status than is in this country usually assigned to the negro slaves. It is impossible to suppose, unless at the same time we suppose the Divine ordinances to be suspended in this especial case, that a race sunk in gross vices, and living in habitual violation of natural and moral laws, could thus grow and multiply. Facts accessible to every painstaking inquirer leave us in no doubt or perplexity on this head. The religious statistics of the Confederate States inform us that the number of negro communicants of the various Christian denominations is largely over four hundred thousand, or considerably more than 10 per cent. of the entire slave population—religious statistics which compare favourably with those of the labouring classes in any other country, and can probably not be equalled in any other which has no established church. Another important point regarding the moral condition of the slaves deserves attention. The precepts and terrors of religion—the imitative instincts of the negro race—the influence, nay, the self interest, of the masters—all combine to ensure not only the universal outward observance, but the sanctity of the marriage tie among the negroes. If men will reason on this subject as they do on others, they cannot fail to see how powerful is each of the agencies we have mentioned, and more particularly one which we have not mentioned—the intuition, as we shall term it, since there are those who will not admit that holier motives can actuate slaveholders—which makes the white women of the South the natural and most efficient protectors of the chastity of the female slaves. The hand can surely not have been an unfriendly one which has thus raised the negro from the turpitudes of the African savage, and which, in his upward progress, screens him from the temptations to which the wants and cares of a precarious existence expose all men, and his race particularly. The criminal statistics of the negro are equally satisfactory, and prove him remarkably free as well from the greater crimes as from the lesser offences against law and order. Thus, in half a century, has the fierce sanguinary African become a Christian labourer, contented with his lot, industrious, under a moral guidance, rather than a system of rigorous coercion, and looking upon the white man as his friend, teacher, and protector. Well may the Southerners say, that all the heroism and self-sacrifice of missionary efforts in heathen lands have not borne one tithe of these fruits. Now, let the conscientious philanthropist lay his hand on his heart, and ask himself whether, during these fifty years of slavery, the negro has not made greater progress toward freedom than he can ever make under such liberty of license as the North offers him—license to plunder, to burn, and to murder? Is the lesson which he has yet to learn, before he can take his place as a free labourer to be read by the light of his master's burning dwelling? Will religion find him a more docile pupil when his natural affections have been poisoned in their founts, and he has embued his hands in the blood of those whom from childhood he had been wonted to honour and to love? Will the negro rise or fall in the scale of civilization by such a training? and is he the friend or the enemy of the black race who desires for it such a future?

But it is obvious that, were it possible thus to rekindle in the negro the savage instincts of his African descent, the white man, being numerically, as well as in every other respect, the stronger, must in very self-defence turn against and exterminate him as he would a dangerous wild beast. Assume, however, that, the fratricidal hand of the Northern white man assisting the negro in the cruel work, the white man of the South succumbs, will the condition of the negro be then improved? Suppose the intelligence of the South banished, its youth massacred, its lands divided among the Northern conquerors, what then? The new proprietor will soon learn that without the negro's toil, his cotton, and rice, and sugar fields, are of no value. Under one form of servitude or another he will

compel the negro to toil. Universal experience proves that the stranger makes a far more exacting, more mercenary, and less considerate, and less patient master than the man who was born to that condition, between whom and the inferior race there is the lifelong acquaintance of each other's virtues and faults, the natural confidence and the ties of natural affection which inevitably must grow from these. The negro, under the care of his former master, has given the most incontrovertible proofs of physical and moral well-being, by his marvellous natural increase from half a million of souls to four millions in fifty years, or at the rate of 16 per cent. per annum, an increase which has fully kept pace with the requirements for unskilled labour in the slaveholding States, and has precluded even the temptation for the re-opening of the African slave trade. In the North, as a free labourer, the negro, although recruited by fugitive and emancipated slaves, has remained stationary as an item of population during the same period. A similar phenomenon is noticed in regard to the negro population of the West Indies, where the insufficiency of labour is a constant subject of complaint. It may be fairly assumed that under his new Northern master the negro would not multiply so rapidly as he has heretofore done. The requirements for his labour would be the same. The deficiency must in that case be supplied from abroad, and since neither the German, nor the Irish, nor the native American, can withstand the semi-tropical sun in summer time, nor the miasmal exhalations of the cotton, rice, and sugar soils, this supply must come from Africa. It will then depend on circumstances alone whether this supply shall come under the old and proscribed name of the slave trade, or cloaked under the disguise of a more euphonious name.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

Among the many peculiarities which most forcibly strike the English student of American history and American politics, and remind him how wide is the difference between his own countrymen and the citizens of the United States, notwithstanding their common origin and common language, few are more notable than the characteristics of party warfare in the United States. In England, especially of late years, party conflicts have become more like those Italian battles of the Middle Ages in which two men killed and a dozen wounded were thought to constitute a loss severe enough to save the honour of the beaten party, than like the desperate and protracted contests of ancient or modern war. Since the days of Sir Robert Walpole there has been little of real and earnest hostility between the chiefs of the great political parties. Except Fox, whose character was in every respect exceptional amongst English statesmen, the leaders on either side have generally been disposed to treat their opponents with personal courtesy, and fairly acknowledge their individual honour, and their high claims to personal respect. And even Fox, when his great rival was dying, seems to have felt how unworthy and unjustifiable his behaviour towards him had been, when the Whig chiefs assembled at his house to discuss their proposed attack upon the Ministry, he told them that if they could enter upon a discussion of Mr. Pitt's policy at such a time, he could not; quoting the well-known line—

Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalium tangunt.

Since the Reform Bill, there has scarcely been one

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.)

The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Cluskey. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the Letters of Pæficus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

severe party battle, one contest in which the bitterness of party feeling has hurried the leading men on either side into language which they themselves would, in calmer years, regret and condemn, or provoked those lasting quarrels which no time and no subsequent change of circumstances can heal. The conflict on the repeal of the Corn Laws was not, in the proper sense of the word, a party conflict. The only struggle which took place on that occasion was within the camp of the Conservative party; and the personal bitterness which characterized it, and which has not to this day subsided, was provoked by what was thought an act of political treason; the betrayal of the Conservative cause by the chief whom the gentlemen of England—to use the words of his most vindictive enemy—"had been so proud to follow." And even Mr. Disraeli, before many years had passed, took an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of Sir Robert Peel in his admirable biography of the man who undertook the leadership of the deserted Protectionists. The only bitter personal enmities which still subsist in the higher ranks of political life are those which grew out of that collision. Between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli there is evidently a feeling which can only be described as actual and venomous hatred. Neither can do justice to the other; neither can let pass an opportunity of inflicting pain or offering such insult as the strictness of Parliamentary forms will permit. But no such feeling is manifested on the one side towards Lord Palmerston, or on the other towards Lord Derby. The former is almost as great a favourite with his opponents as with his supporters; the latter is held in high honour, even among the most determined Liberals, and his conduct during the Lancashire distress has received a due meed of praise from the Ministerial speakers. Excepting the present and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, there are no two statesmen of Ministerial rank who might not, so far as personal feelings are concerned, sit in the same Cabinet, and work together, at least, as cordially and loyally as can Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell.

Another characteristic of English party warfare is the limitation imposed upon it by the extreme looseness of party allegiance in the majority of the electors, the facility with which they transfer their votes from one party to another, whenever that with which they are naturally or habitually connected displeases them by its action on any important question, and the existence of a very large class of voters who cannot be properly classed either as Liberals or Conservatives; but who support that party which for the time being carries out most effectively the views of the majority of the English people. It is impossible for a Minister having a strong Parliamentary majority to set public opinion at defiance, as Mr. Lincoln is now doing; for he could not rely on his staunchest supporters. They dare not stand by him in such a course; first, because they could not rely on their own party in the constituencies; and secondly, because they know that an unpopular vote would turn the waverers and the independent class against them, and thus give a majority to their opponents. Public opinion is in this country supreme over administration, as over legislation; it has put down scandalous official corruption, and enforced a generally liberal system of foreign policy; it is Lord Paramount, even by the confession of the staunchest devotees of party, over party chiefs and their adherents; and it is so, mainly because it is, on the whole, the opinion of those who are more or less independent of party.

Again, English parties are wonderfully tenacious of life. The Whigs survived two long periods of utter depression; the first of which extended from the accession of Mr. Pitt to office to his death, a term of nearly twenty years, while the second, commencing about a year or two after his death, extended to 1829. During the greater part of these terms, they were not merely too weak to have any chance of disturbing the Ministry, but too weak to be able to maintain a formidable Opposition; yet they held together, though without hope of vanquishing their opponents or rewarding their friends, until the growth of liberal opinion and the divisions in the Tory camp gave them in their turn a twelve years' lease of power. In 1846 the cause of the Conservatives seemed worse than that of the Whigs had ever been; they were not only beaten, but routed, broken up, and deserted by every man of official rank and experience in the Lower House, and by almost every such man in the Upper. Yet they held together; and within six years they ousted their adversaries. Again driven from power, they again recovered it in 1858; and at this moment they have a decided majority in the House of Lords, and are said to divide the House of Commons almost equally with the Liberals. During the period which has witnessed these alternations, not only have several minor American parties vanished from the political world, but the two that seemed for awhile likely to take the lead in the Federal

Government—first the Federalists, and secondly the Whigs, have in turn sunk out of existence, and become mere historical names, to which no living importance can be attached.

The utter want of moderation, the absence of personal courtesy, the bitterness of personal hostility which distinguishes all parties and nearly all party leaders in America, has often attracted the notice and provoked the contemptuous censure of the English press. The universality of partisanship has been less observed, but those who have seen the Americans at home, and been among them long enough to understand them closely, have not failed to note that there scarcely existed in the United States a class of men taking part in politics without being the adherents of a party. The unscrupulous and thoroughgoing character of party allegiance in America has been remarked and condemned by Americans themselves; and stands in somewhat curious contrast with the want of vital strength which seems to render fatal to American parties lighter injuries than those which those of England have each in turn endured and survived.

The explanation of the marked distinctions between the conduct and the nature of political parties in England and in the late United States, respectively, must be sought partly no doubt, in those differences of character which are national rather than political; but chiefly, we think, in the different conditions of political life in the two countries. Often as these have been dwelt upon, we hardly think that their importance has been exaggerated, or that their various bearings and their influence on parties, men, measures, and political manners have been by any means exhaustively treated.

One of the most fortunate conditions of political life in England is altogether wanting in America—we refer to that universal feeling of loyalty towards the Sovereign which is as much the protection of the country as the bulwark of the throne. It is possible that there may be among Englishmen, even among English politicians, men who are disloyal at heart, to whom loyalty seems, like chivalry, a mediæval dream, unworthy of the enlightenment of the 19th century. But even the most daring of Radical orators, addressing the most excited of Radical audiences, dare not utter a word disrespectful to the Sovereign or hostile to the principles of monarchy. There is thus a fixed point in English politics, which serves to maintain the stability of the State amid the fiercest agitation; with which no one dreams of meddling, and which helps to keep before the minds of political combatants that most wholesome of lessons—the necessity of “bowing down before a law they have not made.” Something of the sacredness which attaches to the Crown is spread around the other institutions with which the Crown is most closely associated. He would be a bold man, he would not be considered a practical politician, who would propose to overthrow the power of the Upper House. There are men who have declared open war against the Church; but the declaration damaged their political character, and was seriously argued against one of them as an error which should have disqualified him for even a minor Cabinet office. The fierceness of political contests is much mitigated by the fact, that questions on which both the great parties agree are far more important, in the eyes of both, than those on which they differ. Few Conservatives believe that the country, or the Constitution is seriously endangered by the continuance of Lord Palmerston in power. No rational Liberal believes that England would suffer seriously by Lord Derby's advent to office. The case is very different in America. There was a time when the Union was revered almost as Englishmen revere the throne. There was a time when all seemed seriously to believe that the Constitution was really perfect, when to propose its overthrow or to violate its fundamental principles, would have been held not merely treason, but sacrilege. But a written document, whose plain words can be perverted by the ingenuity of contending factions, to mean anything or suit any purpose, whatever, is a poor substitute for an unwritten law, which has grown with the growth of the nation, and whose maxims are so familiar to every mind, that not one in a hundred ever dreams of doubting them. A political abstraction can never win that secure hold on the hearts of a people which belongs to a living sovereign. These deficiencies are not the fault, but the misfortune, of the American people. They are traceable to no want of foresight in those who formed the Constitution, but to the absolute necessities of their position. They had no choice but to frame a Federal compact, and no means of securing and defining that compact but by a written Constitution. It was not in their power, even had they desired it, to provide a visible idol for that political worship of the people which we call loyalty. In establishing their Government, they were forced to

trust to its inherent goodness to ensure to it the affections of the governed. When it became—as all Governments at one time or another must become—a bad one, when it fell into dishonest hands, when its powers were used for selfish purposes, there was no longer anything to secure for it popular respect and attachment. In reviewing the history of American political contests for the last forty years, there is nothing which strikes an Englishman as more noteworthy or more lamentable than their utter want of restraint; the necessary consequence of the want of any object revered by both parties in common; of any body of principles which both held sacred.

Another and yet graver misfortune afflicted the creators of the Union, and has ever since beset with difficulties and dangers the path of American statesmanship. In creating a Government it was not possible to create a nation; and while there is no doubt that Washington and his contemporaries hoped that the system which they framed would gradually fuse into one country and one people the fragmentary nationalities of which their Confederacy was composed, it is certain that they were well aware that this had yet to be done; and equally certain that they and their less able successors never made any progress towards its accomplishment. When England is at war, all parties, and generally all Englishmen, give their energetic support to the Government in carrying on that war, however little they may have approved it in its origin. Those who refuse to do so, like Mr. Fox in past times, and Messrs. Bright and Cobden in our own day, not only find themselves utterly powerless to oppose the national will, but are taught that the only effect of attempting such opposition is to damage irretrievably their own character and influence. The Crimean War gave a death-blow to the political credit and authority of the Manchester school, not because they were wrong in their censures of that war, but because, by continuing those censures after England was actually at war, they seemed to lend their support to their country's enemy. But our readers have not forgotten the lessons taught by the war between England and the United States in 1814, or by that with Mexico in 1848 from both of which many of the States stood almost absolutely aloof, while in the former Massachusetts threatened to secede if peace were not speedily concluded. What more forcible proof could be given how thoroughly the composite peoples of the British Islands have become a single nation; and how very far the much less distinct races by which the various States of the late American Union were peopled have always been from attaining such a character? Except in the South and in New England there has been nothing like a real nationality in any part of the Union. And this absence of a national character has not only destroyed the powerful restraint imposed by patriotism on party, but of late years it has given to partisanship the character of patriotism, and converted political contests into international conflicts; until at last the distinct nations which had struggled with one another in Congress now stand face to face in the field, and appeal is formally made from the results of political discussion to the decision of the God of Battles.

(To be continued.)

SHORT NOTICES.

The Life and Times of the Right Hon. Sir James R. G. Graham, Bart., &c. By TORRENS M'CULLAGH TORRENS. (London: Saunders, Otley and Co.)

Sir James Graham was not an eminent statesman, and but for the accidents of wealth and fortune, he would not have made his mark. He was talented, active, and respectable; but the most that can be said of his career is, that he did not altogether neglect his excellent opportunities, and that he discharged his public duties in a manner that entitled him to the respect of his contemporaries, and which makes him worthy of biographical remembrance. Mr. Torrens has given us an intelligent narrative of the early life of Sir James Graham, but he has allowed his friendship to damage the reputation of the right hon. baronet. In the crowd of those who are somewhat higher than their fellow-citizens, Sir James was a great man, but to put him upon a pinnacle of fame as Mr. Torrens has done, is to caricature his real greatness, and to make him look puny. He was a giant among the pigmies of every-day life, but a pigmy among the giants. He was a useful and valuable mediocrity, and belonged to that class of politicians that, whatever may be their opinions, make public life in this country honoured and honourable.

The late baronet, descended from an ancient family, was born in 1792, his father being the first baronet, and his mother the Lady Catherine Stuart. He commenced

his education at a private establishment in the neighbourhood of London, continued it at Westminster, and afterwards went to Oxford. He does not seem to have cared much for scholarly reputation, but to have greatly inclined to dandyism—a weakness that stuck to him in his maturer years. After leaving Oxford and passing a season in London, he went abroad, was introduced to the Duke of Wellington at Cadiz, and was the agent employed to negotiate with Murat the armistice that separated him from Napoleon; an important, but certainly not a difficult negotiation. If the affair had required any diplomatic tact, it would not have been entrusted to young Mr. Graham. In 1818 he got into Parliament for Hull at a cost of more than £6000, but the Whigs did not derive much immediate advantage from his accession to their ranks, as he was not for many years a parliamentary success, and not a particular favourite with his friends. He was addicted to saying smart things, and men are generally more ready to forgive an injury than a sarcasm. He was not re-elected for Hull, was returned for St. Ives, but being petitioned against, would not defend his seat, having probably made up his mind that he should not make a hit in Parliament.

In 1819 he married Miss Fanny Callander, who was then the belle at Almack's; and in 1824 he succeeded to his father's title. About this time he thought of selling his ancestral estate and going into business, and negotiated for a partnership in a banking house. He was fortunately dissuaded from doing this, for in less than a year the firm he was about to join failed. He again got into Parliament, began to be listened to, and was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Grey's Ministry. A peerage was offered him, but he had the good sense to refuse the questionable honour of going to the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill, by swamping the Opposition. The present volume of Mr. Torrens' narrative concludes with the retirement of Lord Grey in 1834; and the best part of Sir James Graham's political life remains to be told.

The Weather Book. A Manual of Practical Meteorology. By REAR ADMIRAL FITZROY. (London: Longman and Co.)

Most Englishmen pride themselves upon being weather-wise, and our climate is so charmingly variable, that any one may get a reputation for that species of knowledge. We act upon a theory of probabilities, which does not often lead us into any positive error. During the autumn, winter, and spring, any one who daily announces “a fall before night” will be so often right and so seldom wrong that he will be regarded as the veritable clerk of the weather. In the summer, after two or three wet days, we may—if the barometer marks “set fair,” and there is not a grand horticultural show, or an aristocratic fete at Cremorne—anticipate a fine day; after two or three fine July days, overcoats and umbrellas are prudent precautions, notwithstanding the most favourable indications of the barometer. But the bulk of our people do not pin their faith to the rising and falling of the mercury. In small farm-houses in the country, and likely enough in many town houses, both great and small, the almanack is looked upon as a reliable authority, and as almanack prophets take care to have plenty of wet days and “fine with showers,” they are frequently correct, much to the surprise and admiration of their superstitious readers. We do not suppose that Admiral Fitzroy will, at all events for many years, diminish the popularity and influence of “Francis Moore.” He endeavours to make people think for themselves, and at present the master has not settled the rudiments of the science he desires to teach. Admiral Fitzroy is proceeding upon a legitimate and philosophic method. He is not trying to make facts square with a pet theory, but he is industriously collecting and studying facts, so as to be able to elucidate the true theory. The peculiarity of the case is that Admiral Fitzroy, from necessity, is making his experiments and pursuing his studies in public, and thus giving little people ample opportunities for sneering at him. Already the Admiral has done much towards making Meteorology a practical science, but for all that, we believe that a few years hence his present manual will be completely superseded. Until such is the case those who wish to be weather-wise had better study “The Weather Book.”

“*Les Confédérés.*” (Cantata. Music by Mr. Alfred Godards, and words by M. Joachim Duflos), is a new piece of music just published in Paris, and sold for the benefit of the wounded in the Confederate armies. The title page is superbly illuminated with an excellent likeness of President Davis, to whom the music is dedicated. The medallion containing the portrait is draped with the banner and standard of the Confederate State. An English translation of the words by Madame * * *

LETTER FROM JOHN W. COWELL, ESQ. (To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—You have done me the honour to notice in THE INDEX a letter which I lately addressed to the cotton Operatives, relative to the blockade of the States, from which they procure their supplies of cotton, instituted by the Washington Government, and recognized as legitimate by the British Government. With your permission I will say a few more words on the point to which you more particularly call the attention of your readers, for I confess that it seems to me of such paramount moral importance as to throw into the shade all consideration of conflicting interests and obligations, if any such there are—from whatever sources arising. What is the major duty of England in the fearful struggle between the North and South? This is the real question.

What is that duty? Whatever it may prove to be, how ever injurious it may be to English interests, I advocate a rigid adherence to it on the part of England. But what is it?

When I read the Treaty of 1783 and see that his Majesty George III. therein styling himself King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, solemnly declares to mankind at large, and to the remotest posterity, that he acknowledges the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, to be "Free, Sovereign, and Independent States, and that he treats with them as such," and then ask myself whether it is possible that the Ministers of his grand-daughter, our present beloved and gracious Sovereign, can have ignored this recognition, can have acted, and can be acting, as if George III. had never made it—I am lost in astonishment. What more authentic act of royal authority did George III. ever, in the course of his long reign, perform than this, or ever more solemnly ratify? What faith is ever to be placed in any treaty, if not in the Treaty of 1783?

In 1783 George III. declares, "I acknowledge you, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, to be Free, Sovereign, and Independent States, and I treat with you as such;" in 1861 his grand-daughter is made to declare, "I acknowledge the right of a Government styling itself that of 'The United States,' to make war and peace for you and on your behalf, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia," against me, against the rest of the world, and against yourselves even."

It will be clearer to continue the discussion arising from this announcement as if conducted conversationally between the Sovereign State of Virginia, speaking for herself and her sister Sovereignities, on the one part, and the admirable political Chrichton who, Sydney Smith declared, is always ready, at five minutes notice, to take the command of the Channel Fleet, or to cut for the stone.

"How?" exclaims Virginia. "You acknowledge a right in a foreign Power to act in war and in peace for me, a Sovereign Power, how is such an act consistent with your acknowledgment of my freedom, my sovereignty, my independence, in 1783?"

"You were then confederated with some other States, and we acknowledged your sovereignty and theirs collectively."

"Explain.—Here is the treaty containing your acknowledgment; please to read the words and explain what you mean by 'collectively.'"

"I mean that we acknowledged your Sovereignty as being one of those States with whom you were then confederated."

"I do not understand what distinction you aim at drawing. You do two things in the first article of that treaty—you acknowledge me, by name, as being free, sovereign, and independent—that is *one* thing; and you acknowledge me, likewise, as confederated with certain other States, which you also acknowledge by their names to be in like manner free, sovereign, and independent—that is the *other* thing. How do you obtain from either one or the other of these two things, or from both of them conjoined, any justification for your acknowledgment of the right, in any of them, or in all of them put together, to act for me at this day in war and peace?"

"Why, you gave them collectively the right at *that* time, and they so acted for you at *that* time."

"Will you be so good as to show me the deed of my concession, for it will show the terms on which was made any concession that I *did* make?"

"Would it not save time if we were to pass at once to the year 1788, for in that year you became a member of a *new* Confederation called the Government of the United States of North America, and to the Ministers of that Government you certainly conceded the right of making war and peace for you, and they have since exercised it by making war and peace on your behalf; against England, among other instances, they made war in 1812, and peace in 1815."

"How do you know that I made this concession to this Government in 1788?"

"Here is your own Act dated June 26th 1788, in which it is read as follows: 'We, the Delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, &c, &c, do, in their name, and on behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known.'—'There—that is how I know it—what can be clearer?'"

"Please to read on."

"Well," declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will."

"Well, you now see, that I, a Sovereign Power, did in 1788

enter into a certain compact of union with twelve other similar and equally Sovereign Power with the provisions, that I may people, reserved the right of retiring from that compact 'at will,' and you see that I declared at the the same time that each and all of my twelve Sovereign co-partners in that union, possessed exactly the same reserved rights in this respect that I had made the condition of acceding to, and of becoming a member of, it myself. I exercised this right in 1861, and so did the Sovereign States of Georgia, and the Carolinas; and together with them, then resumed the fulness of my Sovereignty—that Sovereignty which you acknowledged in 1783—how then can you disavow, can you ignore, can you nullify, that Sovereignty, in the face of your own treaty, by now affirming that a Power, of which I am entirely independent, has the right of making war and peace, *on my behalf*?"

"We have been in continued uninterrupted connexion, both in war and in peace, with the Ministers, functionaries and authorities of that union ever since 1788; that connection continues without pause or interruption to the present moment, and we have no choice but to accept their acts as the acts of that union, for which they appear to us to be legitimately entitled to act. Having allowed their right ever since 1788, we cannot disallow it now."

"You were fully justified in allowing the right of agency in the ministers and authorities of that union as long as it existed, and was *that* Union; but you see by my sovereign act, passed on the 26th of June, 1788, coupled with my sovereign act of May, 1861, that the union exists no longer. You know that the union, whose act of blockade you now acknowledge as righteous, is not the same union that it was previous to my secession in 1861; you know that it is another union. The question that I ask you is, how your admission of the right of this other union to act *on my behalf*, is consistent with your acknowledgment of my sovereignty in 1783."

"I have not wished, nor intended, to violate the treaty of 1783, of which I acknowledged your sovereignty. I desire to be understood as acknowledging it still, to the full extent of my acknowledgment in 1783; but I cannot disallow the right of the Ministers and authorities of a Government to continue acting in the manner they have been accustomed to act ever since 1788."

"Your substitution of the phrase, 'a Government,' for that expression which describes the fact, as the fact is, covers a fallacy which I must lay bare. The Ministers of 'the Government,' to which you refer, go by the same titles as those employed by the Ministers of the union of the United States of North America, up to the year 1861, and they may—though I mean to be understood without prejudice—exercise similar functions to those of the Ministers of the Government of the Union up to 1861. You were fully warranted in allowing as legitimate, all the acts of the Ministers of the Government of the union of the United States up to the year 1861, and such, your allowance, did in no wise infringe my sovereignty, as acknowledged by you in the treaty of 1783; but what I ask you is, how your acknowledgment of the right of the Government now existing at Washington to act for me, a sovereign, is consistent with your acknowledgment of my sovereignty in the treaty of 1783? and it is certainly no answer to that question to say that the functionaries who claim to act for me, use the same titles as were used by those who did rightfully act for me up to the year 1861. If such Ministers ever, at any time, had any title to act for me, you are bound to know that they had it solely, in virtue of my sovereign act of the 26th of June, 1788, whereby your admission of such title in them was no infringement of my sovereignty; but you are equally bound to know that when, in May, 1861, I exercised my reserved right of sovereignty, and seceded from all connection with the union of the United States of North America as established in 1788, such Ministers had no longer either right or title to act for me, and what I ask you is how you can now admit and allow such title and right without derogating from my sovereignty, as acknowledged by you in 1783?"

"These Ministers claimed to be the same, they declared their Government, their Union, their constituting authority to be the same—it bore the same style, title, and denomination, and exhibited all outward and apparent signs of identity, and, I say that I was without any warrant for questioning all this cumulative evidence of identity, and was bound to accept it as identical."

"And as having the same *rights* as the Union of the United States of North America possessed up to 1861."

"Yes, I was bound to accept it as having the same rights, as the Union of the United States possessed up to 1861."

"What? bound to acknowledge it possessed the same rights, when you knew as a fact that it was no longer the same Union?"

"But I have said that I was not warranted in questioning its identity."

"I can go no further on this point. When Georgia, the Carolinas, and I, were members of the Union of the United States, that Union was *one* thing;—when Georgia, the Carolinas, and I, 'declared and made known' to the world that we had ceased to be members of the Union of the United States—that Union became thereby *another* thing, and I am unable to understand, even to conjecture, what warrant you could have for accepting it as the *same* thing. In the currency of conversation, or correspondence, it may be permissible to speak of the United States of 1862, as being the same United States as those of 1852, but when the point in question is of so serious a nature as to involve breaches of treaties, violations of Sovereign rights, acknowledgments of

illegal claims, of unjust rights, false titles, &c., &c., the utmost precision of language, and the strictest verification of facts are required. It is humiliating to find any one in the position of a statesman resorting to such a defence as you have been making. Is there nothing more that you can say?"

"How was I to know that you had seceded from the Union? What official notification did you supply me with?"

"I supplied you with the same notification that I gave you of my accession to the Union in 1787. I passed an Act of Accession then, and in 1861 I passed an Act of Secession. If you knew one you knew the other. You are, by profession, a statesman—it was your duty to know *both*."

"But many of the other States continued united, and deny your right to secede from the Union. It was impossible for me to take cognizance of the complicated disputes about the interpretation of the Constitution of 1788."

"Neither were you called upon to take cognizance of them. You had a simple and straightforward course before you—to look at the treaty of 1783, and to avoid doing any act which involved, on your part, a breach of your acknowledgment of my sovereignty."

"Do you mean to say, then, that my acceptance of Mr. Adams, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of North America in 1861, when he was so accredited to me, exactly in the same form as all his predecessors since 1783—his father among them—had been, was a breach of your sovereignty?"

"Your accepting him by that title was no breach of my sovereignty—at least, I do not impute it to you as such—but your allowing him to act *on my behalf* was, and is, a breach of my sovereignty. George III. made the treaty with me and my sister sovereignities in 1783, by the style and title of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and we treated with him by the title he chose to assume; but we did not mean thereby to allow that he possessed the faintest shadow of right to act for France, though he styled himself King of that country, and his plenipotentiaries were accredited to us as deriving authority from him as King of France as well as of Great Britain and Ireland. Your accepting Mr. Adams by whatever title his credentials gave him did me no wrong, but your allowing his claim to act on my behalf in 1861 was as clear a breach of my Sovereignty as would be my act, were I to conclude a treaty with the Emperor of Hindostan, be an infringement of the Sovereignty of England?"

"But, certainly, had I refused the claim of Mr. Adams to act in the manner he is acting, the President Lincoln would have declared war against England. Mr. Seward announced his intention of doing so. Do you mean to say that I was bound to carry out your interpretation of the Treaty of 1783, with the certainty before my eyes that it would be followed by a war with those over whom President Lincoln rules?"

"You were bound to observe all the engagements you made in the Treaty of 1783, and if President Lincoln had proved bad enough to declare war against you for so doing, you ought not to have shown yourself vile enough to have refrained from performing your obligation from the fear of any such a consequence. Do you admit my complaint of your faithlessness in respect of the Treaty of 1783 to be just and well-founded, or do you affirm it to be frivolous and unfounded? I have now waited a long while, and in vain, for a reply to this question. I disdain to discuss with you further. There is the Treaty of 1783;—you have broken it, and you know that you have broken it."

"Permit me to ask an explanation of one part of your Act of Accession to the new Union in 1788. You therein declare that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will.' Must not the phrase 'people of the United States,' be taken to mean *all* the people of *all* the United States, and if so, may I ask have all the people of all the United States now resumed the powers granted by the Constitution, for if only *some* have resumed those powers and not others; it would appear that a resumption by a part only would invalidate the very title by which that part claim the right of resumption at all, the prerequisite condition alone capable of calling that title into existence, not yet having come into existence itself."

"The powers granted were granted by the grantors, and as they were granted resumable, they were resumable by the same grantors, in the manner and form in which they, as grantors, had made them resumable. In the case of Virginia, you will see who were the grantors by looking at the first lines of the Act,—'We, the delegates of the *people* of Virginia do, in their name and on behalf of the *people* of Virginia, declare that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the *people* of the United States, &c., &c.' The question you put is twofold—1st, whether the word 'people,' which, in each of the two first cases of its occurrence, refers entirely to the people of one of the United States, viz., of Virginia, expand in the third case into an extension of meaning, embracing the people of all the other twelve States collectively, together with the people of Virginia; and, 2ndly, whether it was *intended* by the delegates of the people of Virginia that it should expand in such wise. That the delegates had no such intention, nor indeed any right or power to give it such an extension, is obvious enough from the object and tenor of the whole Act, the plain intent of which would have been wholly frustrated by such an extension. So much for the intention of the grantors. As to the extent of meaning which the mere word 'people' may be made to bear on

the third occasion of its occurrence in the Act, this must be restricted within the limits which you know from the intention, *aliunde* ascertainable, of the party employing it, he meant to allude to it. That intention is clear enough in this case. There was no doubt about it in 1788, nor was the word 'people' in this place ever supposed, on my side of the Atlantic, to be susceptible of such an interpretation as you would insinuate it may bear. Each Sovereign State acted by itself—apart, independently—and for its own people alone. No Sovereign State imagined, much less did it pretend, that its right of action could extend beyond the pale of its own subject people. Each acceded to the new Constitution on whatever terms and conditions it was pleased to assign. Virginia attached the conditions of her accession in her Act of June 1788, and she means to record, in the sentence to which you advert, that the people of each of the other twelve Sovereign States had the same right of attaching, each to their own several accessions respectively, the same conditions as she attached to her own accession. The expression 'United States' had, in 1788, a different force from that which you in England attribute to it now; it was used to avoid the long and troublesome enumeration of their names and titles, as was at first the custom, as you may see in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, in which each is severally specified."

In the foregoing imaginary conversation I have faithfully endeavoured to give all the force in my power to the arguments and reasonings on the point in the question which I can conjecture that either party would employ.

JOHN W. COWELL.

Cannes, Alpes Maritimes, Feb. 2, 1863.

THE HON. J. M. MASON AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Mason made a speech at a banquet at the Mansion-house, in reference to the existing relations between the Confederate States of America, and the English Government. He was a guest, with Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., Lord Geo. Lennox, M.P., Lord Colville, General Sir Geo. Pollock, Mr. Halliburton, M.P., Mr. J. C. Ewart, M.P., the O'Connor Don, M.P., Colonel French, M.P., Alderman Salomons, M.P., and Mr. Kennard, M.P., among others, at a dinner at which the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress entertained the aldermen and the members of the Court of Common Council for the wards of Castle Baynard, Cheap, Coleman-street, Cordwainers, Corahill, Cripplegate (within and without), Dowgate, and Farringdon-within. The company, about 250 in number, included besides his Excellency Rear-Admiral Don Juan de Dios and Captain Blanco, of the Spanish navy, General Sir A. S. Waugh, Admiral Stopford, General Brooke Taylor, Colonel Sargent, C.B., Colonel Lindsay, Colonel Aldworth, Alderman Sir R. W. Carden, Alderman Carter, Alderman Phillips, Alderman Allen, Alderman Gibbons, Alderman and Sheriff Lawrence, Mr. Sheriff Jones, Mr. Pope, the Mayor of Quebec, and the clergy of the several wards. The banquet was served in the Egyptian-hall.

Towards the close of the entertainment the Lord Mayor proposed the toast of "The Visitors," referring particularly to the presence of the Mayor of Quebec and Mr. Mason. The mention of the latter gentleman's name elicited loud cheers. His Lordship proceeded to say, alluding to Mr. Mason, that although he could not greet that gentleman as a recognised plenipotentiary to this country he was perfectly justified, by virtue of his position as chief magistrate of the City of London, in offering to him, and to all gentlemen who came to this country on any important business, a hearty welcome in his official residence. They, as citizens of London, deeply deplored the disastrous war which was being waged on the American continent, and longed, in common with the rest of their countrymen and of the civilized world, to see it brought to some satisfactory termination. He gave "The Visitors," coupling with the toast the name of the Mayor of Quebec.

Mr. Pope, the Mayor, briefly, acknowledged the compliment in an animated speech, in which he dwelt on the strong attachment of the North American colonists to the mother country, adding that they regarded it as their highest privilege that they were fellow-subjects with the people of England of the same Sovereign.

Mr. Mason, responding to an urgent invitation of the company, presented himself to speak, and was received with enthusiastic cheers. He said,—My Lord Mayor, my Lady Mayoress, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, but that I feel deeply the obligations I am under to the honoured chief magistrate of this city for permission to be present to-night I should feel strongly disposed to pick a quarrel. His lordship has not chosen to remember that here, in England, I am not considered of full age; that I am yet in my minority. The Government of England—we all know, honoured from ages, and always a wise Government in its generation—has declared that the country which I represent beyond that broad water has not yet attained years of discretion, and is not capable of managing its own affairs. (A laugh.) I say, therefore, that but for really being overwhelmed by the kind and generous manner in which I have been received by this honoured company, and in the presence of your chief magistrate, I should have been disposed to say, in the language of a poet:—

You would scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage.

My Lord Mayor, I am a stranger in London—or, rather, I was a stranger; but I have learnt since I came to London that

none of English blood from my own Southern land are strangers among you. (Cheers.) I speak this from my heart (cheers), for I have been by every circle in England and by every class of society a welcomed and an honoured guest, (Cheers.) I return my sincere thanks to you for the kindness with which you have listened to a stranger. The day will come (great cheering)—it is not far off—when the relationship between that Government which is now in its infant fortune and yours will be one of close and intimate alliance. (Renewed cheers.) I say this more especially as regards the city of London, which is the great market for the world. My country is the unrivalled producer of the great staples of the world, and I say the relations—commercial, doubtless political, certainly social—between my honoured countrymen and the people of London will before long be of the most intimate character. (Cheers.)

THE CONFEDERATE GENERALS.

The following sketches are extracted from the letters of the army correspondent of the *Savannah Republican*:—

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

If the battles around Richmond elevated General Lee in the public estimation as a military leader, his conduct of affairs since his return from Maryland should stamp him as one of the greatest living masters of the art of war.

By the skillful disposition of his forces in front of Winchester, he rendered it impracticable for McClellan to invade the Valley of the Shenandoah, and forced him to adopt the route on the east side of the Blue Ridge. The Federal commander accepted this alternative the more readily since he hoped, by an ostentatious display of a part of his forces near Shepherdstown, to deceive General Lee and gain his flank and rear at Warrenton. On his arrival at this latter place, however, much to his surprise and dismay, he found our far-seeing General quietly awaiting him on the south bank of the Rappahannock.

This unexpected discovery rendered it necessary for the enemy to change the plan of the campaign, and to adopt a new base of operations and a different route to Richmond. Accordingly, McClellan having been superseded by Burnside, the latter officer, after consultation with Halleck, the General-in-Chief, who visited his headquarters at Warrenton, caused a series of imposing demonstrations to be made along our front, as if he intended to give battle at an early day. In the meantime, he put the main body of his army in motion, and marched it rapidly down the north bank of the Rappahannock, with the view of throwing it across that stream at Fredericksburg, gaining Lee's rear and descending by forced marches upon Richmond before our army could get into position to check his advance. But if McClellan was surprised to find Lee awaiting him at Warrenton, Burnside was amazed upon his arrival at Fredericksburg to learn that the sagacious Confederate commander had not only anticipated his movement, but had completely blocked the passage of the Rappahannock.

So confident were Burnside and his army of the successful issue of his clever stratagem, that the army correspondents undertook to furnish the Federal press with minute and glowing accounts of the triumphal march. Public expectation was raised to the highest pitch. The Government, the press, and even officers in the field, so far forgot the bitter disappointments of the past as to indulge the pleasant hallucination of the early downfall of the rebel capital. When Burnside reached the heights overlooking Fredericksburg, therefore, and cast his anxious eyes across the river, great must have been his astonishment when he discovered the Confederates, who he vainly supposed were still awaiting his attack near Warrenton, drawn up on the opposite hills, and the gateway to Richmond completely closed.

The Federal press, in its disappointment and mortification, indulges in charges of treason against its own people, and says some one in the confidence of Burnside must have communicated his plans to General Lee. But this is not true. General Lee, by his superior genius and penetration, was enabled to fathom his adversary's designs, and baffle his well-laid plans; and that, too, without the assistance of traitors from the Federal army.

As was remarked in a former letter, the Confederacy is fortunate in having such a man as General Lee in its service. He is still in the prime and vigour of physical and intellectual manhood, being about forty-five years of age. He is six feet in height, weighs about 190 lbs, is erect, well-formed and of imposing appearance, has clear, bright, benignant black eyes, dark gray hair, and a heavy gray beard. He is exceedingly plain in his dress, and one looks at his costume in vain for those insignia of rank for which most officers show such a weakness. He wears an unassuming black felt hat, with a narrow strip of gold lace around it, and a plain brigadier's coat with three stars on the collar, but without the usual braiding on the sleeves. He travels and sleeps in an ambulance when the army is in motion, and occupies a tent when it is stationary, and not the largest and best house in the neighbourhood, as is the custom of some officers. In a few words, he cares but little for appearances, though one of the handsomest men in the Confederacy, and is content to take the same fare his soldiers receive.

In character and personal deportment he is all that the most ardent patriot can desire. Grave and dignified, he is yet modest and painfully distrustful of his own abilities. The descendant of a gallant officer of the elder revolution, the husband of the grand-daughter (by adoption) of General Washington, the inheritor of a large estate, and the trusted leader of a great and victorious army, he is nevertheless accessible to the humblest and most rugged soldier in the ranks, courteous to his officers, just and kind to the citizen, and withal and above all, a meek and humble Christian.

During the time the army was in Maryland, an officer of high position in the country suggested a number of reasons to General Lee, in support of a grave measure then under discussion. Among others, he remarked to him that he was trusted by his Government, had the hearts of his soldiers, and possessed the entire confidence of his country, and that the army, the Government, and people relied implicitly upon his patriotism and genius. Tears rushed to his eyes, and he exclaimed—"Do not say that—do not say that. I am sensible of my weakness, and such a responsibility as your remark implies would crush me to the earth." He said, in the same conversation, that there was nothing he so much desired as peace and independence. All he had, and all he hoped for—

all that ambition could suggest or glory give—he would freely surrender them all to stop the flow of blood and secure freedom to the country. He did not doubt that these blessings would come in due season; but he wanted them now, and would readily sacrifice every thought of personal aggrandizement to save the life of even one soldier.

General Lee is endowed with rare judgment and equanimity, unerring sagacity, great self-control, and extraordinary powers of combination. Like Washington, he is a wise man, and a good man, and possesses in an eminent degree those qualities which are indispensable in the great leader and champion upon whom the country rests its hopes of present success and future independence. In simple intellect there are other officers in the service who are his equals, and perhaps his superiors, and as a mere fighter there are some who may excel him. But in the qualities of a commander, entrusted with the duty of planning and executing a campaign upon a broad scale, and with the direction and government of a large army, whether scattered over a wide extent of territory, or massed together as at Richmond, he surpasses them all, and is the peer of any living chieftain in the New World or the Old.

GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

General Johnston, as you are aware, is a native of the proud old Commonwealth of Virginia, and a little turned fifty years of age. He weighs about 160 lbs., is five feet ten inches in height—though he looks taller on account of his erect carriage—has a florid complexion, short gray hair and closely cut side whiskers, moustache, and goatee. His manners are rather quiet and dignified, and his general appearance and deportment highly military. Indeed, everything about him—his bearing, style of dress, and even his most careless attitudes—betoken the high-toned and spirited soldier, who loves his profession, and whose soul revels in the din and uproar of the battle-field. His short hair and beard, high colour, close fitting uniform, striking air and self-possession, remind one of the game cock, the most courageous of all "the fowls of the air," when clipped and trimmed and prepared for the ring.

Intellectually, General Johnston is the equal of any of the five generals in the army, and in the opinion of many, is superior to them all. His reports are written with great vigour, and a degree of elegance which shows that in the turmoil of the camp, he is not unmindful of the graces of literature.

As a strategist he enjoys a very high reputation among military men. In his operations he regards masses and general results, rather than isolated bodies and mere temporary effects. And hence the opinion prevails with some that he lacks energy and enterprise. This, however, is a great mistake. No man is more watchful of his adversary, or more ready to strike when the right time comes; and when he does strike he delivers the blow of a giant. He sees but little advantage in picking off a man here and there, or in precipitating small bodies of men against each other. Instead of fritting away his strength, he seeks rather to husband it until the auspicious moment arrives, and then he goes to work with an energy and resolution that is wonderful.

For the same reason he is considered one of the best fighters in the whole army. General Lee fights a good deal by manoeuvres. One step is made to lead another. The advantage gained here is the prelude to another on a different part of the field; until having attained certain positions and accomplished certain results, he presses forward against the vital point with a vigour and resolution that carry everything before them. Johnston orders the battle after the same fashion, and enters the field with the same purposes, but when he gets fully into the fight, and his blood is once up, he strikes out right and left, and with a rapidity and skill that are perfectly irresistible. He is not content with commanding on the field, but, like the deceased Irishman, when the bottle was passing around at his own funeral, he insists upon taking a hand himself.

When Jackson got into position, and the battle was fully joined in front of Richmond, certain victory was the assured result of Lee's masterly combinations. And at the second battle of Manassas, when Jackson was hard pressed on the left and asked for assistance, Lee, instead of sending it to him, and thus weakening his force elsewhere, pressed Longstreet forward on the right, threw the enemy's left wing into confusion, and thus relieved Jackson more effectually and in less time than if he had sent him reinforcements. Johnson, on the contrary, had a well-matured plan of battle at the Seven Pines, but it was simple and direct. He struck right at the centre of the enemy, intending to pierce his lines, capture the force on this side of the Chickahominy, and then drive the remainder on the east side into the York and Pamunkey Rivers.

When McClellan moved his army to the Peninsula last spring, it is said that Johnston, then in command of the Army of the Potomac, was in favour of taking up his position behind the Chickahominy, and not going to Yorktown at all. The President preferred the position at Yorktown, however, and accordingly the army was moved down to Magruder's lines. The night of his arrival there Johnston held a council of war, at which Toombs said, "We must fight to-morrow, or retreat to-night." All our forces had then come up, whilst McClellan's army, already enormous, was receiving fresh additions every day. Johnston agreed with Toombs, but kept his army there fourteen days, chiefly in deference to the President, until McClellan got ready to offer him battle, when he broke up his camp and marched back to Richmond. It was during this retreat that the battle of Williamsburg was fought by Longstreet, who brought up the rear.

In a previous letter in relation to the contest before Richmond, and the parts taken by Johnston and Lee, a mistake occurred, which it is proper to correct. Persons who participated in that contest, and who were in a position to be well informed, say Johnston did ask that Jackson might be sent to him from the Valley of the Shenandoah, and Holmes from the south side of James River. If this be true, then Johnston is entitled to the credit of having first suggested that master stroke of the campaign. To Lee, however, belongs all the honour and glory due to his brilliant plan of battle and the manner in which it was executed.

GENERAL LONGSTREET.

General Longstreet is, I believe, a native of South Carolina, and looks to be about forty years of age. He is at least six feet high, weighs about 220 lbs., wears a heavy brown beard, and is withal one of the finest looking men in the army. He is a man of simple habits and modest deportment; seems anxious to do his duty without stopping to consider what the public will think of him; and never does or says anything to catch the popular applause or cut a figure in the newspapers. Thus far he has never been entrusted with a separate command, as Jackson was in the Valley of the Shenandoah last spring, and, consequently, he has never had an opportunity to display his ability as a commander. It is only as a fighter that he is known, and even in this respect less is known of him by

the people than of any other officer who has rendered the same important services. Whether this ignorance is justly ascribable to the singular reticence of the press towards so meritorious an officer, or to his own modest behaviour, I am unable to decide. This much, however, may be asserted with absolute certainty: he is satisfied, like General Lee, to discharge his duty, and leave the public to judge of his performances as they please, believing their final judgment will be just and truthful.

As a fighter, General Longstreet stands second to no man in the army. Indeed, I have heard that General Lee considers him "the best fighter in the world." The latter reposes the most unlimited confidence in his coolness, skill, and courage, and leans upon his broad shoulders and clear strong judgment with a sense of the utmost security. This feeling is shared by his entire corps, and by the whole army. It is but just to add, that Longstreet combines, in an eminent degree, the qualities of a great soldier, viz.: the spirit and dash to storm a formidable position; the stubborn courage and cool judgment to maintain his ground against superior numbers, and make the best disposition of his own forces; and the skill and ability to control and direct an army.

General Longstreet has been attached to the Army of the Potomac, or of Northern Virginia, as it is sometimes called, ever since the war commenced. He first commanded a brigade under Beauregard, was subsequently made a Major-General under Johnston, and now holds the position of Lieutenant-General under Lee—all of them masters of the art of war, though in different degrees. This admirable schooling has been of great advantage to him, and of equal importance to the country, since it has prepared and fitted him to take command of the army should anything occur to deprive it of its present unrivalled leader.

It is said that Longstreet was willing to cross the Potomac and march upon Baltimore with an army of 70,000 men. General Lee found it necessary, owing to the rapidity of his march, the intensity of the heat, and the unfavourable condition of the troops, to cross with a smaller number and to fight the battle of Sharpsburg with less than 40,000 men.

HONOUR TO WHOM HONOUR IS DUE.

Extracts from a sermon delivered at Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, September 18th, 1862, being Thanksgiving Day, by the Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia:—

WOMAN'S HEROISM.

* * * The attitude of woman is sublime. Bearing all the sacrifices of which I have just spoken, she is moreover called upon to suffer in her affections, to be wounded and smitten where she feels deepest and most enduringly. Man goes to the battle-field, but woman tends him there, even though her heart-strings tremble while she gives the farewell kiss and the farewell blessing. Man is supported by the necessity of movement, by the excitement of action, by the hope of honour, by the glory of conquest. Woman remains at home to suffer, to bear the cruel torture of suspense, to tremble when the battle has been fought, and the news of the slaughter is flashing over the electric wire, to know that defeat will cover her with dishonour and her little one with ruin, to learn that the husband she devoted upon, the son whom she cherished in her bosom, and upon whom she never let the wind blow too rudely, the brother with whom she sported through all her happy days of childhood, the lover to whom her early vows were pledged, has died upon some distant battle-field, and lies there a mangled corpse, unknown and uncared for, never to be seen again even in death! Oh! those fearful lists of the wounded and the dead! How carelessly we pass them over, unless our own loved ones happen to be linked with them in military association, and yet each name in that roll of slaughter carries a fatal pang to some woman's heart—some noble, devoted, woman's heart. But she bears it all and bows submissive to the stroke. "He died for the cause. He perished for his country. I would not have it otherwise, but I should like to have given the dying boy my blessing, the expiring husband my last kiss of affection, the bleeding lover the comfort of knowing that I knelt beside him."

THE PRIVATE SOLDIER OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

And when we turn to our armies, truly these victories are the victories of the privates. God forbid that I should take one atom of honour or of praise from those who led our hosts upon those days of glory—from the accomplished and skilful Lee, the admirable Crichton of our armies—from the God-fearing and indomitable Jackson, upon whose prayer-bedewed banner victory seems to wait—from the intrepid Stuart, whose cavalry charges imitate those of Murat; from that great host of Generals who swarm around our country's flag as Napoleon's Marshals did around the Imperial Eagle; but nevertheless our victories are the victories of the privates. It is the enthusiastic dash of their onsets, the fearless bravery with which they rush even to the cannon's mouth, the utter recklessness of life, if so be that its sacrifice may only lead to victory, the heartfelt impression that the cause is the cause of every man, and that success is a necessity. What intense honour do I feel for the private soldier! The officers may have motives other than the cause—the private soldier can have none. He knows that his valour must pass unnoticed, save in the narrow circle of his company; that his sacrifice can bring no honour to his name, no reputation to his family; that if he survives he lives only to enter upon new dangers with the same hopelessness of distinction; that if he dies he will receive nothing but an unmarked grave, and yet is he proud to do his duty and to maintain his part in the destructive conflict. His comrades fall around him thick and fast, but, with a sigh and tear, he closes his ranks and presses on to a like destiny. Truly, the first monument which our Confederacy rears, when our independence shall have been won, should be a lofty shaft, pure and spotless, bearing this inscription:

"TO THE UNKNOWN AND UNRECORDED DEAD."

THE "PILGRIM FATHERS" AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

This is a Yankee war—a war compounded of equal parts of avarice and bigotry, and sprung from those two leading characteristics of the Yankee mind. The "Mayflower" bore its germs to Plymouth Rock. That "Mayflower," so celebrated in song and so eulogised in festive speeches, proved a Pandora's box to this unhappy continent. From it leaped into active life in America the spirit of intolerance and persecution, the

spirit of meddling with other men's business, temporal and spiritual. It came with a race of men endowed with intense energies, who, fleeing from persecution in the Old World to find homes and peace among the savages and wilderness of the New, testified their thankfulness to God and the purity of their own faith by converting the asylum they found into a new field of intolerance, and themselves, from the victims of persecution, into a set of persecutors. Indians, witches, and Quakers, were the first objects of oppression and intermeddling by these God-fearing saints. Their own sufferings in the Old World had taught them nothing of the glories of Divine charity and Christian toleration. They burned and drowned, in God's name, with all the unktion of Inquisitors. They worked, and thrived, and colonized, and hived all over the continent where money was to be made and Puritanism preached. They made themselves "a nation"—"a universal Yankee nation." They drew wealth to their cold and inhospitable shores from every land and sea. They subordinated legislation and corrupted the Government for their selfish purposes. Not content with seizing the best seats of the Southern sadder, rendered fat to bursting by slave labour, and then damning to eternal perdition the owners and overseers of that labour, they carried their grasping temper into the halls of the General Congress, and in defiance of a written Constitution and eternal justice, they made its statute books groan with partial laws, with fishing bounties, navigation acts, tariff and internal improvement bills, and every sort of act to tax the South and spend the revenues at the North. And then, as if the wedge of separation was not being driven hard and fast enough between the sections, the work of destruction was aggravated and intensified by cataraacts of abuse and calumny of everything Southern, from pulpit, press, stump, the floor of Congress, lecture rooms, and the seething atmosphere of their everlasting, canting religious and benevolent societies. The wonder is, that the strong oaken fibres of the Union held out so long. It took thirty-five years of the hardest labour of these hard-working Yankees to rive the oak and make secession an accomplished fact.—And now they have deluged the land in blood, wasted their Southern gains of the best part of a century, bankrupted their Government, and destroyed liberty among themselves, in the insane effort to restore the Union, broken to pieces by their infernal selfishness, bigotry and meddlesomeness. Such is the history of the "Pilgrim Fathers" and their descendants.

RELIGION IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

The following is a copy of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Stiles, who is labouring as an Evangelist in the Southern army, to the Rev. Mr. Price, Secretary of the United Synod's Board of Missions:—

My dear Brother,—My diminutive sheet and pressing cares forbid the attempt at even a general sketch of the scenes of interest—social and spiritual—which it has been mine to witness and take part in since I left you. My only object in addressing you a note at this time is to apprise you and all sympathizing Christian brethren and sisters in Richmond, of the happy, religious condition of that part of the Army of the Potomac which lies within the range of my present observation.

At his earnest request, I preached to General Pryor's brigade last Sabbath. Upon one hour's notice he marched up 1200 or 1500 men, who listened with so much interest to a long sermon that I was not surprised to hear of such a beginning of religious interest in various regiments of the brigade, as issued in a half-way promise on my part to fall in with the proposal of the general to preach very early to his soldiers for a succession of nights. In General Lawton's brigade there is a more decided state of religious excitement. The great body of the soldiers in some of the regiments meet for prayers and exhortation every night, exhibit the deepest solemnity, and present themselves numerous for the prayers of the chaplain and the Church. Quite a pleasant number express hope in Christ. In all other portions of General Early's division (formerly General Ewell's) a similar religious sensibility prevails.

In General Trimble's, and the immediately neighbouring brigades, there is a progress, at this hour of one of the most glorious revivals I ever witnessed. Some days ago a young chaplain of the Baptist Church—as a representative of three others of the same denomination—took a long ride to solicit my co-operation, stating that a promising seriousness had sprung up within their diocese. I have now been with him three days and nights, preaching and labouring constantly with the soldiers when not on drill. The audiences and the interest have grown to glorious dimensions. It would rejoice you over deeply to glance for one instant on our night meeting in the wild woods, under a full moon, aided by the light of our side-stands. You would behold a mass of men seated on the earth all around you (I was going to say for the space of half an acre), fringed in all its circumference by a line of standing officers and soldiers—two or three deep—all exhibiting the most solemn and respectful earnestness that a Christian assembly ever displayed. An officer said to me, last night, on returning from worship, he never had witnessed such a scene, though a Presbyterian elder; especially such an abiding solemnity and delight in the services as prevented all whispering in the outskirts, leaving of the congregation, or restless change of position. I suppose, at the close of the services, we had some sixty or seventy men and officers come forward and publicly solicit an interest in our prayers, and there may have been as many more who, from the press, could not reach the stand. I have already conversed with quite a number who seem to give pleasant evidence of a return to God, and all things seem to be rapidly developing for the best.

The officers, especially Generals Jackson and Early, have modified military rules for our accommodation. I have just learned that General A. P. Hill's division enjoys as rich a dispensation of God's spirit as General Early's. Ask all the brethren and sisters to pray for us and the army at large. I would not be surprised to learn that the condition of things, above described, prevails extensively in portions of our soldiers at present out of our view. One thing more. We furnish for the want of tracts. Do write to our Petersburg brethren forthwith, and beg them to send to me, at Winchester, care of Dr. Boyd, as large a supply as they can spare. The chaplains are constantly inquiring of me on the subject, and I can see them promptly and judiciously distributed. They would be of vast assistance and consolation at present.

Have two preachings to-day. Must be done. Begging the kind remembrance of all.

P.S.—I have opened this letter the second time to inform you of the widespread of holy influence. In General Pickett's division, also, there are said to be revivals of religion.

EARL RUSSELL'S DESPATCH TO LORD COWLEY ON MEDIATION.

The following was published on Saturday last:—

EARL RUSSELL TO LORD COWLEY.

Foreign-office, Nov. 13, 1862.

My Lord,—The Count de Flahault came to the Foreign-office by appointment on Monday the 10th inst., and read to me a despatch from M. Drouyn de Lhuys relative to the civil war in North America.

In this despatch the Minister for Foreign Affairs states that Europe has followed with painful interest the struggle which has now been going on for more than a year on the American continent. He does justice to the energy and perseverance which have been displayed on both sides, but he observes that these proofs of their courage have been given at the expense of innumerable calamities and immense bloodshed.

To these accompaniments of civil conflict it is to be added the apprehension of a servile war, which would be the climax of so many irreparable misfortunes.

If these calamities affected America only, these sufferings of a friendly nation would be enough to excite the anxiety and sympathy of the Emperor. But Europe also has suffered in one of the principal branches of her industry, and her artisans have been subjected to the most cruel trials.

France and the maritime Powers have during this struggle maintained the strictest neutrality, but the sentiments by which they are animated, far from imposing on them anything like indifference, seem on the contrary to require that they should assist the two belligerent parties in an endeavour to escape from a position which appears to have no issue.

The forces of the two sides have hitherto fought with balanced success, and the latest accounts do not show any prospect of a speedy termination of the war.

These circumstances taken together would seem to favour the adoption of measures which might bring about a truce.

The Emperor of the French, therefore, is of opinion that there is now an opportunity of offering to the belligerents the good offices of the maritime Powers. He therefore proposes to her Majesty, as well as to the Emperor of Russia, that the three Courts should endeavour, both at Washington and in communication with the Confederate States, to bring about a suspension of arms for six months, during which every act of hostility, direct or indirect, should cease at sea as well as on land. This armistice might, if necessary, be renewed for a further period.

This proposal, M. Drouyn de Lhuys proceeds to say, would not imply, on the part of the three Powers, any judgment on the origin of the war, or any pressure on the negotiations or peace, which it is hoped would take place during the armistice. The three Powers would only interfere to smooth obstacles, and only within limits which the two interested parties would prescribe.

The French Government is of opinion that, even in the event of failure of immediate success, these overtures might be useful in turning the minds of men, now heated by passion, to consider the advantages of conciliation and of peace.

Such is, in substance, the proposal of the Government of the Emperor of the French, and I need hardly say that it has attracted the serious attention of her Majesty's Government.

Her Majesty is desirous of acting in concurrence with France upon the great questions now agitating the world, and upon none more than on the contingencies connected with the great struggle now going on in North America. Neither her Majesty the Queen nor the British nation will ever forget the noble and emphatic manner in which the Emperor of the French vindicated the law of nations, and assisted the cause of peace, in the instance of the seizure of the Confederate commissioners on board the Trent.

Her Majesty's Government recognize with pleasure, in the design of arresting the progress of war by friendly measures, the benevolent views and humane intentions of the Emperor.

They are also of opinion that if the steps proposed were to be taken, the concurrence of Russia would be extremely desirable.

Her Majesty's Government have, however, not been informed up to the present time that the Russian Government have agreed to co-operate with England and France on this occasion, although the Government may support the endeavours of England and France to attain the end proposed.

But is the end proposed attainable at the present moment by the course suggested by the Government of France?

Such is the question which has been anxiously and carefully examined by her Majesty's Government.

After weighing all the information which has been received from America, her Majesty's Government are led to the conclusion that there is no ground at the present moment to hope that the Federal Government would accept the proposal suggested, and a refusal from Washington at present would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer.

Her Majesty's Government think, therefore, that it would be better to watch carefully the progress of opinion in America; and if, as there appears reason to hope, it may be found to have undergone, or may undergo hereafter, any change, the three Courts might then avail themselves of such change to offer their friendly counsel, with a greater prospect than now exists of its being accepted by the two contending parties.

Her Majesty's Government will communicate to that of France any intelligence they may receive from Washington or Richmond bearing on this important subject.

Your Excellency may read this despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and give him a copy of it.—I am, &c.,

(Signed)

RUSSELL.

THE CONSERVATIVE LEADERS AND RECOGNITION.

(From the *Morning Herald* of Feb. 3rd.)

The Ministry is, as usual, much indebted to the generous and ill-requited forbearance of its opponents. Never was a political party more guiltless or factious or vexatious hostility than that which has constituted for the last four years her Majesty's opposition. Ejected from office by a purely and avowedly factious vote, obtained by intrigue and bargain among a variety of conflicting sections, which could agree in nothing but a wish to turn them out, they have scrupulously forbore to harass their opponents by any similar stratagem; nay, they have been singularly forbearing in their use of the most perfect legitimate weapons of party warfare. The Ministry has committed endless mistakes and given incessant

provocation. It has contrived, in its endeavours to conciliate the support of discontented allies, to exasperate against it, one after another, several powerful interests, any one of them strong enough, under the skilful guidance of the chiefs of opposition, to turn the scale in the House of Commons, and deprive the Ministers of further opportunities of mischief. The Conservative leaders have taken no advantage of these occasions; they have been satisfied to amend the error instead of using it; and have cared rather to defend the interests of the country than to obtain their own restoration to office. How they have been rewarded we all know. Unable to assail the principles of their adversaries with any chance of credit, and having no principles of their own to uphold, the ministerial press and the ministerial speakers in the House have directed their attacks solely against the persons of their antagonists. "Men, not measures—confidence in Lord Palmerston and hatred of Mr. Disraeli." Such has been the watchword of their parliamentary battles and the burden of all their speeches. Whatever bitterness might be shown to them in return; whatever use might be made of the innumerable blunders which have distinguished their recent policy; whatever advantage might be taken of the hostility excited by their policy of isolation in regard to America and of restless intermeddling throughout the rest of the world, they could not complain. They have deserved it thoroughly—they have done their utmost to provoke it. We cannot hope that they will appreciate the generous lenity now shown them, for they have met with it before and requited it after their kind. But the country, though perhaps a little disappointed, will understand the motives which have induced Lord Derby to treat with so much moderation and tenderness the errors of the Government, and especially that error, most disastrous in its consequences, which they committed in refusing the proposal of France for a joint interposition to stay the progress of the fratricidal war in America. Both Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury see that a splendid opportunity was there thrown away by a mixture of perversity and pusillanimity most repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen and the judgment of statesmen. But Lord Derby is willing to suppose it possible that the Ministers may have had special information not accessible to others, enabling them to discern in the French proposal a hidden danger of which the Opposition and the country are not cognisant. We should like to see that special information produced. It is tolerably certain that we know all that is known to the Ministers of the feeling and disposition of the people of the Northern States, and of the folly and feebleness of their Government; and yet no one outside the Cabinet has been able to point any real mischief that could in any case arise from a joint endeavour by England and France to persuade them to abandon untenable pretensions and terminate a useless struggle. It is for the Ministry, as Mr. F. Peel said at Bury, to prove that their refusal was well grounded, and we shall be glad to see their defence. In the meantime, the moderation of Lord Derby—who speaks of foreign affairs with the reserve and delicacy of a statesman who may ere long be answerable for their conduct, and who is careful not to embarrass himself or his country by any hasty declarations or peremptory censures—must not be construed as involving the acquittal of the culprits, or even as conveying a recommendation to mercy.

His lordship's language on the subject of recognition is distinct, precise, and severely logical; affording a striking contrast to the half-formed views and halting expressions of the Government. He considers that we have a right to recognize the Southern Confederacy, while the war continues, and is vigorously maintained by the North, only on the same footing on which we recognized the Governments of Greece and Belgium while Turkey and Holland were still able to maintain their claims, and in fact seemed likely to enforce them with only too much success. Recognition *durante bello* is, he says, legitimate "where other nations, having, in the interests of humanity, determined that a desolating warfare shall no longer be continued, agree to recognize the revolving party." So far we conceive that no one who has read history can differ from him. There is a further point, however, for consideration. "In that case," said Lord Derby, "recognition means nothing unless the powers who join it are ready to support by force of arms the claims of the state which they recognize." No one is prepared to go to war in order to set the Confederate States free from their invaders; therefore it would not be right as yet to recognize them. We are reluctantly compelled to maintain, even against Lord Derby, the opinion we have always held on this question. It is true that the recognition of Greece or Belgium would have had no effect; it would have been simply and speedily nullified by their subjugation. But no one—least of all Lord Derby—believes that the North can subdue the Confederate States. And however the fact may be, the belief of both belligerents evidently is that the mere recognition of those States by England and France would mean a great deal; that it would convey the moral verdict of the world upon the struggle now desolating America, and would produce such an effect upon the Northern people, already divided and hesitating, as probably to induce them to desist from their fruitless enterprise. Therefore we think that, on Lord Derby's own principle, recognition in this case would be legitimate. It would need no recourse to arms, for it would probably accomplish its work without any such appeal. And though the speech of the Conservative leader makes it useless at present to urge a measure which the Ministry dare not, and which he will not undertake, we do not believe that many months will pass before whoever is then Minister of the Queen will be forced to reconsider the matter. Public opinion is in England omnipotent, and public opinion has for the last year been every day turning more and more strongly in favour of recognition.

The only defence of their American policy which the Ministers can make is, that they desire, at any cost, to avoid irritating the North. This is a poor and cowardly argument; but, what is worse, it is also an untrue one. As Mr. Disraeli said, though the Ministers have stuck to their policy of non-intervention and non-recognition, their language has not been in accordance with that policy. They have been constantly contradicting one another; but they have contrived individually to say very little to soothe and very much to exasperate the insane hatred of the Northern people, and of the Republican party especially, towards England. One of them has told us that the North is fighting for empire and the South for independence. Another, that the leaders of the Confederacy have made an army, are making a navy, and, what is more, have made a nation. A subordinate declares that the Lord of Hosts is on the side of the South. It is to be thought that speeches like these are not quite as exasperating to the North as the recognition of the Confederate States would be; or that their effect is to be done away by the legal doubts of Sir G. Lewis or the warm sympathy of poor Mr. Milner Gibson? The only impression which can be produced abroad by the language and the conduct of our Ministers is

that their hostility to the North is only held in check by their fear of her vengeance. And if we are to have a policy of strict inaction, in the name of national dignity let the Government also learn the policy of decorous reticence.

THE VIRGINIA STATE LINE.

The following is an official account of the operations of the Virginia State troops:—

Headquarters Virginia State Line, Camp Clarkson, Tazewell County, December 17, 1862.

His Excellency, John Letcher, Governor of Virginia.

Sir,—After my last communication to you I prepared an expedition consisting of a strong force of cavalry under Colonel John Clarkson, to operate against the enemy in the counties of Wayne, Cabell, &c. He set out from Chapmansville on the 14th of November, in the direction of Cabell down the Guyandotte River, over a rough and difficult road. The following day he fell in with a detachment of the enemy, which he quickly routed and dispersed. He continued the march until within a few miles of the Ohio River, breaking up the "Home Guard" organization of the enemy, which are very numerous in all that country, and taking prisoners every day.

A strong guard of Yankee troops, acting as a guard for the Pierpont Assessor for the county of Wayne, were attacked and dispersed after a short skirmish, in which was killed and wounded some of the enemy, and took a few prisoners. Colonel Clarkson proceeded then, according to the previous directions given him, to the Sandy River, to attack a large and formidable organization of the enemy composed mainly of the native population, and very strongly posted amidst the cliffs and forests upon the precipitous banks of that river. He succeeded in taking them by surprise completely, and after killing and wounding a number of them took a large number of prisoners, and surprised entirely the rest of the force. This force and organization were formidable and extremely dangerous to the peace and quiet of all the country round about for many miles, the loyal people were nearly all driven from their country, and all were robbed. After that, Colonel Clarkson, according to previous understanding, made a junction with me at the mouth of Pigeon Creek, in Logan County, on the Kentucky border, whither I had gone with the infantry and a section of the mounted howitzer battery.

I learned from Colonel Clarkson that the enemy had started a number of boats, with valuable supplies, from the mouth of Sandy to a post recently established at Pikeville, a point at the head of navigation on the Louisa fork of Sandy. These boats were in charge of a strong guard, and were intended to furnish a complete outfit for a force deemed sufficient for them, by their commander, to march upon and destroy the salt works in Smyth and Washington counties.

I determined at once to attack this train, and from its distance, being more than forty miles off, it became necessary to send mounted men. Besides this reason, I found it inconvenient to move the infantry in that direction, on account of the number of prisoners with which we were encumbered. The cavalry and mounted men were put in motion within an hour, and proceeded upon the march, which was uninterrupted, day or night, until the enemy were overtaken, attacked and routed.

Our people captured ten of the enemy's transport boats, laden with valuable supplies. A great deal of these supplies was distributed amongst the men, and much of them was brought off; but a very large amount of most valuable supplies was necessarily destroyed for want of transportation to bring them away. A train of 100 pack mules would have brought away a very large amount of extremely valuable stores, which were committed to the fire and the river.

The night following the capture of these boats (indeed, just twelve hours after the attack upon the boats), our forces engaged that of Colonel Dilts, posted in an extremely strong position on the summit of a mountain on the road leading from Prestonsburg to Pikeville. This position was taken and held without any knowledge on our part, and as the attack was made after the night, and entirely unexpected, we were taken at a great disadvantage. But our men behaved with great steadiness and resolution, received the attack and charged the enemy, driving him from his position, and dispersing them entirely. The rout was complete, and the post at Pikeville, consisting of a thousand men, was entirely broken up. The prisoners and the Union people in that neighbourhood reported Colonel Dilts as killed in the fight that night.

For more detailed statements of this expedition I refer you to the report of Colonel Clarkson. In our operations through the country, we made a number of recruits in the counties of Cabell, Wayne, Logan, &c.

My object in this campaign was, as far as possible, to prevent the occupation by the Yankee forces, of the country between Kanawha Valley and Kentucky border, as well as to destroy the military organization of the country under the traitor Government at Wheeling. Both objects were fully attained, as long as I was able to remain in the country. The military organizations, very numerous and well appointed in every particular, were almost entirely destroyed and the attempts to set up the spurious Government were entirely foiled.

I was compelled to leave the country, held by me for more than three months alone, for the want of Quartermaster's supplies. We were without tents, or clothing, or cooking utensils, or axes, and after the inclement weather of winter set in, we could no longer remain in the field. With these stores supplied, I would have remained in that country throughout the winter months. We were able to procure food (meat and bread, in the country, nearly all of it taken from the enemy.

The campaign, from first to last, was one of hardship and privations, but they were borne without complaint by the men, who are unsurpassed in hardship, activity, and capability to endure privations. They deserve great praise for their constancy and general good conduct.

The officers generally deserve commendation, but to Colonel Clarkson too much credit cannot be given for his energy, activity, and courage. The obstacles he encountered, of every sort, throughout these expeditions, were of the most formidable character, but they were also most gallantly surmounted.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN B. FLOYD,

Major-General Commanding Virginia State Line.

GENERAL STUART AS A TELEGRAPHER.

From the *Richmond Whig*,

We saw at the office of the Southern Telegraphic Company, in this city, the superior telegraphic operating instrument which General Stuart used in his late expedition to communicate with Quartermaster-General Meigs, at Washington. Since the Yankee papers have had a good deal to say about this achievement of our Virginian cavalier, we append his letter to Dr. Morris, giving a correct statement of the capture:

Dr. W. S. Morris, President Southern Telegraph Company, Richmond:

Sir,—I have the honour to send, through the courtesy of Major John Pelham, my chief of artillery, an instrument captured at Burke's Station, Ohio and Alexandria Railroad, during my late expedition. I beg that you will accept it as a token of regard appropriate to your position. We surprised the operator, and my operator, Shepperd, took his place. I sat in the office some time while Shepperd read the wild alarms flashing over the wires about our operations, and ascertained the steps taken and means at hand of resisting me, and then shaped my course accordingly. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. E. B. STUART,
Major-General of Cavalry.

THE FEDERAL GENERALS AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, December 20.)

It is almost impossible to form any opinion as to the probability of Yankee action under the mortification of defeat. But if the past is to form any criticism for the future, Burnside will not only be decapitated, like his predecessors, McDowell, Scott, McClellan, Pope, and Buell, but "drawn and quartered," if political butchery can invent the means.

The present war, so far as the Yankees are concerned, has witnessed more sudden changes of commanding officers than any other war of the world.

A Government like that of the United States, based upon the universal suffrage of a vacillating and inconstant people, is ever under the strain to avert popular feeling and disappointment from itself to some one else; as long as success attends its efforts, all goes "as merry as a marriage bell," but whenever disaster and defeat has overtaken its army, the inconstant rabble, thoughtless and incapable of reflection, immediately growl complaints, and the Government seeks to shift the responsibility from itself to the head of the unfortunate commander. Such weakness on the part of the rulers, and such inconstancy on the part of the people, and such unfairness and dishonesty on the part of both, argues a national instability that foreign Governments cannot fail to observe, and upon which, in due time, they will have to act.

The defeat of the United States' army at Bull Run was not chargeable to Scott and McDowell; they had shown military capacity in no ordinary degree, and the future history of that campaign will do justice to the ability and generalship of these commanders; and yet a weak and frightened Administration sacrificed those officers to appease a restless and unreasoning country. McClellan, who had risen into notice by reason of the battle of Rich Mountain, was made to supersede McDowell and Scott. The battles of Yorktown, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Mechanicsville, Gaines Mill, Savage Station, Malvern Hill, and Sharpsburg, all fought under his command, and all claimed as victories, nevertheless resulted in his decapitation, and Pope was invested with supreme command. Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock, Thoroughfare, Manassas, and Chantilly—all victories—resulted in superseding of the hero whose "headquarters was in the saddle."

Buell, whose advance from the Ohio was attended with the victories of Forts Henry, Donaldson, Columbus, Island No. 10, Shiloh, and Sperryville, has also fallen, and, like McDowell, is now before a court martial.

With such a retrospect, what standard shall measure the humiliation in store for Burnside? Will he be sent to New Jersey, the Botany Bay for Federal commanders, or to Minnesota, the Siberia of the United States, or will he be brought before a court martial, like McDowell, Porter, and Buell?

We make these inquiries not from any particular interest in the fate of Burnside, but calling attention to the instability and vacillation of the United States and congratulating the people of the Confederate States upon their escape from association with a people whom adversity throws into such paroxysms of excitement as to compel their Government to act with insensate animosity against officers who have done as well with the troops furnished them, as a real Napoleon or Wellington could have done. "A nation of Sovereigns" cannot be expected to stand killing at the command of one of their temporary commanders. They vote themselves out whenever the fire of the enemy becomes "more than human nature can stand," and their soldiers are both the judges to determine upon, and the sovereigns to execute the backward movement.

Universal suffrage exercised on the battle-field, under the fire of an enemy, will always, like a council of war, end in "falling back." No efforts of company, field or brigade-officers can stay the movement or countermand the orders of the "Sovereigns;" they have voted themselves out, and out they go, McClellan or Burnside to the contrary notwithstanding.

To cover up and conceal a defect of national character, resulting from universal suffrage exercised by *aliens* and *foreigners* just from Europe, fighting for pay, and feeling no interest in the war nor pride in the country, the Administration at Washington have unhesitatingly disgraced every commander who has evinced any ability, until the command of their army devolved upon Burnside. To judge of his ability as a commander, it is only necessary to state that from the balcony of the "Phillip's House," in Stafford County, he sent his troops to the fight in columns of attack "doubled on the centre," thus furnishing ready food for every musket ball, cannon ball, slug, schrapnel, canister and fragment of shell, discharged by the Confederate army. Universal suffrage has nearly brought about the universal destruction of the Yankee army.

WHEN THE STATES SECEDED.—Frequent inquiries are made as to when the Acts of Secession were passed by the several States. South Carolina Seceded December 20, 1860; Mississippi, January 9, 1861; Alabama and Florida, January 11, 1861; Georgia, January 19, 1861; Louisiana, January 26, 1861; Texas, February 1, 1861; Virginia, April 17, 1861; Arkansas, May 6, 1861; North Carolina, May 20, 1861. Tennessee passed the Ordinance of Secession May 6, and it was ratified by the people June 8, 1861.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The smallest success is thankfully received by the Federals. If they occupy an undefended village, or seize a few negroes from an unprotected plantation, or capture a merchant vessel, they are in ecstasies. But their joy is short-lived. Before the news is a day old, comes the report of some considerable disaster from the same quarter. On the 29th of January the British steamer *Princess Royal* was captured by the Federals whilst attempting to run the blockade into Charleston. There was on board a valuable cargo, including warlike stores. The despatches were saved by the pilot and some of the crew, who escaped in boats to Charleston. The Northern papers manifested what we must consider rather immoderate joy, seeing that the blockade of Charleston has been evaded with great regularity, and that, in the very nature of things, vessels engaged in the enterprise must now and then fall into the hands of the Federal fleet. The capture of the merchantman was rather more than avenged the next day. On the 30th of January, one Federal gunboat was captured at Stono River, and another crippled. The following is the telegraphic report of the affair which appeared in the *Richmond Examiner* of the 31st of January:—

Charleston, Jan. 30, 1863.

The Federal gunboat I. P. Smith, carrying eleven guns and 230 men, surrendered unconditionally to our forces this afternoon, after a sharp engagement, at Stono River. The enemy's loss is heavy. Only one man was wounded on our side. Another gunboat escaped in a crippled condition. Our forces were under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bates.

The I. P. Smith, with her heavy armament stores, and crew, is a considerable capture. No particulars are given of the gunboat which was damaged. But for the numerous Federal naval disasters that have lately occurred, this affair on the Stono River would have created some impression on either side of the Atlantic. It seems as if the Confederate navy, as well as the Confederate army, is to be recruited from the enemy. The Federal capture of the British merchantman *Princess Royal* became a mere foil to show off the next day's capture of the gunboat I. P. Smith; but this achievement of the 30th of January is thrown into the shade by the naval battle off Charleston on the 31st of January, and which resulted in legally raising the blockade of that port. Although until this moment no details of the engagement have reached us, the telegraphic summary is

sufficiently explicit to acquaint us with the main incidents.

At 1 o'clock, a.m., on 31st of January, two Confederate iron-clad gunboats, accompanied by three steamers, left the port of Charleston for the purpose of attacking the blockading squadron. The engagement did not commence till 4 o'clock, and probably was as short as it was incontestably decisive. Of the blockading squadron, consisting of thirteen vessels, including two first-class frigates—the gunboat *Mercedita*, carrying eleven guns, and another gunboat, were sunk; four Federal vessels were burnt; the steamer *Quaker City* was partially disabled, but managed to escape with the rest of the squadron. As soon as the battle was over, the Confederate fleet returned to Charleston, and Commander Ingraham officially reported that the blockading fleet had gone out of sight. Upon this General Beauregard issued a proclamation that the Confederate fleet had attacked the blockading squadron off Charleston, and sunk, dispersed, or driven off and out of sight for the time the entire hostile fleet. He, therefore, formally declared that the blockade of Charleston by the United States was raised by the superior force of the Confederates from and after the 31st of January. He placed steamers at the disposal of the foreign Consuls to see for themselves that no blockade existed, and the British Consul went on board the steamer *Petrel* five miles beyond the usual anchorage of the blockaders, but could see nothing of them with glasses.

Late on the evening of the 31st of January four vessels of the blockading squadron reappeared off Charleston; on the 1st of February there were (according to Northern reports) twenty vessels off Charleston bar, and this force appears subsequently to have been increased by the Federal steamer *New Ironsides*. To use a familiar proverb, the Federals were trying to lock the stable door when it was too late. A new blockade may be commenced, but the old blockade existing at Charleston on the 30th of January was broken and destroyed on the 31st of January. For the law on this point we refer our readers to our leader columns.

It is stated that the foreign Consuls at Charleston have had a meeting, at which they expressed an unanimous opinion that the blockade had been legally raised. It is difficult to conceive how they could have arrived at any other conclusion. The Confederate Secretary of State has notified the raising of the Charleston blockade to the English and French Consuls at Richmond.

The New York papers appear to be stunned by the blow, and are making all kinds of shifts to get out of the difficulty. They talk of a fog, but they will not blind any, but those who went sec, by their foggy excuse.

The threats to retake Galveston were not fulfilled at the latest dates. So far from the Federals recovering the position so gallantly taken from them, they were not able to prevent the *Harriet Lane* from going to sea. A correspondent of the *New York Herald* says: "Galveston is a doomed town. The disgrace attending the capture of the *Harriet Lane* must be wiped out, and the revenge upon the butchers and captors will be awful." Big and awful words, we admit; but then, big and awful words never break bones or capture forts. There is evidently no lack of John Popes in the Federal service.

The most important news from Galveston is that General Magruder has declared the port open. The following is his proclamation:—

Galveston, Jan. 4, 1863.

Whereas, the undersigned has succeeded in capturing and destroying a part of the enemy's fleet, and in driving the remainder out of the harbour of Galveston and beyond the neighbouring waters, and the blockade having been thus effectually raised, he therefore proclaims to all concerned that

the harbour of Galveston is open for trade to all friendly nations, and their merchants are invited to resume their usual commercial intercourse with this port.

Done at Galveston, this, the 4th day of January, 1863.

J. B. MAGRUDER, Major-General Commanding

Was there a fog at Galveston as well as Charleston? It is apparent that the Federals could only make "a show" of blockading the whole of the Southern ports so long as the Confederates had not a navy.

The West India mail brings us interesting details of the sinking of the *Hatteras*. On the 20th of January, the *Alabama*, with the officers and crew of the *Hatteras* arrived at Jamaica. Captain Semmes landed his prisoners (118, including officers) and paroled them. According to the report of the *Jamaica Guardian*, gleaned from the accounts given by the officers of the *Alabama*, the Confederate steamer, when between twenty and thirty miles of Galveston, discovered a fleet of seven Federal gunboats, one of which, the *Hatteras*, immediately directed its course to her. Captain Semmes forthwith put to sea, and managed to draw his pursuer away from the fleet. When this had been accomplished, it was in the power of the swift *Alabama* to choose her time for action. At 6 o'clock in the evening the vessels were about 150 yards distant from each other. The *Hatteras* hailed the *Alabama*, and being then told that she was a British man-of-war, sent off a boat to board her. This was a signal for a broadside from the *Alabama*, to which the *Hatteras* replied without loss of time. The engagement lasted thirteen minutes, when it was found that the *Hatteras* was fast sinking. Upon this the *Alabama* lowered her boats and took off the crew, and two minutes after the last man (the captain) had left her the Federal vessel sank. The *Hatteras* was 300 tons larger than the *Alabama*, and carried nine rifled guns. The *Alabama* received seven shots, and her damages, which were slight, were being repaired at Port Royal, Jamaica.

On the 27th of January, Fort M'Allister, at Genesis Point—the mouth of the Ogeechee River, fifteen miles south of the Savannah River—was bombarded by the Federal iron-clad *Montawk*. The engagement lasted for upwards of five hours, when the *Montawk* had to retire with her turret damaged. The Northern papers assert that the *Montawk* was uninjured; but we presume she had had "enough" before beating a retreat. The Federal accounts of this transaction are pretty specimens of mystification. The funniest part of the story is that the Federal commander "lay under the enemy's fire for four hours to try his vessel." We may not have a very exalted opinion of the capacity of Yankee naval commanders; but we do not believe them such arrant fools as to put themselves under fire for four hours as an experiment, or such arrant cowards as to retreat uninjured. Northerners should for decency's sake abstain from so slandering their officers.

It has been reported, but the report cannot be traced to any reliable source, that the Florida has been destroyed. The Northern papers have called attention to the rumour by sensational headings, but they evidently do not credit it.

General Hooker, for all we know, may be an able commander; but what can he do if he has not efficient troops? If we are to credit the Republicans, when McClellan led the Army of the Potomac, the Confederates had to fight an army without a general; now they represent that the Confederates have to contend with a general without an army. The Army of the Potomac is melting away with wonderful rapidity. The desertions are on the grand scale that is the glory of Yankeedom. One corps, which ought to be 15,000 strong, could only muster 5000. Probably the rations are drawn for

the full complement; but then, drawing rations does not win battles. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that as yet General Hooker has not started for Richmond, or that "no movement is anticipated for some weeks."

There has been a battle, or rather a skirmish, near Blackwater River, Virginia. The Confederate force was under the command of General Pryor; the Federals were under the command of General Corcoran. The North claims a victory, but not in very decided terms. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* says the affair "should be remembered as a Union victory." He also says, "some of the new regiments straggled badly"; and that "our victory has been dearly bought, considering the result obtained." The Federals admit 100 killed and wounded, and that the loss of the enemy is not known, but that they "left fifty killed and wounded on the field."

The Confederates crossed the Blackwater. One notable incident is, that the 167th Pennsylvania Regiment, composed of drafted men, refused to fight, and lay down upon the ground during the entire engagement. Northern conscripts are hard to obtain, and when obtained are not particularly reliable. The Northern soldiers do not seem to have much stomach for a hopeless contest, especially as their pay is not prompt, and there is no chance of plunder.

Confederate accounts report the recapture of Holly Springs, Mississippi, by General Van Dorn, with 700 prisoners, and a large quantity of stores. A Michigan cavalry regiment is said to have been cut to pieces in the charge. In another part of our impression will be found a narrative of the Confederate incursion into this place on the 20th of December.

The Federals are working at the canal before Vicksburg; but though the water is running through it two to four feet deep, there is no sign of the canal succeeding. The nature of the ground may render it impossible, under any circumstances, to divert the course of the river, and this would seem to be the case. The Confederates have planted a battery on the Mississippi shore, in such a position as to command the outlet of the proposed canal or cut.

The clamour for the restoration of General McClellan to the command of the Army of the Potomac is increasing. Wherever he goes he is received with the greatest enthusiasm.

Mr. Simon Cameron's attempt to bribe a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature to vote for him as United States' Senator, has been fully exposed. Mr. Pryor, thinking such an effort would be made, put himself in the way, arranged to receive \$25,000 for his vote, voted against Cameron, and then published the whole affair in a letter addressed to the *Patriot* newspaper. At the final interview, Mr. Pryor relates that:—

After the bargain was concluded, Simon straightened up on his chair, rubbing his legs with his hands, saying, "Well, this ends it. I will be senator, and you shall never regret it." (Addressing himself to me)—"I will be the most powerful man in that Senate; the entire state of affairs of this Government will be changed; nothing is more certain than that the South will gain her independence (this sounded like treason), and then we will hold the control of the Government, and I will be able to serve my friends."

We do not admire the conduct of Mr. Pryor, which is nearly as bad as that of his victim. Mr. Cameron may not be worse than some of his countrymen who are held in esteem, but he has been guilty of the crime of being found out, and may possibly find it injure his political prospects. We are not sure that it will, because we have frequently seen Mr. Lincoln reward persons found guilty of breaches of public trust—as, indeed, was the case with Mr. Cameron.

Mr. Boileau has eaten humble pie, and been released from confinement. He has greatly disgusted his fellow-citizens. Never did any man give up a chance of being a hero upon such cheap terms. With a little patience and at the cost of a few days' imprisonment, Mr. Boileau would have been released, and become the favourite of his party. However, he chose to spurn the favours of Dame Fortune.

The Republicans are doing their best to induce Mr. Lincoln to send General Butler back to New Orleans.

As a specimen of the proceedings of the Reverend Abolitionists, we quote the following from a sermon delivered by the Rev. D. Bellows:—

"It is no longer a war in defence of the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. It is a war to be carried on no longer with the aim of re-establishing the Union and the Constitution with all their old compromises. God means not to let us off with any half-way work. I am now convinced, and I consider it the most humane, the most economical, and the most statesmanlike policy, now to take the most radical ground possible; to assume that this is a war for the subjugation, or the extermination, of all persons who wish to maintain the Slave Power—a war to get rid of slavery and of slaveholders, whether it be constitutional or not."

The Bill for arming negroes has passed the Federal House of Representatives, after an animated debate, by a vote of 85 to 55. As a specimen of the opposition, we may quote from the speech of the representative for Maryland:—

Mr. May (Maryland) spoke against what he characterized as an attempt to elevate the negro to an equality with the white man. Considered as a national policy, it was eminently disgraceful. The united judgment of mankind would pronounce upon it its emphatic condemnation. The example of the King of Dahomey had been presented for their imitation. That despot had an army of blacks, it was said, tremendous and invincible; but it was ferocious and merciless. The people of Maryland would recoil with abhorrence from the pending proposition, and the civilized world condemn it to unmitigated scorn.

The following is the text of the Bill:—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to enroll, arm, equip, and receive into the land and naval service of the United States, such a number of volunteers of African descent as he may deem equal to suppress the present rebellion, for such term of service as he may prescribe, not exceeding five years; the said volunteers to be organized according to the regulations of the branch of the service into which they may be enlisted, to receive the same rations, clothing, and equipments as other volunteers, and a monthly pay not to exceed that of the volunteers; to be officered by white or black persons, appointed and commissioned by the President, and to be governed by the rules and articles of war, and such other rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President: Provided that nothing herein contained, or in the rules or articles of war, shall be so construed as to authorize or permit any officer of African descent to be appointed to rank, or exercise military or naval authority over white officers, soldiers, or men, in the military or naval service of the United States; nor shall any greater pay than ten dollars per month, with their usual allowance of clothing and rations, be allowed or paid to privates or laborers of African descent, who are, or may be, in the military or naval service of the United States.

Provided further, That the slaves of the loyal citizens in the States, exempt by the President's proclamation of January 1, 1863, shall not be received into the armed service of the United States, nor shall there be recruiting offices opened in either of the States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri, without the consent of the Governors of said States having been first obtained.

In New York there has been a fall in the price of gold, it being quoted at 57, and a reaction in stocks, in consequence of the belief that the Senate will not authorize the issue of \$300,000,000 of Treasury notes, though the Bill to that effect has passed the House of Representatives. We do not see clearly how the Government is to be carried on without credit—that is, paper—seeing that it has no available funds or adequate taxes.

We elsewhere give the report of the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, of the income and expenditure since the formation of the permanent Government, until the 31st of December, 1862.

ENGLAND.

The number of paupers in the manufacturing districts has, according to the last weekly returns, been again reduced by 5700. The total diminution since the tide first turned amounts to over 47,000. We have already explained the nature of those arrangements between Poor-Law Guardians and Relief Committees, which account for a part of this change. A town has, let us say, 30,000 persons in receipt of relief. Of these 10,000 depend solely on the Relief Committee, 4000 solely on the Guardians; 16,000 are aided by both. In some few cases a division has been arranged, the Guardians undertaking the sole relief of say 10,000, while the Committee provides entirely for the remainder. This reduces the muster-roll of paupers, but indicates no revival of trade, and no improvement in the condition of the people. We believe, however, that the *bona fide* reduction of pauperism, by the re-opening of mills, and by migration, has really exceeded 30,000. This is well; but it affords no ground to hope that, while the American war lasts, Lancashire can ever become prosperous, or her manufacturing population find even half their former employment. The *Economist*, which is by no means favourable to any kind of intervention in the American dispute, but which looks at all political matters from the point of view of the higher classes of commercial men, fully recognizes this fact, and treats the continuance of distress in Lancashire as the inevitable accompaniment of a continuance. If the distress should become chronic—that is, if the war should last for another year or two—it will, in the opinion of our contemporary, be requisite that strong and general measures should be taken by Parliament to provide for the maintenance of Lancashire pauperism by Lancashire property. The occupiers cannot bear the burden; legislation must throw that burden on the owners. The *Economist* points out that the occupiers are, first, the manufacturers, the value of whose property is not merely deteriorating but absolutely held in abeyance during the continuance of the cotton-famine; and secondly, the shopkeepers and other men of the middle class dependent on the cotton trade, directly or indirectly. By the loss of wages alone, the shopkeepers lose at

least the profit on the difference between the present and former annual expenditure of the working classes. That difference is at least £6,000,000; the loss of the shopkeepers is therefore £600,000 or more—a loss perfectly ruinous to most of them. On the debate of Thursday, it says:—

The third matter that appeared pretty clear to all the speakers in the debate on Thursday, was that, if the American war was once over, the crisis might be considered as past, and that trade would ere long resume its old position, but that if on the contrary, the war should unhappily continue, it was quite impossible to foresee either the form or the dimensions which the distress might assume, or the mode in which it might be desirable and necessary to meet it. On the one side it may be argued that at all events there will be cotton enough for half-time or for half the mills and half the people; that even at the high prices that must then prevail, the markets of the world would be able to consume that reduced amount of production; that the improvements in the woollen and linen trades will absorb some of the surplus population, and that the remainder would become comparatively manageable, though doubtless, still a grievous burden. On the other hand it must be remembered that much of our estimate as to what quantity of cotton the world will buy, and what number of our workpeople will be drafted off into other trades, is purely conjectural; while it is utterly impossible to say how far the present numbers dependent on parochial assistance may be swelled when the vast number of lower middle classes of whom we have spoken shall have come upon the rates, as they are fast doing now, and must continue to do; and while the only one certain point is, that every week the crisis is prolonged, must increase both the range and the severity of the distress.

This journal formerly took a more sanguine view of Lancashire prospects than any other well-informed newspaper; and its deservedly high authority will probably have weight both with Parliament and with the public.

At a meeting of the Central Committee on Monday, Mr. Farnall read a long report, showing in detail the number of persons in each district relieved by the Poor Law Guardians and by the Committees; the usual and the actual Poor Law expenditure, and other important facts. The general result was announced to be that the Guardians were spending £16,000 per week on the relief of 222,000 persons, while 238,000 not receiving relief from the Guardians were maintained by the Committees; which, as they had also to supplement in many cases the aid given from the poor rates, were expending £23,000 a week. Mr. Platt, a large manufacturer at Oldham, took an opportunity of recommending the use of Surat. It appeared to him, he said, that a great deal might be done by millowners for the employment of the workpeople if they would only be at a little extra trouble and, perhaps, a little more expense in manufacturing Indian cotton in preference to shutting up their mills and relying so exclusively upon the reappearance of American cotton in the market. The general result of the statistics which he had collected from a number of mills that had been working Indian cotton for six months past was as follows:—The loss in working that kind of cotton had been from 15 to 25 per cent., according to the quality used; the loss upon the working of middling Orleans being from 10 to 15 per cent. The last shipments of American cotton received in this country were no better than Indian cotton. In one mill which he inspected they were spinning 32s, and the loss from working Indian cotton over a period of six months did not exceed 15 per cent., which was the allowance usually made for American. Taking the average of 100 mills spinning Indian cotton, over the same period of six months, and working full time, the loss in quantity was 9 per cent., the weekly wages paid being the same; or, in other words, the master was paying really 9 per cent. more for his work, although the operatives received no more than they would if he paid no such excess.

Several members of the Committee dissented from the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Platt.

The Parliamentary debates have been dull this week. Neither party is prepared for a political battle; and since the Address, no favourable opportunity has presented itself for even a party skirmish. On one or two unimportant divisions the Government have been beaten; but this has been principally through the defection of their Radical allies. Nothing can be done on the American question, for Lord Derby is hopelessly committed. Lord Russell will be sneered at and worried for months to come about his impertinence to Denmark; but nobody will venture to provoke a debate on the Schleswig-Holstein question, which, as Mr. Disraeli remarked, scarcely any man can understand. He will not soon hear the last of his invitation to the Pope; but as nothing came of it, it would be useless to raise a formal debate on the subject. The Brazilian despatches are not yet published. Rumour states that Lord Russell is trying to heal the quarrel, and come to a final settlement with the Brazilian ambassador before producing them. Should he fail, it is probable that the production of the papers will be the signal for an angry discussion, if not for a great party contest.

Convocation—the Parliament of the Church—intends to take measures to condemn or punish the

heretical work of the Bishop of Natal. A Committee to inquire into the character of that book, and the steps which should be taken in regard to it, has been appointed in the Lower House, by permission of the Upper. The press generally takes part with the offender, not sufficiently considering the position he has assumed. Any man has a right to think what he pleases, and to write what he pleases, so far as this world's judgment is concerned; and whatever be the moral guilt involved in the publication of a weak and silly book on a grave theological question, its punishment should be left to a higher tribunal than any which can try the sinner while he still lives. But no dignitary of the Church can honourably make use of his position to give effect to his attacks on Church doctrine; no man can, without wicked and wilful dishonesty, take the Church's pay to fight against her. This is what Bishop Colenso has done. And if his book did not show a degree of intellectual confusion which permits us to ascribe his moral error rather to obliquity of vision than to clear-sighted perversity, we should be compelled to condemn his conduct as that of a traitor and a man devoid of honour. As it is, we simply condemn him as a man muddle-headed, alike in moral and historical criticism. But we can have no sympathy with him until he resigns the trust he has so grossly abused. Neither he, nor the Essayists and Reviewers, have behaved with the honour and loyalty which we expect from all who bear the name of gentlemen, whether clergymen or mere men of the world. If Convocation have the legal power to censure their behaviour or drive them from the Church, it does no more than its duty in doing all it can to effect that end.

A rather interesting case has been tried in the Court of Chancery. The British ship *Warbler* was mortgaged in Liverpool. The mortgagors became bankrupt while the *Warbler* was in New Orleans. She was attached by creditors there, and claimed by the mortgagees. The District Court of Louisiana ignored their claim, declaring that the law of Louisiana did not take cognizance of mortgages of chattels. The ship was sold, and returned to Liverpool in the hands of her new owner. There she was claimed by the mortgagees. The purchaser asserted his absolute title under the Louisiana sale. The court decided in favour of the mortgagees, observing that the Louisiana court had confused the distribution of assets with the right of property; and had, in refusing to recognize a British mortgage of a British ship, and thus, ignoring the *lex loci contractus*, been guilty of a violation of that "international comity," which could alone entitle its decrees to any respect in England. It seems to us that the English decision is clearly right, both in justice and in law. The Louisiana court had no right to confiscate the mortgagees' property in the ship (a British one), on the ground that such a peculiar form of property was not known to the law of Louisiana.

The Prince of Wales was admitted a member of the Fishmongers' Company (one of the richest of the old guilds of the City of London), on Thursday last. He was received at Fishmongers' Hall by Lord Clyde and the Wardens of the Company, and subscribed the usual declaration; which was then placed in a casket of gold, along with the certificate constituting the Prince a Freeman of the Company. The casket, splendidly emblazoned, was presented to his Royal Highness by Mr. Cubitt. The Prince replied to the address of that gentleman in the following terms:—

Mr. Cubitt and Gentlemen,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I find myself called upon to return my sincere thanks to you, sir, as Prime Warden, and to you, gentlemen of the Court of Assistants, of this honourable and ancient Company of Fishmongers, for the complimentary and kind terms in which you have expressed yourselves towards me on the occasion of my taking up my freedom, and on your enrolling my name as a citizen with those illustrious personages and relatives who stand recorded in your annals. It cannot be otherwise than a source of pride, and of a still deeper feeling, that of affection, when I look on these walls and see the portraits of those whose son and grandson hopes to form one of your distinguished body; and to be thought worthy of occupying the place of that lamented parent whose loss the whole country has united in deploring would be in itself an object of my highest ambition. Gentlemen,—Let me also tender to you my warmest acknowledgments for the manner in which you have offered your congratulations to me on my approaching marriage, and to the young Princess who hopes so soon to adopt the proud title of an Englishwoman, and to prove herself a comfort to the Queen in her affliction.

A collation followed, at which the healths of the Queen and the Prince were drunk. His Royal Highness acknowledged the compliment only by a bow, and retired immediately afterwards.

The Home Office Circular on penal servitude, referred to last week in Parliament, has been published. It refers to a circular dated 27th June, 1857, and fixing the proportions of various terms of penal servitude to be undergone in solitary confinement and in "hard labour" on public works, and the proportion which may be remitted by a ticket of leave; and simply adds that such remission shall

not henceforth be granted to convicts sentenced to penal servitude for a second time.

Sir William Armstrong, the inventor of the famous gun which bears his name, has resigned his situation under Government, and joined his friends of the Elswick Ordnance Company. The reason appears to be that the Government has withdrawn from that company its contract for the manufacture of ordnance. It is said that the step has no connection with the trials that have recently taken place between different forms of cannon, and was wholly unexpected by the War Office.

Mr. Bousfield Ferrand, Conservative, has been returned for Devonport, a dockyard borough, defeating the Ministerial candidate, who is a Lord of the Admiralty. This is considered a great triumph for the Opposition.

The place of the late Captain Gladstone, the brother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Conservative member for Devizes, has been filled by the election of the Honourable Mr. Addington, another Conservative. The other candidates were Mr. Probyn (Whig) and a Jew named Israel Abrahams, who "went in" for very extreme Radical dogmas and received only six votes. Devizes is certainly behind the age.

On Wednesday evening a meeting of the "Emancipation Society," was held at St. James's Hall. A third part of the hall was set apart for those who were willing to pay a shilling admission, the rest of the place was free to those who were willing to agree to everything that was said. Some persons who were foolish enough to express dissent were "ignominiously" turned out. Mr. George Thompson moved a resolution condemning the Lord Mayor for inviting Mr. Mason to the Mansion House, and, according to the report of the *Daily News*, "denounced Mr. Mason, contending that the 'Newgate Calendar' did not contain the name of so black a felon, so dire an enemy of God and man, as he who was entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor. (Loud cheers.) A man stealer and a fugitive slave kidnapper, as Mr. Mason was, was unworthy to unloose the latchet of any gentlemanly highwayman in the land. (Immense cheering.)" The *Times* happily describes the persons who have arrogated to themselves the title of "The Emancipation Society" as "the very small dogs who have taken possession of the old lion's den."

EUROPE.

The area of the Polish insurrection is undoubtedly extending. The Russian Government has found it necessary to put the whole of the districts of Wilna and Grodno in a state of siege, and the Governors of Volhynia and Podolia have been empowered to take the same step with respect to those provinces. The insurrection is, therefore, eating its way into the Russian empire. The provinces we have named, although quite as much Polish as those aggregated under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, have always been treated by the Czars as integral portions of the empire, and it is only within the last two years that they have given the Government much trouble. That the force of the insurrection is augmenting with the extension of its area is not so clear. It is difficult to get at the truth from the very contradictory and confused accounts which reach us, but their general tenor leads to the conclusion that wherever the insurgents and the Russian troops have met in large numbers the victory has been on the side of the Russians. And whilst the larger detachments of insurgents have been defeated, it does not appear that the insurrection, although very widely extended, is general. The appearance of a few bands in every province is all that we can learn with certainty; the peasants do not seem to have joined the insurgents in any number. The principal fight which has yet taken place occurred in the Government of Grodno, at Siemiatyze, not far from the River Bug, which there forms the frontier between the Kingdom of Poland and the empire. The insurgents are said to have been 5000 strong, to have lost 1000 killed and wounded, and to have been entirely dispersed. Since the dispersion of this division the largest force seems to be that which is encamped on a mountain ridge near Slupia in the Palatinate of Sandomir, and numbers 5000 men, under the command of Langiewicz, the only insurgent leader whose identity is at all clearly established. A later telegram from Warsaw announces that the Russians have attacked and dispersed this body of insurgents. A hundred are said to have been killed, and eleven baggage waggons, together with three wooden caissons, are reported to have fallen into the hands of the victors.

It may turn out that the insurgents have only dispersed to unite again, and that the retirement of the Russians will be followed by the resumption of their old position. In this southern part of the

kingdom, and again in the provinces bordering on Russia, the strength of the insurgents lies. We hear little or nothing of them in the provinces which border upon East and West Prussia and Posen. The Russian soldiers are said to act with the utmost brutality. They desolate the whole country, sparing neither age or sex. Of course these statements must be received with caution; it is the interest of the Poles and their friends to influence public opinion against Russia; on the other hand, such conduct is quite consistent with the character of the men and the system of the Russian Government. If true, it is important as evidence that however disaffected the officers of the Russian army may be, the men have no sympathy for the Poles and no disgust at the work of repression assigned them.

The attitude of Austria to the Polish insurrection appears to have occasioned great dissatisfaction at St. Petersburg. Prince Gortschakoff is said to have complained very strongly of the encouragement given to the outbreak by the connivance of the Austrian authorities at the exportation of arms over the Galician frontier. The charge is no doubt a groundless one; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Austrian Government has not shown any great anxiety for the suppression of the insurrection. It entertains no apprehension of an outbreak in its own Polish possessions. As a Catholic Power, Austria has always had a better hold upon the Poles than her partners in the partition—she is sure of the clergy, and that counts for very much. The Pope is said to have sent instructions to the Bishops of Galicia to exert all their influence on behalf of Austrian authority.

Prussia has signed a convention with Russia, the exact terms of which have not been published. It would seem, however, to provide for the transport of Russian soldiers over Prussian territory, and assistance to those who may be driven over the frontier by the insurgents; probably it contains a stipulation for an active intervention in certain contingencies. The Prussian Government is forwarding troops as fast as it can to all points of the frontier, and Herr von Bismarck-Schonhausen has declared in reply to an interpellation in the House of Deputies, that the aim of the movement is the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom in its ancient limits, and that, according to official information, a precisely similar movement to that now going on in Russia is preparing in Prussian territory.

A great deal of invective has been lavished, in anticipation, upon the intervention of Prussia in the Polish insurrection. Now, it is all very well to sympathize with the Poles, and the King of Prussia is not a sovereign whose measures claim any very indulgent criticism, but it ought to be remembered that this insurrection threatens Prussia quite as much as it does Russia, and that success in Russian Poland would inevitably be followed by an attempt to liberate the Poles under Prussian yoke. The Poles allow no prescription; they claim every inch of territory which at any time formed part of the Polish kingdom. They have openly avowed that they mean to take, if they can, the parts of Silesia, which belonged to them, as well as Posen and West Prussia. Indeed, if they wish to be a nation, they can hardly do without Dantzic. Well, Prussia has no idea of giving up these conquests, and we cannot see that it is desirable she should; they are more than half German now; and with all sympathy for the Poles, we must allow that the industrious Germans are better stewards than they are. Prussia will not give up these provinces, and the avowed object of the Poles is to get them. Already West Prussia and the Silesian frontier are in a state of great agitation and excitement. It may well occur to the Prussian Government that self-preservation suggests its cordial action with Russia at this moment.

Nam tua res agitur paries dum proximus ardet.

A very absurd rumour has been spread by the Continental paper which is the chief hatcher of canards, to the effect that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has strongly remonstrated against the conclusion of the Prussian-Russian convention as a breach of non-intervention on the part of Prussia. M. Drouyn de Lhuys has certainly done no such thing; Prussia violates no neutrality, no international law, in aiding Russia to suppress a movement which threatens both States. Probably enough, the French Minister has expressed the regret of the Emperor at the horrors which have been enacted in Poland, and has urged upon Prussia, as well as Russia, justice and mercy to the Poles. That is all he can fairly do, unless he means to bring up the Treaties of 1815, which France assuredly is not inclined to treat as valid, and demands from the Emperor of Russia the fulfilment of the conditions which have long been broken; conditions, however, which, if granted, would not now satisfy the Poles. The insurrection must be suppressed in blood, for

all the declarations of English and French newspapers that it must not, if it is to be suppressed at all, and Poland is to remain subject to the Czar. No conciliatory offers would now induce the insurgents to lay down their arms; they will conquer their independence of the foreigner, or they will die. England and France will certainly not declare war against Russia, and go to the help of the Poles, and any other intervention would only aggravate their miseries.

The Corps Legislatif has adopted the address proposed by its Commission. The Emperor replied to the deputation who presented it to him in a speech which, like all the utterances of this remarkable man, has been turned this way and that by the *quidnuncs*, to extract some indication of his policy. As there are men who will discover some profound thought in the most commonplace expression put by Shakspeare into the mouth of one of his smallest characters, so there are politicians who find a deep meaning in the ordinary courtesies and civil phrases of the Emperor of the French. We confess that we are unable to find, in the assurance of the Emperor that he receives the address as a new proof of the accord which subsists between the legislative body and the Government, and his statement that this accord is more indispensable than ever at a period when, in every part of the globe, truth is obscured by so many contending passions, any other meaning than the natural and obvious one.

It is reported in Paris that the Government of the United States has already returned an answer to the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, recommending direct negotiation for peace with the Confederate Government. Mr. Seward is said to have expressed his gratitude for the good intentions of the Emperor, and to have intimated that if the ensuing campaign should prove unsuccessful his suggestion may be taken into consideration. The report does not rest upon any very good authority.

Signor Minghetti the Italian Minister, of Finance, has asked the Parliament to authorise a loan of 700 millions of lire, or twenty-eight millions sterling. As the present price of Italian five per cents is only 69, it may be taken that such a loan will not realise for the Italian Exchequer more than nineteen millions sterling. By the aid of this sum, however, by the sale of crown lands, by an increase of the land tax, by the establishment of a number of new taxes, and by a reorganization of the existing banking system, Signor Minghetti considers it possible to establish an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure in four years. The sanguine anticipations of the Minister give a sorry picture enough of the state of Italian finance, but we fear that the reality is much worse. The deficit for last year was no less than 374 millions of lire, or about fifteen millions sterling; that for the current year is estimated at 350 millions of lire, and 1859, 1860, and 1861, presented deficits of the same magnitude. They were war years, and their deficits were covered by war loans. But 1862 and 1863 are years of peace, and the question is whether the Italian Government can either so reduce its expenditure or increase its income as to do away with these deficits in future years. The produce of the new loan, and the sale of crown lands, may possibly provide means for supplying the deficits of the four next years; but how will the account stand then? Italy will have used up her extraordinary resources, the enormous increase of her indebtedness will have sunk her credit to a point which will render loans absolutely ruinous, and there can be no assurance that the necessities which occasion her present enormous expenditure will have ceased. A considerable increase of taxation is hardly possible. Already the provinces which have been annexed complain that they cannot pay what is demanded of them, and any increase of the claims of the tax-gatherer would generate very serious discontent. At the same time the provinces clamour for public works upon an enormous scale.

The Prussian Government has laid before the Chamber of Deputies the long-promised bill for the reorganization of the army. The measure has not the slightest chance of passing, as it proposes to legalize precisely those changes—already illegally carried out—to which the House and the country have so intense an objection. Nominally it lessens the obligations of the Prussian citizen to military service; practically it greatly increases the burden. Under the old system, still legally in force, the Prussian was bound to the State for twenty years. His liability was first to serve three years under colours—in practice only two were served—then he remained for two years in the reserve, and could at any time during this period be called back to the ranks. He then passed for seven years into the Landwehr of the first summons, and for seven years more in the Landwehr of the second summons. The Government bill reduces the whole time of liability to seventeen years, but it increases that part of the term

which is really onerous. Three years are to be passed under colours, *i.e.*, in active service, the time in the reserve is increased from two to four years; so that, in all, the Prussian citizen would have seven years of his life taken up with active service, and the obligation to return to the ranks at any time or on any pretence the Government may determine. The term in the Landwehr of the first summons is reduced to four, and in that of the second to five years. The plan which the majority of the House of Deputies favour is two years under colours instead of three, and three years in the reserve instead of two, leaving the great obligation for five years, as by the existing law, but lessening the term of actual service. The bill will no doubt be amended by the House in this sense, and then fall to the ground.

The members of the Prussian House of Deputies are paid three thalers (nine shillings) per day compensation, during the session. The officials, who are members—and their name is legion; more than one-third of the House consisting of judges and other Government functionaries—are further entitled to the payment of a substitute to do their work, whilst they are attending to their parliamentary business. The Government has presented to the House a bill to abolish this last payment, but the House, as may be supposed, rejected it almost unanimously. It is evident, from the debate, that when the House wins its victory over the King, and Ministers have to fix the budget to suit the views of the majority, the compensation will increase. The Deputies complain that the three thalers do not pay the extra cost of living in Berlin.

The Swedish Chambers have been discussing the Schleswig-Holstein question, and expressing their sympathy with Denmark and their indignation with Earl Russell. The Holstein Assembly has been addressing the King of Denmark, and renewing its monstrous pretensions. The Greeks are still without a candidate for their throne. Earl Russell has been too much occupied in editing his collection of diplomatic correspondence, and the National Assembly has been discussing theories of government. The mysterious Ministerial crisis continues in Spain, and that stormy petrel, Narvaez, has appeared upon the scene; so the long supremacy of O'Donnell seems to totter to its fall. A revolutionary committee has been discovered at Venice, and the leaders have been arrested. The correspondence between Queen Victoria and the Tycoon of Japan has been published, in which the Queen assures the Tycoon that his ambassadors behaved very well whilst in England. And the King of the Belgians, who was reported to be dying, has been driving about the streets of Brussels.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Ravensworth pressed upon the Government the necessity of constructing harbours of refuge on the most dangerous parts of the coast. Some people had said that such harbours would be speedily silted up and rendered useless, but he attached no weight to this objection. What was of more importance was that the owners of the ships engaged in the coasting trade were indifferent in the matter. He thought the seamen would not be so. The shipowners were accused of sending out unseaworthy vessels, but he thought that this charge had been exaggerated. He thought convict labour might be usefully employed in the construction of these harbours.—The Duke of Somerset (First Lord of the Admiralty) said that such harbours would cost an enormous sum of money, and would not prove so available as was supposed to save life and property. A conversation took place on the grants of tickets-of-leave to transports in Western Australia; after which the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Roebuck asked for papers relative to the expenses of the Herald's College, and the Royal Licenses granted for the change of surname.

Mr. Bentinck asked whether any legislation would be proposed by the Government for the prevention of railway accidents. Mr. Milner Gibson replied that the Government did not think any such legislation was necessary, as there had only been twenty-four persons killed and 500 injured last year. In answer to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Mr. Layard promised that no time should be lost in laying on the table the correspondence relative to the Brazilian dispute.

Mr. Villiers moved for leave to introduce a Bill, continuing the Act of last session, for the relief of the unions of the cotton manufacturing districts. Legally, every parish is primarily liable for the relief of its own poor. The parishes are, for the purposes of Poor-Law administration, combined into Unions, but the liability of the parish to support its own destitute inhabitants is not thereby diminished. The Act of last session provided, first, that when in any parish the expenditure on the relief of the poor should exceed 5s. in the pound on the annual assessed value of the property within that parish, it might demand that the excess should be defrayed by the union; and that when in like manner the expenditure of the

union exceeded 5s. in the pound, the excess should be borne by the county at large. To this was added, at the suggestion of the principal representatives of Lancashire in the House of Commons, a provision enabling the guardians of any union to borrow money whenever their expenditure on the relief of the poor exceeded 3s. in the pound. The operation of this Act was confined to the manufacturing counties; and it was to expire at Lady-day, 1863. This Act the President of the Poor Law Board now proposed to continue for another year. He entered into a statistical explanation of the condition of the manufacturing districts. He stated that four of the most distressed unions were in a position to call on the country for a rate in aid; and that eight more were in a condition entitling them to borrow money on security of the rates, which some of them had already done, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Act had not been called into operation more extensively, only because more than half of the people thrown out of work have been supported by voluntary contributions. But it was necessary to protect the ratepayers, whose property had become almost valueless, from being overwhelmed by the enormous demands upon them.

Colonel Wilson Patten (a moderate Conservative, who sits for North Lancashire, and who is a very much respected, if not a very active, member of the House) explained the difference between the condition of Lancashire at present and that of other districts, in which a 5s. rate is normal, and excites neither surprise nor complaint. In the latter case, the burden falls on the landlord; for tenants, in taking farms or houses, add rent and rates together, and consider whether the total is a fair price for the occupation. But when a normal rate of 6d. suddenly is raised to 6s., the additional burden is thrown entirely on the occupiers. Lancashire occupiers, whose wealth is now worthless for all practical use, whose trade is gone, whose industry is suspended, are in no condition to endure such a burden. He remarked, also, on the necessity of providing work, as well as bread, for the unemployed, and said that the Central Executive Committee were endeavouring to draw up a scheme for the purpose.

The Lord Mayor said that the stream of contributions which had hitherto flowed in from all quarters would ere long be dried up, and that some other means must be found of supporting the indigent of Lancashire.—Mr. Hibberd gave the history of a case in which, from the extreme poverty of the ratepayers, a levy of 8s. had proved inadequate to provide for an expenditure of 5s. in the pound.—Sir B. Lytton thought that the landlords, rather than the occupiers, or the surrounding unions, ought to bear the burden of rates in excess of 5s. in the pound.—Lord Stanley recommended that the operation of the Act should only be extended for six months more. It was impossible to tell what after that time might be the condition of Lancashire, and absurd to legislate on conjecture. Mr. Sidney said that there was distress elsewhere as great as that in the cotton districts.—Mr. Potter stated, as illustrating the position of Lancashire ratepayers, the case of Glossop, where, out of a rental of £65,000, £22,000 ordinarily came from cottage property, which was not now producing £2000 a year clear of interest on mortgages. Most of these cottages were owned by working-men.

Mr. Cobden, with reference to the suggestion of Lord Stanley, observed that, assuming the present state of things to continue, the condition of the cotton districts would be infinitely more serious and difficult next winter than in the present. He gave details of the large amount of the voluntary contributions which had come from the districts themselves, besides poor rates, loss of wages, depreciation of fixed capital, and other losses, making an aggregate of £12,445,000. He recommended the adoption of Lord Stanley's suggestion to continue the Act for six months, and that the House should come to the question again at Midsummer.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill, and the House adjourned at a quarter to 8.

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 13.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Ellenborough (formerly Governor-General, and afterwards Secretary of State for India) in presenting petitions from Indian officers complaining of the loss of certain advantages guaranteed to them by Parliament, insisted upon the fulfilment of the engagements which Parliament had entered into with the officers of the old Indian army, as an act of simple justice. Having stated in detail many of the grievances complained of, he said that the greatest complaint of all was that made on account of the formation of the Staff Corps, which, in the opinion of the petitioners, unjustly interfered with general promotion, and, by allowing a Staff Corps officer to return to command a regiment after several years' absence from it, superseded the officer who had been doing the regimental duty in the meantime. If, however, the same advantages were offered to officers of infantry and cavalry, after a certain number of years' service, as had been conferred on the Staff Corps, he believed that but few complaints would in future be heard.

The Duke of Argyll considered there was no cause for the complaint that the guarantees of the Act of Parliament had been violated. Parliament had guaranteed that the position of the Indian officers should not be made worse, but had taken no engagement that it should be made better, yet notwithstanding this those officers had been treated in a liberal and generous spirit by the Government. He then explained the objects of the Staff Corps, showed that the fears entertained by the petitioners were groundless, and concluded his explanation by stating the numbers of the officers who had taken advantage of the Staff Corps, of those who had been promoted in

their regiments, and also of those who had retired from the service.

After a few remarks from Lord Ellenborough,

The Duke of Cambridge explained the principles, in regard to the Indian officers, on which the Staff Corps had been organized, and stated that he believed no officer of the Indian local service had suffered by the recent changes.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sir J. Palk (a most influential Conservative county member) gave notice that he would, on Friday next, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, call the attention of the House to the distress existing in the manufacturing districts, and move that an address be presented to her Majesty praying that a Royal Commission might be appointed to inquire into the best means of obtaining a permanent supply of cotton. He would also call the attention of the House to the American struggle, and to the expediency, now that union between the Northern and Southern States seemed to be impracticable, of taking steps with a view to mediation between the contending parties.

Mr. Peacock proposed an address to the Crown, praying that no Crown lands within fifteen miles of London might be sold or enclosed, and alleged that in certain cases the Crown had parted with lands formerly open to the public, for a merely nominal price, and allowed them to be enclosed.—Mr. Frederic Peel (Secretary to the Treasury) explained that what the Crown had sold was not the ownership of the lands, which it never possessed, but its right of forest therein—rights which, if it had not sold, it must, he said, have soon lost by forbearing to use them.—Mr. Locke pointed out that this was a mistake. By English law, *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*, and Crown rights and Crown property can legally be reclaimed after any period of practical and peaceable dispossession.—Sir G. Grey and Mr. Gladstone both spoke against the proposition, which, however, received the support of several Liberal speakers, and also of Mr. Henley, one of the most respected of the Conservative party; and after a short debate, it was carried, on a division, by 113 to 73. The House then went into committee on the Post-office Savings-banks' Bill. It is necessary that all measures relating to religion, trade, or finance, should originate in Committee, where they can receive more detailed discussion than is possible, under the rules of the House, when the Speaker is in the chair. Mr. Gladstone explained the purpose of his measure, and moved resolutions in accordance therewith. His first object was to give to Savings-banks established by private agency the power of transferring their business to the Post-office Savings-banks; his next, to facilitate the transfer of accounts standing in the names of children, which is at present under some restriction; his third, to convert the stock held by the commissioners of Savings-banks on behalf of the depositors partly into terminable annuities, and partly into stock of a lower denomination, bearing interest only at 2½ per cent. Some objections were offered to the latter part of the scheme; but the resolutions were agreed to. The Speaker resumed the chair, and immediately quitted it again; the House going into Committee on the Customs' Duties. Mr. Gladstone explained his plan for reducing the duties on tobacco. At present the enormous duties levied on cigars and manufactured tobacco (9s. per pound) give a protection to the British manufacturer who obtains his raw material with a duty of only 3s. per lb. This protection makes it impossible to import the lower sorts of manufactured tobacco, and thereby impose a loss on the revenue. It is proposed that the duty on cigars shall henceforth be 5s., on snuff 3s. 9d., and on other manufactured tobacco 4s. The duty on unmanufactured tobacco is not to be altered. Permission is to be given to manufacture cavendish or negro head in bond.—Mr. Ayrton (a business-like, ambitious, and by no means incompetent Radical; perhaps one of the best of that much despised class the "Metropolitan Members") complained that Mr. Gladstone's measure would ruin the tobacco manufacturers at home. Another, and stronger objection was urged—namely: that already the duty on the rich man's cigars is less than 50 per cent. on their value, while that on the poor man's tobacco is 500 per cent, and that the proposed change would aggravate this injustice.—Mr. Roebuck (whose own temper might perhaps be improved by a judicious use of good tobacco) sneered at smoking, and thought that neither poor nor rich ought to have such an indulgence cheapened.—Mr. Gladstone said that any reduction of the duty on unmanufactured tobacco would entail a heavy loss to the revenue; and that his present measure was not intended to relieve cigar-smokers, but to benefit the Exchequer. Resolutions embodying the proposals were then agreed to. The House adjourned at ten minutes past 7.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Derby asked the President of the Council what bills would be brought before the House before Easter. He also said that if the Secretary for Foreign Affairs were in his place, he would have asked when the papers relating to the Brazilian difficulty would be produced. In Lord Russell's absence he would not ask the Government for any expression of opinion on the subject. The documents published in Brazil gave it to be understood that Mr. Christie had acted under peremptory instruction from the Government. He hoped the Government would be able to show that was not the case. More unjustifiable proceedings had never been taken against a friendly Power, and he hoped that the Government would be able to show they disapproved of Mr. Christie's course.—Lord Granville said that a Bill would be

speedily introduced for the protection of rivers from the refuse of chemical works. The Brazilian papers were in course of preparation, and would be speedily laid on the table. The House adjourned at half-past 5.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to a question from Mr. Hankey, Sir George Grey said that it was his intention to bring in a Bill to strengthen and enlarge the existing system for the protection of life and property from fire in the metropolis. In reply to Mr. Hopwood, Sir George Grey said the Government did not intend to bring in any measure relative to Church Rates.—Mr. Layard endeavoured to quiet the apprehensions of Colonel Sykes with regard to French and Russian intrigues in China. A question was asked and answered concerning postal communication with New Zealand *via* Panama. Notice was given of a question regarding the blockade of Charleston. In Committee over a Government Bill, enabling boards of Guardians in Ireland to recover from the putative father the cost of the support of an illegitimate child, an amusing scene took place. Sir G. C. Lewis (usually one of the best informed and most accurate of Ministers) rose to support the Bill, and began to state what he supposed the present law in Ireland to be. He was met by cries of "No, no, no," from his own side of the House, and by shouts of laughter from the Opposition. He floundered on a little longer, making one blunder after another amid interruptions of the same kind; his colleagues vainly trying to prompt him, as good-natured boys will prompt a schoolfellow in difficulties, but prompting is useless when the blunderer does not know a word of his task. Sir George proceeded to expound the object of the Bill as he conceived it, and here, again, was met with laughter, and cries of "No, no," "That's not it." Sir Robert Peel (who, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, had charge of the Bill) twitched his colleague's coat tails, and tried in vain to explain the blunder he was making. Sir George could not take the hint, but he discovered at last that he had utterly missed his way, stopped short, and sat down amidst a chorus of laughter from all sides.

Mr. Cowper (Chief Commissioner of Public Works) asked leave to bring in a Bill to complete the thoroughfare which will be formed by the embankment of the northern side of the Thames. That embankment will extend only from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge. The further street proposed will commence on the eastern side of the wide approach to Blackfriars Bridge from the north, and pass through the city as far as the Mansion-house. The great value of property in that quarter will make the undertaking an expensive one. It will cost about £600,000, besides compensation. To meet the expense, the Government intend to propose the continuance of the metropolitan coal tax, and to give power to the Metropolitan Board of Works to borrow money on that security.

Mr. Walpole rose to order. As the measure would involve the imposition of a tax, he thought it should be first discussed in committee. The Speaker ruled that Mr. Cowper was formally in order. The tax was mentioned in the present Bill. A short discussion took place, Lord Palmerston defending the course pursued by the Government, by showing the absolute necessity of a new thoroughfare through the city.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked leave to bring in a Bill permitting Government to grant three months' credit to malsters for the payment of the malt duty; those availing themselves of such credit to pay interest at the rate of 4 per cent. Mr. Fuller urged that further relief was required by the malsters.—Mr. Dobson thought that the duty ought to be levied not on malt, but on beer.—Mr. Gladstone replied that the alterations proposed by these gentlemen would involve a great sacrifice of revenue, and that it would be a very expensive thing, and involve great trouble and annoyance to levy a direct tax on brewing. Leave was given, and the House adjourned at 8 o'clock.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Russell gave his version of the history of the Brazilian quarrel. He stated that a wreck had taken place near the Rio Grande do Sal at the beginning of 1861. The British Consul made inquiries, and found that ten bodies were said to have been washed ashore, of which only four were forthcoming. The Consul attempted to have an inquest held which was prevented by officials with an armed force. [We may remark that this statement is utterly contrary to facts, as given both in the despatches of Mr. Christie and those of the Brazilian Government. An inquest was held, and a verdict of "Found drowned" was returned.] Rumours had been rife, that the sailors had been murdered, and a demand was made on the Brazilian Government for reparation, which received only evasive answers. Another offence on the part of the Brazilian Government was given shortly afterwards by the arrest of three officers of H.M.S. Forte, who were arrested on their return from a walk in the country, near Rio, and were detained forty-eight hours. When reparation was demanded, the Brazilian Government alleged that the officers were drunk, and had assaulted the sentinels who arrested them. Under these circumstances her Majesty's Government could do nothing but enforce reparation.—Lord Derby said that Lord Russell had taken a very inconvenient course in making an ex-parte statement before the papers were published, but that statement was not only ex-parte, but it was not a statement of the whole case. He would not enter into the question of the Forte until the papers were laid on the table; but as to the wreck, he thought the demand of our Government altogether unwarrantable, and

that those who made it would have been very much surprised if, under similar circumstances, a like demand had been made upon themselves.—Lord Russell was nettled, and retorted angrily. He said that Lord Derby had been the first to make an ex-parte statement, and he quoted the case of an Austrian ship wrecked, and plundered on the coast of Ireland; when Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, though he would not admit the liability of Government, recommended that some compensation should be made.—Lord Derby said that if the Austrian Government had demanded such compensation, and backed that demand by an armed force, Lord Palmerston would have given them nothing.

The Lord Chancellor read a message from the Queen, requesting the concurrence of the House in a suitable provision for the Prince and Princess of Wales. In accordance with the usual course, Lord Granville moved, and Lord Derby seconded, an address to Her Majesty, thanking her for the message, and promising that it should be forthwith taken into consideration. The motion was of course agreed to.—The Marquis of Normanby then rose to attack the Italian policy of the Government. This noble Lord is a personal friend of the dispossessed Princes and a diplomatist of the old school of the Holy Alliance. He said that Lord Russell had within one week, offered hospitality to the Pope, and told the French Government that its occupation of Rome ought to cease. He quoted certain despatches of Lord Palmerston's, which he had received when Minister at Florence, and which were in a very different sense.—Lord Grey called him to order. The despatches in question had not been published. Lord Normanby had received them as a servant of the Crown, and had no right to quote them without the Royal permission.—Lord Normanby went on to vindicate the temporal power of the Pope, and to censure severely the tyranny of the present Italian Government.—Lord Russell said it was not his business to defend that Government. He showed, by extracts from published despatches, that he and his colleagues, had always disapproved of the French occupation of Rome, and pointed out how exceedingly bad the Papal Government is, and how anxious the Romans are to be united to the rest of Italy.—Lord Ellenborough expressed his satisfaction with the policy the Italian Government in Parliament are now pursuing. Instead of talking about Rome, they were doing their best to establish a good Government throughout Italy, and to make her strong in arms. He looked forward to the day when the Pope, restored to real independence, might exercise his authority in the Vatican, while the Parliament of free Italy should conduct its deliberations in the Capitol. The House adjourned at half-past 7.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Liverpool Licensing Bill came up for a second reading. As the law at present stands, public-house licenses are granted or withheld at the discretion of the local magistrates, who use their power sometimes for the protection of public morality, sometimes to preserve the peace of respectable neighbourhoods. The general rule is, to refuse to license more public-houses than are supposed to be necessary for the accommodation of the locality, and to prevent the intrusion of so objectionable a trade into the streets and squares inhabited by the wealthier classes. In Liverpool, a certain faction among the magistrates, at the head of whom is Mr. Robertson Gladstone, have insisted on granting licenses whenever and wherever demanded by responsible persons; the remainder of the magistrates adhering to the usual rule. According, therefore, as one party or the other predominates on the Bench, licenses are granted with or without discrimination. The object of the Bill was to terminate this contention, by a local Act carrying out the views of Mr. Robertson Gladstone. Such an Act would be a private Bill, and as such would be read a second time, and referred to a select committee; but several of the best informed members of both parties took exceptions on this occasion, to such a course. Though the Bill was in form a private one, it was in principle, they contended, of a public character. It was certain to be made a precedent for general legislation, and to such a precedent the House ought to be pledged by the decision of a select committee. Their views prevailed: though supported by Government and by both the members for Liverpool, the Bill was defeated by 16 votes in 232.—Mr. Hodgson moved a resolution to reduce, in certain cases, the fees on private bills, and gave some striking facts to prove the injustice of the present system.—The President of the Board of Trade, however, promised to move for a select committee on the whole subject, and the resolution was withdrawn.

In answer to a question, Lord Palmerston said that the Government would not bring in a Bill to postpone commercial engagements falling due on the Prince's wedding-day, as there was no precedent for such a course.

Mr. Bentinck rose to ask the noble lord at the head of the Government whether the Government are in possession of any official information on the subject of the reported defeat by the Confederates of the blockading squadron at the mouth of Charleston River; and, if so, whether that information is of a character to raise the question of the legality of the future blockade of that port.

Lord Palmerston: Her Majesty's Government have no information with regard to this transaction, other than that which has been conveyed by the telegrams which are known to everybody. They simply state that the blockade was raised on the morning of one day, and reimposed on the succeeding day. [An hon. member: "On the same day."] The same information states the raising of the blockade and its renewal.

With regard to the application of the general law of nations to a transaction of that kind, I shall abstain from giving my opinion, because the application of that law depends so much upon the circumstances of the case (hear, hear) that until it is well known what has really happened, it would be improper in her Majesty's Government to commit themselves to any opinion as to the effect which this occurrence may have. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Roebuck repeated a question he had previously put as to the despatches received from foreign Powers relative to the Ionian Islands.—Lord Palmerston replied that there were none. Lord Palmerston read a message from the Queen similar to that addressed to the House of Lords, and proposed a reply identical in its terms to that of the peers. The accounts of the Duchy of Cornwall, whose revenues belong to the Prince, were asked for and promised, and the motion was agreed to.

Lord Palmerston moved that the House, at its rising, should adjourn until 2 o'clock on Wednesday (Ash Wednesday). Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald took this opportunity of criticising the conduct of the Government in regard to commercial treaties. They always allowed the French Government to take the initiative, and then were satisfied to obtain for the English the same concessions made to France. This was absurd, because concessions of great value to France might be utterly useless to us. This was proved by the tariff agreed on between France and Belgium, which would actually increase the duties on some of our principal manufactures. At present France was engaged in trying to negotiate a commercial treaty with Austria, and the English Government was awaiting the conclusion of that treaty before commencing negotiations. In regard to Italy, they had done still worse. He now heard that a commercial treaty with that country was about to be signed, which would simply embody the tariff conceded by Italy to France, a tariff which would be of no use to us, and this after the Board of Trade had actually drawn up, on information received from various Chambers of Commerce, the draft of such a tariff as would suit our interests. But it was not of much use for the Government to attempt to negotiate treaties of commerce while it pursued its present policy of irritation and insult towards foreign Powers.—Mr. W. E. Forster thanked Mr. Fitzgerald for bringing forward the subject, and fully supported his views in regard to the insufficiency for English interests of treaties negotiated by France. Lord Russell would do more good to political freedom by upholding the principles of free trade, than by giving gratuitous advice to foreign Powers, and we ought not to allow France to take the lead of the free trade movement out of our hands.—Mr. Layard (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) sneered at Mr. Fitzgerald as a late convert to the doctrines of free trade. He said that in negotiating our treaty with France we had much to offer, but having made that treaty, and acceded to all foreign countries the privileges it involved, we had now nothing to give in return for the concessions we asked. We were, therefore, obliged to wait for the action of France and make concessions made to her the ground of asking concessions to ourselves. We had used that argument with Belgium, and obtained what we asked. Italy had said that she could not negotiate a treaty whilst the French treaty was pending, because if she gave us advantages without equivalents she would be unable to obtain the equivalents she desired of France. Prussia had given a similar answer to our applications. We had been prevented, however, from concluding a satisfactory treaty with Prussia or Austria by the political difficulties existing in regard to the Zollverein. Referring to some statements made in the newspapers by Mr. Hennessey, Mr. Layard stated what had been the increase of trade in Naples and Sicily under Piedmontese rule.—Mr. Hennessey controverted these assertions in a long but inconclusive speech.—Mr. Newdegate remarked that he had always warned the House that our French Treaty would prevent our obtaining commercial concessions from other countries. It was all Mr. Cobden's fault.—Mr. Beaumont defended the Government.—Mr. Liddell said that if Mr. Gladstone had not been in such a hurry to give up the last relics of protection, we should have been in a better position with regard to commercial negotiations.—Mr. Gower said that we must convince foreign nations of the advantages of free trade, and persuade them to adopt its principles.

Mr. Disraeli vindicated Mr. Fitzgerald against the sneers of Mr. Layard. Commercial treaties on liberal terms had always been favoured by the Tory party. He had himself been bitterly censured by Mr. Cobden, before that gentleman got into parliament, for advocating them. At that time Sir R. Peel had said, "Don't you think we have heard the last of commercial treaties?" Not we; we have seen a commercial treaty negotiated by Mr. Cobden. But having adopted the principle of unrestricted free trade, and abolished the last shreds of protection, we are no longer in a position to form such treaties.

Mr. Milner Gibson commented on a supposed difference between Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Fitzgerald, the latter censuring the slowness of Government in concluding commercial treaties, and the former declaring that the time for such treaties was past. He proved, in answer to Mr. Hennessey, how rapid had been the recent development of Italian commerce.

A debate then took place on the removal of an Irish pauper from Leeds to his native country. A medical report was called for and promised.

Sir George Grey introduced a Bill for the better religious instruction of prisoners. At present ministers of religion, not

belonging to the Church, can only see prisoners at the special request of the latter. The Bill provides that the justices shall have power to admit such ministers, and to pay them, without such special request.—Mr. Whalley abused the Roman Catholic religion, and opposed the Bill. The Catholics, generally, supported and commended. Leave was given to bring it in. A select committee on Private Bills was moved for and agreed to; and the House adjourned at half-past twelve.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Hadfield, one of the members for Sheffield (a gentleman who never exactly understood the force of the verbal letter of his own name, and who has no more reverence for the institutions of the realm than for the laws of grammar), moved the second reading of a bill which requires the holders of certain offices to pledge themselves by oath or affirmation not to use their official influence for the overthrow of the National Church. Mr. Newdegate (Conservative) opposed the bill, and moved that it be read a second time that day six months. The second reading was carried 74 to 63.

Lord Raynham moved the second reading of a bill for the punishment of brutal assaults on women and children, inflicting flogging on the third conviction.—Mr. Sydney (Radical) thought that such a law would only embitter domestic quarrels.—The Attorney General said that the present law worked well, and the crime was decreasing.—Mr. Bentinck defended the bill. It was rejected by 153 to 43; and the House adjourned.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Feb. 18.

At the date of our last report the cotton market had recovered from the great depression of the previous week, and closed steady at 16½ for Fair Dhollerah.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, in the absence of any important news, the trade and exporters bought to a moderate extent; the sales reaching daily from 5000 to 7000 bales, with a hardening tendency. For arrival, Middling Fair Dhollerah was sold at 16d., and Dhollerahs and Omrawuttees, of the new crop to be shipped from Bombay in March and April, at 15½d.

On Monday, however, the upward tendency was checked by the Arabia's news. At Charleston the Confederates had gained another brilliant naval victory, dispersing the blockading fleet, and claiming to have raised the blockade; and though it was generally believed by business-men that European nations would not acknowledge the brief interruption of the blockade, as a "raising" requiring sixty days' notice before its resumption could take place, and in this view they were borne out by the majority of the English press, yet the bare possibility of an opening of the Port of Charleston to the trade of the world, had a depressing effect here, and with sales of 4000 bales prices were rather easier.

The business yesterday and to-day has only reached 1000 and 1500 bales, with prices almost nominal, and a large concession in price in most classes of cotton would be necessary to tempt buyers. We quote Fair Dhollerah 16½d. and Middling Orleans 21½d.

Better accounts from Calcutta are to hand, reporting a further rise in twist of 2d. per lb., and in goods 6d. to 9d. per piece; and in Manchester, symptoms of a better demand are apparent, which would result in a good healthy business, were confidence restored regarding the course of American affairs. But both there and here business is crippled, and the commercial community kept in a state of constant uncertainty and anxiety through the wide-spread feeling that the North will soon be obliged to terminate the war, and till the result of the great battles now pending in the American continent is known, we do not look for any material improvement here.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, February 17.

Although the tone of our market improved in the early part of the week, after the receipt of intelligence from America, indicating a continuance of the war, business has since relapsed into the same state as characterised it during the previous week, notwithstanding further telegrams having been received from India reporting an active trade at a further considerable advance in prices.

Export yarns, especially those suitable for India, have been firmly held, but very little business has been done in them.

German yarns have been very quiet, still we do not hear of any change in their quotations.

Home trade yarns, suitable for the Blackburn market, have been very steady all the week, but only a moderate amount of transactions has taken place in them. Bolton spinnings have been very quiet, and where sales have been effected, rather lower prices have been submitted to.

Cloth has been much neglected, especially India shirtings, which may be bought at 2s. per lb., the same price as the yarn from which they are made.

To-day our market was much affected by the Arabia's news reporting the dashing repulse of the blockading squadron from before Charleston. This and the depressed state of the Liverpool market have brought business here almost to a stand.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

We have files of Mobile papers to the 3rd of January, Charleston and Richmond papers to the 14th, and Wilmington to the 17th of that month.

At the latest-named date no senator had been elected by the Virginia Legislature to fill the vacancy created by the death of the Hon. W. B. Preston. The last vote in the House of Delegates was divided among the various candidates as follows:—Rives, 30; Allen, 28; Russell, 22; Floyd, 22. The election was then postponed. The steamer Cornubia went safely to sea from Wil-

ilmington on the 14th of January. At the same date one of the blockading vessels at that port went ashore, and was likely to prove a total wreck. On the next day, the 15th, another blockading vessel, apparently in the effort to relieve the first, ran ashore, and would probably also prove a wreck.

On the 8th of January, in consequence no doubt of the great victories which inaugurated the new year, the premium on gold at Richmond declined in a single day 20 per cent. Previous to that day the buying price was 220, and the selling price 225.

On the 3rd of January, a British man-of-war entered the port of Mobile to communicate with the British Consul there, and to receive £40,000 in gold, the interest due to English holders on the State debt of Alabama; the gold was ready for shipment, and has no doubt ere this arrived in this country.

Private letters from Mobile of the 3rd of January, state that the Honourable Q. C. Lamar, late Member of Congress from Mississippi, has been appointed by President Davis Confederate Commissioner to Russia. Captain Walker Fearn, of Mobile, Secretary to the first Confederate Commission to London, and more recently Secretary of the Commission to Madrid, accompanies him as Secretary. These gentlemen are supposed to be now on their way to Europe, and may be expected shortly to arrive in this country.

The Confederate Congress assembled on the 13th. The proceedings are thus summarized in the telegraphic despatches to the Charleston papers:—

No quorum present in the Senate. M. J. L. M. Curry, of Alabama, was elected Speaker *pro tem*. Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana, introduced a resolution approving of the conduct of certain citizens of Louisiana within the enemy's lines. Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, offered a series of resolutions that the South would not consent to any plan of reconstruction of the former Union, nor any armistice so long as Lincoln's proclamation remained unrevoked, nor ever consent to negotiate except upon the basis of an unconditional recognition of the Southern Confederacy; that the latter would never consent to any alliance, commercial or otherwise, with the New England States, but would be willing to negotiate with the States bordering on the Mississippi, which may be willing to stipulate and enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, whenever a party at the North shall overthrow Lincoln and his party now in power. A resolution also offers to guarantee the North-Western States the free navigation of the Mississippi, whenever they declare their intention to withdraw from the war, and present inducements to the States west of the Rocky Mountains to withdraw from the Federal Government, &c. The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The State of South Carolina has incorporated a company to be styled the "Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina," the purposes of which are thus described in the charter:—

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That William C. Bee, J. Clough Farrar, Benjamin Mordecai, E. L. Kerrison, Otis Mills, William Ravenel, D. H. Sileox, and their associates and successors, be and are hereby made a body corporate and politic in law, by the name of "The Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina," and the said Company shall have power to export produce from this State to neutral ports, and import into this State from neutral ports, arms, munitions of war, and other commodities, and also to bring and carry mails and passengers in their vessels.

Sec. 2. The capital stock of said Company shall be \$250,000 with the privilege of increasing the same to \$1,000,000; provided such increase shall be agreed to by a majority in number of the stockholders.

Sec. 3. The capital stock shall be raised by subscription, in shares of \$1000 each, but the said Company shall not go into operation until the said stock, to the amount of at least \$200,000, has been paid in cash, and an oath or affirmation thereof shall have been made and subscribed by the President of the Company, the Treasurer, and majority of the Board of Directors, which shall be lodged and recorded in the office of the Secretary of State, and be published in two newspapers of the City of Charleston.

Sec. 4. The affairs of the Company shall be managed by a board consisting of a president and four directors, who shall be elected in such manner and for such periods as the stockholders may prescribe.

Sec. 5. The said capital stock shall be deemed personal estate, and the company may hold such personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of their business, and may, from time to time, sell and transfer the same, or any part thereof.

Sec. 6. The said company may, by its corporate name, be plaintiff or defendant in any Court of Law or Equity in this State, and may have and use a common seal, and may make such by-laws and regulations as they shall see fit, with full power to enforce the due observance thereof, upon their members; provided, said laws are not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of this State or of the Confederate States.

Sec. 7. No part of the capital stock shall, at any time, be withdrawn by, or divided among, the stockholders until all the debts and liabilities of the said corporation shall have been fully paid off and discharged.

In the Senate House, the eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and in the eighty-seventh year of the sovereignty and independence of the State of South Carolina.

W. D. PORTER, President of the Senate.

A. P. ALDRICH, Speaker, House of Representatives.

PERSONAL ITEMS.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Maury, of the 32nd Alabama, was severely wounded in the late battle of Murfreesboro'. He commanded a brigade, and fell with his regimental flag in his hand.

Colonel William R. Boggs, of Augusta, Georgia, has been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General.

Colonel George Walton, a son of one of the signers of the old Declaration of Independence, died in Petersburg, Virginia, on the 10th of June, aged 73 years. He was formerly Territorial Governor of Florida, and later in life the Mayor of Mobile. He was the father of the well known Madame Octavia Walton Levery.

Ex-Governor Branch, of North Carolina, died at Enfield, N.C., on the 4th ult., in the 88th year of his age. He was Secretary of the Navy under General Jackson's Administration.

The late Governor Jackson, of Missouri, will be succeeded in his office by Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, a well-known and uncompromising Secessionist.

Captain George H. Shorter, of the *Montgomery Advertiser*, participated in the battle of Murfreesboro', and was wounded painfully, but not dangerously, in the arm.

It is reported that Captain Benjamin C. Yancey, son of Hon. W. L. Yancey, fell in the late battle at Murfreesboro', while gallantly leading his company. It was feared that he was mortally wounded.

Major General Simon B. Buckner, the accomplished gentleman and chivalric soldier, has been assigned to the command at Mobile, and while we write is hourly expected to arrive. His history gives him a passport to a most cordial reception by the community he is appointed to defend.—*Mobile Register*.

Brigadier General Wm. N. Pendleton, the Chief of Artillery in the armies of General Lee in Virginia, is an Episcopal minister. He, like General Polk, was a graduate at West Point, and became a minister, but divested himself of the surplice in the beginning of this war, and, as captain of artillery, distinguished himself at the first battle of Manassas. Step by step he has risen to the highest position in the artillery service of the Confederacy.

Private letters state that Colonel Lithgoc, of the 19th South Carolina Volunteers, and Captain Nettles of the 10th South Carolina Regiment, were killed at the battle of Murfreesboro'; Captain A. H. Ford, Lieut. C. T. Ford, and Lieut. Easterling, 10th South Carolina Regiment, were wounded.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, February 17th.

The news of the last during exploit of the Confederates, beating the Federals on their own element, has produced a great sensation here, it has greatly discouraged the friends of the North, who in the teeth of such constant defeats on land, at sea, and even in political contests, have much to do to show *contre fortune bon cœur*.

There is no contending against facts, and the conviction is forcing itself upon their reluctant minds, that the North is growing daily less and less able to hold its own. The discouragement of the Northerners in Paris is obvious. They are gradually withdrawing from all the places of public resort they used to frequent. That favourite haunt of theirs, the coffee and billiard room of the grand hotel, they have deserted *en masse*—and the loud boastful talk of the ability of the Unionists to "whip" their gallant opponents, has given place to chagrined looks, subdued whispers, and a general disinclination to converse on American affairs with foreigners' but especially with Englishmen. These last victories have, I need hardly tell you, been joyfully received by English society in Paris, and the gallantry and heroism of Semmes, and the daring sally, out of Charleston Harbour, have, if possible, increased the feeling which Englishmen have, with a few exceptions, from the first entertained, in favour of the Southerners, and against their opponents. In the French official world the effect has been very great—M. Drouyn de Lhuys's despatches, published in the yellow book, have already told us the view entertained by the French Government of the hopeless attempt of the North to subdue those whom, being unable to cope with by flood or field, they find some consolation in describing as "rebels." Since these despatches were published, Confederate gallantry has afforded the Cabinet of the Tuileries additional proofs of the validity of their claim to be considered independent; and it would indeed be difficult to adduce stronger arguments of the ability of the South to keep its soil clear of the invaders than the battles of Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, Galveston, and Charleston. The naval power of any country too, cannot be reckoned merely by the number of ships it may commission. One might as well take hackney-coach and post-horses into account in giving an estimate of any country's cavalry; the power of injuring an enemy is the real test of the efficiency of a naval armament—and judged by such a standard, such ships as the Alabama, the Oreto, the gunboat flotillas that have done such good service at Galveston and Charleston, are surely a match for the numerous fleets which the North keeps up apparently to show the world that there are no odds that can withstand the dash and skill of the Southern Confederacy.

There is every reason to believe that these considerations will be duly weighed and appreciated by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and cannot, at all events, fail to hasten the decision which it is currently believed the French Government have long since arrived at.

According to a very generally prevalent report, an important communication, in relation to American affairs, will shortly appear in the *Moniteur*.

The past week in Paris has been singularly brilliant. Fancy balls at the Tuileries, at the various ministries at the Austrian Embassy, have kept the gay world in a perfect whirl of excitement, and the ingenuity of newspaper readers has been rather severely taxed to realize the appearance of the ladies in the costumes which the *feuilletonistes* of the Paris papers describe, with great enthusiasm, but not much clearness. The lady of one of the ministers, for instance, is thus described:—

Here is the costume worn at Court by Madame de —. The lower part of the skirt represented coal not yet inflamed. About the waist, on the contrary, the conflagration is represented by a mass of glowing embers; and flames rising from the shoulders seem to rise heavenwards in columns of fire. The head-dress represented a funeral pile; amidst the flames you might distinguish the wing of a half-consumed bird, and a snake in ruby and diamonds writhing amid the glowing coal.

This is a fine specimen of the sublime applied to the ridiculous. Another lady is described in the same style as representing the "*bois de Boulogne*," trees, fields, birds, rivers, lakes, and a fashionable promenade, all being represented in her dress. The most successful costume, however, appears to have been that of the Countess Castiglione, which was got up on strictly classical principles, and represented that agreeable *deshabille* which was considered full dress under the Cæsars.

In addition we have had the yearly procession of the "Bœuf Gras," which, though favoured by delightful weather, appears to have lost its attraction for the great unwashed; and a great gambling scandal, which has led to the resignation of the manager of the Italian Opera, and is likely to terminate in an unpleasant exposure before the correctional police. Marked cards are talked of, huge sums lost and won, and several demi monde celebrities are mixed up in the affair.

SOUTHERN RELIEF FUND OF EUROPE.

AN APPEAL TO SOUTHERNERS IN BEHALF OF THE SOUTHERN PRISONERS OF WAR NOW IN NORTHERN PRISONS.

(From a Committee of the Southern Club at Liverpool.)
Citizens of the Southern States' Confederacy, now resident in Great Britain.—

We appeal in behalf of our fellow-countrymen now languishing in the fortresses, gaols, and dungeons of the Northern States.

We ask your sympathy for the unfortunate prisoners of war—sick and suffering—perhaps wounded, or dying—with no wife, mother, sister, or loving friend to respond to his feeble call, to whisper words of hope, and consolation in his ear, to wipe the sweat from his fevered brow, to lift the cooling draught to his parched lips, to anticipate the numberless gentle attentions which the hands and hearts of those whom we love are every ready and eager to tender when sickness or sorrow overtake us among our kindred, or in our own homes.

We appeal in behalf of men guilty of no crime—of no fault, unless it be a fault to love one's country too well, and in her hour of peril, when her liberties are threatened and her cherished soil ruthlessly invaded, to rush with eager and emulous zeal to her defence; to forsake everything—home, wife, children, friends, all that man holds most dear, and to face hardships and danger, to risk liberty, wounds, and death itself, for one's country's sake.

Citizens of the South in Great Britain! Every mail from America that reaches these shores brings us tidings that thousands of our hapless countrymen are thus suffering. Words of kindness and encouragement, messages of tender sympathy, or the material aid they so sorely need, they can rarely receive from their sorrowing, and scarcely less suffering friends in the South. They know that they have the heartfelt prayers, the best and kindest wishes, of these loving and beloved friends. Alas! they can have nothing more. An impassable barrier lies between them and the land they love so well. Fire and sword have made the pathway desolate, and the border-land of our beloved, and once happy, prosperous, smiling, sunny South is soaked with the life-blood of thousands of her gallant defenders.

But we, fellow-Southerners, we, exiles, as we may truly call ourselves, whose hearts are still with the South, in whose fortunes for good or for ill we rejoice or lament; for whom every pulse throbs as warmly, and, oh! far more keenly, than in the days of her prosperity: we, thank God! have it in our power to do that which is unfortunately denied to our countrymen at home. We can whisper to the captives words of hope and encouragement; we can assure them that though absent in body, our hearts are with them, and with the cause for which they are suffering; we can bid them not to give way to despair, for we truly, earnestly, from our very hearts and souls, believe that a bright day will yet dawn for them and for our country, and that, purified by the furnace of affliction through which she is passing, she will come forth brighter, more resplendent, than ever.

And more than this; we can send them the material aid they so bitterly need, not, perhaps, to the extent we would most gladly do; but at least to an extent sufficient to relieve their more urgent necessities.

And this we may do without subterfuge; there is no need of concealment. The Federal Government at Washington has, through the Secretary of State, given permission for all sums transmitted through the Southern Fund in Great Britain to be distributed among Southern prisoners of war. And competent and most willing friends in the North will visit the prisons, and, in the name of the donors, bestow the free gifts of generous sympathy to those of our suffering brothers who stand most in need of such aid.

We ask no dole of charity. The donations will neither be given nor received as such. They are but the dues from us to those of our countrymen who, by the fortune of war, are situated as we might have been situated, as some of our best and dearest friends may be; and we feel assured that when the facts we have stated are fully known there will be no lack of sympathy from warm Southern hearts, nor from those who can sympathize with all unmerited suffering, who or whatever the sufferers may be.

There are many among us who have already done much. There are many—who happily can afford it—who *could* do much more, were they satisfied, as they may be now, that their donations will be promptly applied to the intended purpose, without any opposition from the Northern Government.

Numerous letters have been received from the North, written by those who sympathize with, and have visited, the prisoners of war in their dungeons, and have experienced the pleasure of bestowing these brothers' gifts to suffering brothers.

These letters it is painfully affecting to read. The writers speak sometimes of the despondency, sometimes of the hope which still lingers and cheers the heart of the captive. They speak of the delight with which the news is received of the still firm and defiant attitude of their beloved South, and of its strong abiding faith in the midst of all its sore trials; for the poor captive, shut up in his prison, knows little of what is going on in the outer world, or, at least, hears only the story his gaolers choose to tell. They tell how the dim eye brightened, how the compressed lips parted with a hopeful smile, how the pale face flushed, and the despairing voice took a more cheerful tone, as the weary captive listened to the cheering messages sent him from across the broad Atlantic, and how his heart leaped with joy, and his worn, attenuated frame seemed to gather fresh strength, when the material aid—in many instances so sorely needed that, if the truth were told, it would seem scarcely credible—satisfied him that the sympathy of his countrymen, so warmly expressed, did not evaporate in mere words.

We have all read in the newspapers the heartrending accounts of the destitute condition of many of the Southern captives in Northern gaols. We have seen them, pictured in our mind's eye, wan and attenuated with protracted hardship and fatigue, pale and suffering from sickness, or from wounds received on the battle-field, sorrowful and dejected through that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick;" their clothing worn and threadbare, often in rags—the result of long and hard service—and frequently quite insufficient to protect the wearer from the inclemency of the cold Northern winter; yet, amid all, bearing themselves, to outward appearance, with a manly fortitude which has commanded respect and admiration, even from the foe. But none, save those who have been eye-witnesses of the sad scene of a troop of Southern prisoners of war being conducted to gaol by a Northern guard, can form any correct idea of their often destitute condition, or of the hardship and sufferings which have brought such men to such a state of destitution, their pallid faces and bandaged limbs too frequently bearing sad testimony of their valour in the fight, and of the sufferings they have endured.

One who joins in this appeal has been an eye-witness of such scenes as this, and has stood side by side with the Southern soldier in the battle's front, and he can therefore speak from what he has seen.

Who and what are these men in whose behalf this appeal is made?

Many of them are of the noblest, the best, and bravest of the land!

It adds nor detracts nothing to or from the courage and patriotism of the soldier whether he be of gentle, or plebeian birth, rich or poor, educated or illiterate; but it proves beyond cavil, the generous self-sacrifice which has dictated the common feeling of devotion to their country, that has actuated the entire Southern people, when we find in her army men of birth, wealth, position, and influence, doing duty as privates; submitting patiently and cheerfully to discipline, fighting fearlessly in the ranks, willingly bearing their full share of the privations and hardships of a soldier's life—privations and hardships they might have avoided, had they been recreant to their duty in the day of trial—and sharing with their more humble fellow-citizens, so long as they last, the little comforts and luxuries they might retain for their own exclusive use.

Many of this class are to be found among the prisoners of war in whose behalf this appeal is made. Men who, heretofore, have known neither hardship nor want, whose social position, but a short time since, seemed to place them beyond the possibility of such reverses, are now, through the cruel fortune of war, suffering from the lack of proper food and clothing. Gentlemen of fortune and education, who lately had hosts of servants at command, and a superabundance of this world's goods, are now—as we know for a fact—without a change of clothing, except that which is supplied by the cold hand of charity, without any of those mental and social requirements of refined life which to them are absolute necessities, and without the means of procuring them, and, perhaps harder to bear than all, without any means, except by rare chance, of hearing of the welfare of their wives and families and all they hold dear. These latter may be living or dead, suffering from sickness, perhaps from poverty, in such localities of the South as are held by Northern troops; and captive husbands and fathers cannot hear from them, or write to them—cannot help them! They rarely see the face, or hear the voice of a friend; never but with the sad consciousness, to embitter the joy of meeting, that that friend has come to join them in their dreary captivity!

Shall such things be, while it is in our power to alleviate, however slightly, the sufferings of our gallant, but unfortunate, compatriots? We cannot do *all* we would; we cannot release them from bondage; we cannot reunite them to their families; but we can do something towards rendering their bondage lighter and more easy to endure. We can relieve the care and anxiety of their families and friends by letting these latter know that their fathers, and husbands, and sons, and friends, are the objects of our sympathy. We can transmit to them, from their countrymen in Great Britain, assurances of our brotherly feeling and affection—of our devoted attachment—exiles though we be at present—to our suffering country's cause; and we feel assured that an unanimous response to our appeal will come from every Southern heart, in the form of such pecuniary aid as each can afford to bestow.

Bis dat qui cito dat—"He gives twice who gives quickly"—is an adage which especially applies to the present case.

Let us not only do our utmost to relieve the sufferings of our countrymen in bondage in the Northern States, but let us do this *promptly*. We hope and trust that the dawn of a happier day is at hand. The South longs for peace as "the hart thirsteth for the living waters." War was unhappily forced upon her. Her people would willingly submit to anything but dishonour. That they can never submit to. An united South simply demands the independence it claims as a right, according to the Constitution of the several States of the Confederacy, guaranteed to them by their fathers.

Forced into a war to defend their native soil, their natural liberties, and their institutions, they are now resolved—let the cost be what it may—to govern themselves in the future.

They may yet have to pass through many bitter trials before the shrill clarion of war shall give place to the gentle voice of peace; but a silver lining already appears on the edges of the dark cloud which has so long overshadowed our beloved country. Let us hope it is the harbinger of that peace—with unsullied honour—we all sigh for so ardently. Then the exile may return to his native land; the captive to his home in the bosom of his family; and then in those happy days to come, when friend meets friend, and brother grasps the hand of brother, each on his native soil, let there be not one among us who shall be unable to say that, in the hour of his country's need, he, though an exile in a stranger land, did all that lay in his power to aid her, with a cheerful heart and liberal hand.

Bis dat qui cito dat. Let us adopt this motto, and the giver and the receiver will alike be blessed.

THE SOUTHERN CLUB.

55, Brown's Buildings, Liverpool.—February, 1863.

[We are authorized to state, that all donations to the "Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund" will be received and distributed by the Southern Club at Liverpool, which has already in operation a well organized system for the distribution of the relief among the Southern prisoners in the various Northern cities. Communications on this subject should be addressed to the Treasurer, J. H. Ashbridge, Esq., Southern Club, 55, Brown's Buildings, Liverpool.]

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1863.

The Blockade Raised.

(Phillimore on "International Law," Vol. iii., p. 386.)

CCXCIV.—4. *What maintains or continues a Blockade.*

A Blockade is to be considered as legally existing, although the winds occasionally blow off the invading squadron. It effects an incidental change to which every Blockade is incident; but it does not *suspend*, much less *break*, the Blockade. It is most satisfactory to be able to state, that upon this, as indeed upon every other point of Blockade, the decisions of the Courts of the North American United States are in perfect harmony.

But this principle is not extended to the case of a blockading squadron driven off by a superior force; under such circumstances, a neutral Power is not obliged to presume the continuance of a Blockade, nor to act upon a supposition that the Blockade would be resumed by any other competent force.*

The Neutral is not bound to foresee or to conjecture that the Blockade will be resumed; and therefore if it is to be renewed, it must proceed *de novo* by the usual course, and without reference to the former state of facts by which it has been so effectually interrupted†; and the presumption, if the fact be dubious as to the resumption of such blockade, is in favour of the Neutral.‡

* The Hoffnung, 6 Rob., p. 116. † Ibid., p. 117.

‡ The Triheten, 6 Rob., p. 67.

(The same, Vol. iii., p. 389.)

CCXCVI. 6. *How a Blockade, having been discontinued or abandoned, may be resumed.*

When a Blockade has been raised by the appearance of a superior force, there is an entire defeasance of that Blockade and of its operation. It must be renewed by *notification*, before foreign nations can be affected with an obligation of observing it as a blockade of *that species* still existing. The mere appearance of another squadron is not sufficient for that purpose, but the same measures are necessary to constitute a recommencement as were required for the original imposition of the Blockade; foreign merchants are not bound to act upon any presumption that a Blockade of which there has been such a defeasance will be *de facto* resumed.*

* The Hoffnung, 6 Rob. p. 120.

(Wheaton on "International Law," p. 582.)

Where it was suggested that the blockading squadron had actually returned to its former station off the port, in order to renew the blockade, a question arose whether there had been that notoriety of the fact, arising from the operation of time, or other circumstances, which must be taken to have brought the existence of the blockade to the knowledge of the parties. Among other modes of resolving this question, a prevailing consideration would have been the length of time, in proportion to the distance of the country from which the vessel sailed. But as nothing more came out in evidence than that the squadron came off the port on a certain day, it was held that this would not restore a blockade which had been thus effectually raised, but that it must be renewed again by notification, before foreign nations could be affected with an obligation to observe it. The squadron might return off the port with different intentions. It might arrive there as a fleet of observation merely, or for the purpose of only a qualified blockade. On the other hand, the commander might attempt to connect the two blockades together; but this is what could not be done; and, in order to revive the former blockade, the same form of communication must have been observed *de novo* that is necessary to establish an original blockade.

(Robinson's "Admiralty Reports," Vol. vi., p. 112. The Hoffnung.)

(The same, p. 578.)

Where the country (from which the vessel sails) lies at such a distance that the inhabitants cannot have this constant information, (of the state of the blockade, whether it is continued or relaxed) they may lawfully send their vessels conjecturally, upon the expectation of finding the blockade broken up, after it has existed for a considerable time. In this case, the party has a right to make a fair inquiry whether the blockade be determined or not, and consequently cannot be involved in the penalties affixed to a violation of it, unless upon such inquiry, he receives notice of the existence of the blockade.

(Robinson's "Admiralty Reports," Vol. i., p. 332. The "Betsey.")

18th Article of the Treaty of 1794, between Great Britain and the United States.

Whereas, it frequently happens that vessels sail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested, it is agreed that every vessel so circumstanced may be turned away from such port or place; but she shall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated, unless, after notice, she shall attempt to enter; but she shall be permitted to go to any other port or place she may think proper.

The above citations from the highest authorities on international law in Great Britain and the United States clear up beyond all dispute, or the possibility of arbitrary construction, at least one point in the intricate and contested law of Blockades. When a blockading squadron is driven off by a superior force, the Blockade of the port from which it is so driven off is raised. The squadron may return and again blockade the same port, but the Blockade will be a new one which has no "reference to the former state of facts by which it has been so effectually interrupted." This "effectual interruption," viz., the driving off of the blockading squadron, is, in the theory and practice of the law, what writers on Metaphysics term "a solution of continuity." The new Blockade may be enforced a day or an hour afterwards—the authorities state no definite time—but if so enforced, it can only be as a *de facto* Blockade, warning off, not capturing, the vessels that may attempt to enter. The Neutral is not obliged, says Judge Phillimore expressly, "to presume the continuance of the Blockade, nor to act upon a supposition that the Blockade would be resumed." Again he says: "The presumption, if the fact be dubious, as to the resumption of the Blockade is in favour of the Neutral," and "the Neutral is not bound to *foresee* or to *conjecture* that the Blockade will be resumed." In absence, therefore, of any formal notification of the resumption of the Blockade, neutral vessels may rightfully sail for the port from which the blockading force had been driven off, and if they carry no contraband of war, are free to return or sail for any other port, should, on arrival, they find access prevented by the existence of a *de facto* Blockade. They would be liable to capture only in the case that having actually been refused access, the neutral vessels should renew the attempt, as the entering of the refusal upon the register would be conclusive evidence of that special notice having been given to which, in absence of any general and formal notification, all authorities concur that the Neutral is entitled.

It is the dictate of humanity and common sense, as well as a maxim of international law, that belligerent rights should always be construed, in any case of doubt, in favour of Neutrals, since it is not only desirable to mitigate so far as possible the unavoidable evils of war, but to protect more especially those who are innocent of the quarrel from unnecessarily suffering by those evils. The onus of proof for the lawful exercise of any belligerent right, vexatious and injurious to Neutrals, rests, therefore, always upon the belligerent who exercises it. The right of Blockade is of all the belligerent rights that which is most vexatious and injurious to Neutrals; and hence its exercise has been, by the common consent of nations, subjected to particularly rigid regulations and limitations. The reliance of this country upon the naval arm of defence and offence has ever inclined the policy of the British Government to a more lax construction of these regulations and limitation than most other Governments less secure in their maritime strength. But on this point of the "defeasance of a Blockade by the appearance of a superior force," the greatest living English authority speaks in terms, if possible, even more distinct and emphatic than any foreign writer on international law. His reiterated assertions leave no room for the quibbles of a special pleader, and we must either assume it to be the British exposition of international law and usage, or reject altogether the authority of the Crown's principal legal advisers on subjects of this nature.

Let us now apply these ascertained principles of the law of Blockades to the remarkable events which have recently transpired in America. On the 1st

of January, an attack was made upon the Federal fleet in the harbour of Galveston, Texas, which resulted in the destruction of one vessel of war, the capture of another, as well as two transports, and the dispersion of the remainder of the fleet, which sought safety in flight, and is reported to have taken refuge at New Orleans. Thereupon the successful commander issued his proclamation declaring the Blockade of the port of Galveston raised, and inviting the commerce of Neutrals to the said port. On the 31st of January, an attack was made upon the blockading squadron before the port of Charleston, South Carolina, which resulted in the sinking of two vessels of war, the burning of four more, and the disabling of a seventh that managed to escape, though with serious injury. As in the former instance, the remainder of the blockading fleet sought safety in flight, and it is alleged that after the conclusion of the engagement, from a point five miles beyond the usual anchorage of the blockading fleet, no trace of the hostile vessels could be discovered. The naval and military commanders at the port of Charleston thereupon proclaimed that "the Confederate fleet had attacked the blockading squadron off Charleston, and sunk, dispersed, or driven off and out of sight for the time the entire hostile fleet, and declared the Blockade of Charleston by the United States raised by the superior force of the Confederates from and after the 31st of January." An official announcement to the same effect was issued and communicated to the foreign Consuls by the Confederate Government.

It is absurd to deny that a Blockade is "effectually interrupted," to use Judge Phillimore's expression, when the blockading force is driven out of sight, with the actual loss of one-half the vessels composing it. This effectual interruption of the Blockade of Galveston and Charleston respectively is, according to the highest English authority, "an entire defeasance of that Blockade and of its operation. It must be renewed by *notification* before foreign nations can be affected with an obligation of observing it as a Blockade of *that species* still existing." The newspapers inform us that another squadron has appeared before each of these ports; but Judge Phillimore distinctly says, that "the mere appearance of another squadron is not sufficient for this purpose (that of notification), but that the same measures are necessary to constitute a recommencement as were required for the original imposition of the Blockade." That squadron might have appeared, to use the words of the great American authority, Mr. Wheaton, "with different intentions. It might have arrived there as a fleet of observation merely, or for the purpose of only a qualified Blockade. On the other hand, the commander might attempt to connect the two blockades together; but this is what could not be done, and in order to revive the former Blockade, the same form of communication must have been observed *de novo* that is necessary to establish an original Blockade."

We shall be curious to hear how the inferences can be controverted which we deduce from these facts, and which are—1st, that any vessel not carrying contraband of war may sail from any neutral port to the ports of Charleston and Galveston, and cannot be lawfully interrupted on her voyage thither. 2nd, that finding a *de facto* Blockade established at either of the said ports, she may be warned off, and the warning entered on her register, making her liable to seizure upon a subsequent attempt at the same port; and 3rd, that if she succeed in entering either port without molestation, she cannot be prevented in her right of egress on her return voyage.

The Latest Aspect of the War.

It was said of Napoleon III. in the Italian war, *Il fait la guerre en conspirateur*. The remark was the involuntary homage paid to military success. The present ruler of France, like his uncle, knew the value of secrecy and rapidity in operations against an enemy: and it was to these two causes that he mainly owed his triumph over the Austrians. The South makes war in the same fashion. Its most

successful actions have been the result of movements of which the Federals have known nothing until their outposts have been driven in. From the first the history of the American campaigns in the Southern war has been a series of brilliant enterprises, against which the superior numbers and *matériel* of Northern armies have availed nothing; and it seems that to the end the respective characteristics of the belligerent forces are likely to be maintained; that we shall continue to see on the Southern side all the dashing enterprise, rapid motion, and quick resolve which lead to victory; on the other, the caution, the tardiness, the irresolution which necessitate defeat. By this week's mail from New York we have the intelligence of another of those daring exploits which have done so much to win the sympathy of England for the Confederate cause. On the 31st ult. a Federal squadron of thirteen vessels, two of them first-class frigates, was blockading Charleston. Before daybreak a Confederate flotilla, consisting of two iron-clad and three small steamers, steamed boldly out to attack the blockading force. An engagement ensued, which seems to have lasted several hours, and at the close of which two Federal gunboats or corvettes were sunk, the Quaker City, a powerful paddle-wheel steamer, was disabled, and four other Federal vessels, probably transports, were set on fire, whilst the rest of the squadron found safety in flight. The Confederate flotilla returned to Charleston Harbour amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the population, and General Beauregard at once announced the blockade at an end, with the sanction, it is said, of the European Consuls. The detailed reports of this gallant enterprise can scarcely diminish its importance from a political point of view, and certainly, they cannot affect its character as a bold and successful operation; and although there has been no lack of similar acts on the Confederate side, it may be doubted if any event of the war has been more calculated to depress the North and convince it of the utter hopelessness of the struggle into which the recklessness of its leading men has plunged it. It is plain now, that a new phase of the contest is opening up, and that the Confederate navy, which has hitherto played so small a part, will shortly take its place in the line of battle. The brief but brilliant success of the Virginia and the Arkansas, showed what the sailors of the Confederacy were capable of. In the navy, as in the army of the United States, the gentlemen of the South were "to the fore." If ships can be provided, officers and crews will readily be found, and as it seems that the Federals are now doing their best to supply the deficiency of the South in the former respect, we may expect to see the Confederate navy in a month or two assuming very menacing proportions. Already the Confederacy has the Alabama, the Florida, the Harriet Lane, the Retribution, at sea. A Federal gunboat of eleven guns has been captured on the Stono River, in the vicinity of Charleston. The force at the latter port is already powerful and being increased. At Mobile and Savannah there are more iron-clads completed, or in course of construction. The Federal blockading squadrons are composed, for the most part, of notoriously ill constructed and weak vessels. It is quite within the range of probability that, whilst the attention of the North is concentrated upon the enormous force collected at Beaufort for the reduction of Charleston, the Alabama and her fellows may look up the blockading ships at Mobile or Galveston, and astonish the Yankees by another naval victory.

The action of Charleston seems to have decided the question of an immediate attack upon that "doomed City," as the New York Press has, for many months, designated the capital of South Carolina. The Federal iron clads, on which so much reliance has been placed, were off the port. The great fleet of transports which has for weeks crowded the waters of Beaufort and Port Royal was reported to be on its way thither. The strength of the Palmetto City, and the resolution of its inhabitants, were at length to be fairly tested. We have no fear of the result. Since the fall of Fort Sumter scarcely a day has passed but that the work of fortifying this

important post has been proceeding under the personal direction of Generals Lee and Beauregard. Every available site has been covered with batteries mounted with heavy guns, and protected with a perfect network of redoubts and fosses. At the entrance to the harbour on the north, lies Fort Moultrie. Protecting this fort, and protected in its turn by the guns of Fort Moultrie, is Fort Sumter, strengthened with all the resources at the command of the Confederate engineers, and mounting guns of the largest calibre *en barbette*. Both these forts are covered by batteries on the adjacent islands, which can only be taken by an overwhelming military force; higher up, Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnson show new batteries to the attacking force: and all along the river, wherever a gun can be trained, the Federal flotilla will have to run the gauntlet of a concentrated fire from the heaviest artillery. The land defences of Charleston are even more formidable. Nature has given her a series of almost impenetrable lines in the sluggish and swollen rivers that envelope her in their sinuous folds, and the broad tracks of marsh and swamp which stretch away from river to river. The loss of the Federal gunboat on the Stono River shows the perils of this inland navigation, and the natural facilities afforded for resistance. When it is borne in mind, that these advantages have been improved to the utmost, and that Beauregard, an officer of acknowledged engineering skill, is in command, it becomes obvious that the Federals, in attacking Charleston, have entered upon an enterprise, to which the forces at present at their disposal are clearly inadequate. It is yet possible, however, that Charleston may not be the point of attack, and that Savannah or Wilmington may be selected as the first object of the expedition starting from Beaufort. But in this case, we must suppose a division of the Federal forces, which will materially reduce the chances of success, as well as a dangerous opportunity offered to the Confederate navy to make a new Charleston harbour *coup*. On the whole, we are inclined to believe that the North will strike at Charleston. The Northern mob is intensely bitter against the city which first hoisted the flag of secession; and the Northern war Administration is too apt to subordinate its operations to mob dictation. The Federal armies have so invariably met with disaster of late that, if the war is to continue, an immediate and decisive blow is necessary. The Cleons of New York must have their *Sphacteria*. In all probability Charleston will teach them the lesson which was taught to their swaggering Athenian prototype twenty centuries ago, without even the transient gleam of success which attended his earliest efforts.

In the South and South-west the combatants are on the eve of a new conflict for the mastery of the Mississippi. Grant and McClelland, with an army of 80,000 men, and Porter's flotilla of gunboats and transports, are waiting for the completion of the canal opposite Vicksburg, to renew the attack which has twice signally failed. Banks is concentrating his forces at Baton Rouge, preparatory to his attempt to force the passage at Port Hudson. At both points the Confederates are confident of repelling the enemy. What the numbers of the Confederate forces are on the Mississippi we cannot tell. The South knows the value of secrecy. But, as President Davis long ago declared that the fortunes of the Confederacy depended on the retention of this line, it is not likely such strong and important positions have been weakly garrisoned. The defences of Vicksburg, extending some miles inland, and along the river, require a considerable force. Port Hudson is more likely to fall to land attack than by bombardment. We may rely upon it that on the day of assault the Federals will be, if not outnumbered, fairly matched, the advantage of position being taken into consideration; and that unless the Father of Waters can be induced to change its course, the bisection of the Confederacy will not be effected this season. But pending the issue of the conflict on the Mississippi, the Confederates are by no means idle. A forward movement has already been made

by the Southern forces in the State of Mississippi, and Generals Van Dorn and Price are reported to have once more captured Holly Springs. The Northern papers represent them as at the head of 50,000 men. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is evident that the transfer of Grant's forces to the neighbourhood of Vicksburg will leave Memphis at the mercy of the Confederates, if they are in sufficient force to risk another attack; and that the prospect of the recapture of Memphis, or even of its assault, will have the effect of greatly increasing the difficulties of General Grant's position at Vicksburg. Of General Longstreet's movements we have nothing new; nothing of General Rosecrans; but if reinforcements from Virginia have reached the Confederate army in Tennessee, there seems to be nothing left to Rosecrans but to strike a blow at once, or retire upon Nashville. The Confederates are swarming on his lines of communication with the Western States. Fort Donelson itself is attacked, Cumberland River is almost closed by Confederate batteries planted along the banks at every bend of the river; and as this is the sole channel by which he can obtain reinforcements and supplies, a retrograde movement seems inevitable. All this time the Army of the Potomac is lying idle, every day adding to its demoralization. The accounts of the latest Federal movement north of the Rappahannock show a feeling of discontent and a want of confidence, which, even if the country were in a better condition for active operations, would effectually bar General Hooker's fighting propensities. In fact, nothing could serve the Confederate cause better than another advance across the Rappahannock by this great army, which is far more formidable to the South by its mere *vis inertiae* than it would be on the field of battle. In another part of Virginia the same discontent which pervades the Army of the Potomac has exhibited itself in the very heat of an engagement. In a recent battle near Suffolk a whole Pennsylvania regiment, including officers, laid down its arms and refused to fight; the excuse being that they were "drafted." When such things happen, the issue of this war, unpopular from the first, but a thousand times more abhorred and censured now that its history is written in the sacrifice of half a million of lives, and in the lasting disgrace and humiliation of the United States, cannot be considered undecided.

The Confederate States' Commissioner and the "Times."

The Vicar of Bray was essentially a representative man. We all are acquainted with many highly respectable people who prate about their morality, and are perpetually returning thanks in public that they are so much better than their neighbours, yet who never permit qualms of conscience to jeopardize the retention of their snug places, or suffer principles to interfere with their pockets. But this policy of toadying to the powers that be is narrow and contemptible compared to the comprehensive strategy of the *Times*. Our contemporary is all things to all men. It not only shouts with the largest crowd, according to the Pickwickian philosophy, but with a skill and daring that command admiration, it shouts simultaneously with opposite and contending crowds. It is everybody's *Times*. It is blue, yellow, and every colour and shade of colour. Still, it is unfair to charge our contemporary with being inconsistent. It would be inconsistent if it so far belied its nature and history as not to represent the contradictory opinions of hostile parties. Even in religious questions it does this. At one time it is as fiercely Protestant as Dr. Cumming or Lord Russell's "Durham Letter," at another it gives Romanism a patronising pat on the back. To-day it comes out with an article that pleases the anti-Bible professors of Christianity and disgusts the Evangelicals; and tomorrow it publishes a leader that might have been dictated by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, or Mr. Spurgeon. Actors sometimes, as in the "Corsican Brothers," play two parts in a piece, but the

Times can play any number of parts in the same piece—it does, in fact, assume all the parts of the drama of social life and politics. Yet we do not mean to say that our contemporary is unreliable as an indicator of public opinion. Like the weather-cock, it is always shifting about, but nevertheless, if closely watched, shows from which quarter the wind blows. The American war is an example. When secession took place, the South, owing to Yankee misrepresentation, was a *terra incognita* to Europe, or, what was worse, the European idea of the South was thoroughly false. In this country more particularly, there was strong and general sympathy with the North, and the *Times*, guided by this, and implicitly relying on the promise of Mr. Seward to put down the “rebellion” in sixty days, was ultra-Northern. The war, though it blockaded the Southern ports, taught us the truth about the South by exposing the Federal shams, and the rottenness of the Federal cause; and by simultaneously revealing to Europe the strength, riches, patriotism, and moral grandeur of the Confederate States. English sympathy veered round, and so did the *Times*. In the columns of our contemporary have appeared, and still are appearing, the most withering denunciations of the North, and the most unstinted praises of the South. But there is in this country a heterogeneous clique, consisting of a few third-rate politicians and fourth-rate statesmen—we do not refer to the so-called “Emancipation Society,” with its infidel lecturers, and “reverends” who prostitute religion by using it as a cloak for their political partisanship, who call the Lincoln despotism a free Government, and repeat, with charming unctiousness, the tales of “the German Saven” about the Southerners burning their houses in order to roast the negroes, and some other equally veracious stories, invented to gratify the craving of female “emancipationists” for talk spiced with indecent innuendoes, or, as the fair creatures would designate it, sensational and suggestive naughtiness—but we refer to the respectable clique of pro-Northerners which the *Times* has to conciliate, and does so by an occasional smart Northern article; but it is careful not to do this so often as to deceive its readers as to which is the right side. The *Times* is, by duty and interest, thoroughly with the South, but it occasionally flings a bone to the lean, clamorous, and ravenous North.

It did so on Friday last, when it tried, and we submit signally failed, to sneer at Mr. Mason. Our clever contemporary made a twofold blunder. It did not select a fitting opportunity, and the article itself was not skilfully written—calling a gentleman bad names, and stating that which is false, savour more of Billingsgate than of Printing House Square.

Mr. Mason was invited by the Lord Mayor to dine at the Mansion House. It was in no sense a public or official reception. When the Mayor of Quebec had responded to the toast of “The Visitors,” the 250 noblemen and gentlemen who were present insisted upon Mr. Mason addressing them. He stood up, was greeted with hearty cheers, referred gracefully to the reception he had met with in this country, pointedly reminded the company that he was not officially recognized by the English Government, and expressed a confident hope that ere long there would be intimate relations between the Confederate States and England, and especially with London, the metropolis of commerce. His brief, self-denying, and non-political remarks were received with loud applause.

The *Times* knows as well as we know that Mr. Mason has studiously avoided courting public notice. The *Times* knows that the Confederate States’ Commissioner has refused his countenance and prevented any agitation in favour of the South; that he has maintained a dignified reserve befitting his high, irksome, and responsible position; and that he has altogether eschewed diplomatic demagogism, and the vulgar claptrap that has brought the President of the United States into communication with a few Manchester ranters. It is true that Mr. Mason has been cordially received in all respectable circles, not excluding his respectable political enemies; of course, he has been abused by the Reverend Tooley-street

Tailors, and their infidel allies, who are brought together by their mutual sympathy for servile war, and their pious greed for battles of which the only results are so many killed and so many wounded. As Mr. Mason would not, by taking the stump, give the Northerners a chance of attacking him, the *Times* comes to the rescue by pouncing upon an impromptu after-dinner speech, and which, as it happened, was wonderfully free from assailable points. Nothing remained but to distort the plain meaning of plain words.

We last week reprinted Mr. Mason’s speech from the *Times*’ report, and our readers will see that there is no pretence for accusing him of using a festive occasion for making political capital; on the contrary, Mr. Mason scrupulously and completely avoided sodoing. The *Times* says: “He tells the whole world—of course, without contradiction—that he has had such a welcome, and so much honour in every circle here and in every class of society, that he becomes thereby assured of ultimate recognition for the Confederate States, and a close and mutual alliance between them and this country.” Mr. Mason told the world no such thing. He never talked so illogically. He did acknowledge the kind reception he had met with, and he did anticipate the recognition of the Southern Confederacy; but he did not say that the one would be the cause of the other. Mr. Mason is perfectly aware that England will only recognize the Confederate States, because the South has, with her own right arm, and the favour of Heaven, vindicated her independence, and because it is the duty and interest of commercial England to recognize and form an intimate alliance with a nation which produces in unequalled abundance the greatest staple of commerce, and which consumes vast quantities of manufactured goods. But even more extraordinary than this misrepresentation is the insult offered to the English people. Referring to Mr. Mason’s reception, the *Times* says: “If General Butler, or Nana Sahib, or the King of Dahomey, were at large in this metropolis, he would be asked out every night.” We repudiate this slander. Mr. Mason’s hearty reception is due to the respect felt for his country, for his personal character, and honourable position; and society in England is not so demoralized as to seek the company of miscreants who have been denounced by the civilized world. If it were true, we must have sadly degenerated from the time when the draymen mobbed Haynan, who had not been guilty of a hundredth part of the crimes that have made the names of Butler, Nana Sahib, and the King of Dahomey, execrated and infamous. All the *Times* has done by throwing this mud is to dirty its own fingers.

It is amusing to notice how the *Observer* of Sunday last followed (at a long distance) the *Times*. The braying, evidently an attempt at imitating the Printing House Square thunder, is exceedingly comic. For instance—the *Observer* settles the Prussian difficulty by saying, “There is, in fact, no alternative now but to dispense with the King of Prussia altogether, and vacate his place for the occupation of a more enlightened successor.” No paper that has the slightest claim to be considered a political organ would ever indulge in such balderdash; but the *Observer* is not a political organ. It gives us the telegrams on Sunday and a part of Saturday’s news. The rest of the issue is made up from other papers, and all that is good in the *Observer* is copied, and all that is original is many fathoms below mediocrity. It has, too, a little importance from getting a few items of official intelligence from the present Government, through a kind of political Jeames Plushe influence. Thus, out of gratitude to the Liberal Ministry, it spoke of the “Tory Lord Mayor,” although the present, as well as the late Tory Lord Mayor, have never shown any evidence of political partisanship in their conduct as chief magistrates of the City of London. It is necessary to thus explain the position of the *Observer* that our readers may be able to enjoy a hearty laugh at the following:—

It is a singular fact that, with the exception of the persons executed by the local or State’s officer—McNeil—no one has ever been brought to trial for high treason by Mr. Lincoln.

The Czar of Russia shoots every Pole made prisoner, and the English generals in India did not spare the rebels taken in arms against our rule in the late rebellion. Has the Federal Government a less stake at issue?

We can assure the *Observer* that the Federals do not require any instigation to bloodshed, and that if the *Observer* will only point out how the people of the South can be exterminated, the clergy of New England, who have already set up John Brown, the midnight assassin, as “John the Baptist,” will probably adopt the *Observer* as the anti-slavery Bible, and the editor thereof as the anti-slavery God, for which they are clamouring. But as this cannot be done, as no number of proclamations or any other plan will induce the obstinate Confederates to let the Yankees butcher them and their wives and children, and then, having killed, to take possession of their estates, it will, perhaps, be wise for the *Observer* to feebly mimic and not to attempt to bray louder than the *Times* thunders, lest the fate of the little creature that envied the size of the bull should befall the Sunday news-sheet; a result we should regret, because it is useful in giving us the Sunday morning telegrams in readable type.

The Naval Defeats of the Federals.

Not the least useful lesson of the recent events at Charleston and Galveston, independently of the grave question of international law they suggest, is the fact which they teach, that the naval strength of the Federal Government is not more substantial or effective than their vaunted superiority on land. The boasts of the Northern Government and presses are the same in each case, and in each, it now appears, equally unfounded. The naval force investing the port of Galveston consisted of at least four armed vessels, two of them known to be of first-class. Of these latter one was captured and the other destroyed. The other two were driven to flight. This exploit was performed by a small fleet of river steamers, without cannon, and protected against shot not by iron armour, but by cotton bales. The blockading force off Charleston Harbour is said to have consisted of thirteen vessels, of which two were frigates of the first-class. Of these two were sunk, four burnt, a seventh disabled, and the rest driven out of sight. In each of these engagements the Federals suffered a loss of exactly one-half of their entire force. This last exploit was performed by a small fleet, not of men-of-war built in European dockyards, with all the resources and appliances of a vast and widely ramified system of manufacture, but such as could be improvised in a blockaded country which has been constantly taunted for its lack of industry and incapacity for manufactures.

On the very day before the memorable engagement, the 30th of January, a Federal gunboat, the I. P. Smith, carrying eleven guns, and with a crew of 230 men, surrendered to the Confederate forces in Charleston Harbour. A few days after the affair at Galveston, and almost in sight of that harbour, the Hatteras, carrying nine guns, went down at the first broadside of the Alabama. Nearly every mail now brings us the news of the repulse, the destruction, or the sinking at sea, of one or more of these floating forts, upon which the North has spent so much, and upon which it so confidently relied. Close upon the heels of each other came the foundering at sea of the famous Monitor and the explosion, by striking a torpedo, in the Yazoo River, of another supposed invulnerable iron-clad. The Monitor’s companion, the Montauk, has just been repulsed, with injury to her turret, by one of the secondary forts defending the approaches of Savannah.

Thus, while the Confederates, with their cramped resources, have been able to build a Virginia capable of destroying a whole fleet in Hampton Roads, and an Arkansas to run the gauntlet of the most formidable naval armament that had been collected during the war, the utmost efforts of the wealth and resources of the North, concentrated upon expeditions on the most magnificent and extensive scale, have failed before Fort Darling or Drury’s Bluff, before Port Hudson, and before Vicksburg. The time

was when the South almost trembled for its safety before the innumerable flotillas which it was feared would soon swarm in all the inland waters, carrying destruction and desolation wherever a river flowed. Now, as President Davis truly remarked in his address to the Legislature of Mississippi, the gunboats of the enemy are stripped of their terrors. With every considerable town, except one, on the great river in their possession, the whole naval force of the North has not availed it to gain command of the Mississippi, and not even an iron-clad fleet is able to descend to the captured city of New Orleans.

In directing attention to these facts, it is not our purpose to extol the skill and valour of the Confederates, which are now as conspicuous by sea as by land, but to expose the senseless fallacies of those who sometimes attempt to play upon the apprehensions of timid people here by the spectre of a war with the Yankees. If this maritime strength can be so successfully defied by a nation excluded from the sea, what resistance could it offer to the navies of the Old World? The United States, when united, were, in regard to armed vessels, at most, scarcely a fourth-rate naval Power. Since the disruption, the North has displayed the same restless energy, the same obstinate perseverance, and the same recklessness of expenditure in its naval armaments, which have characterized its military preparations. Both have been on the same extravagant scale of magnitude. But there has apparently been the same want of solidity, the same external grandeur and internal hollowness, in its navies as in its armies. There has been the same shameless jobbery and corruption in the contracts, the same imbecility and alternate rashness and indecision in command. Many of the best vessels of the old United States' navy have been lost since the beginning of the war; few new ones, except the mortar-boats for river service, have been built since, and those few hastily and inefficiently. The portentous roll of the present naval force is filled up with a fleet of merchantmen, some of them scarcely seaworthy as such, and few of which could, with safety to themselves, discharge their own broadsides. Such a force may be competent to carry on war against unarmed vessels, to cruise against and insult the commerce of neutrals, and even for a time to blockade ports which are defended by land batteries alone; but at the mere contact with a real navy it must vanish, and could be swept away by the squadrons of Great Britain as easily as a housemaid's broom brushes off cobwebs.

AN APPEAL TO SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM.—We publish elsewhere a fervent appeal from a Committee of the Southern Club at Liverpool, to their compatriots residing in Europe, on behalf of the Confederate prisoners at the North. The sufferings and privations of those whom the chances of war has thrown into captivity, far from home, kindred, and friends—many of them of gentle birth and nurture—are described in earnest tones. The Club has organized, and, for some time past had in active operation, a machinery for distributing to the sufferers, chiefly through the agency of sympathizing ladies in the Northern cities, such relief in the shape of clothing, food, medicines, little luxuries, or small sums of money, as their necessities may require, and the means of the club permit of being granted. Very considerable sums have already been expended in this manner and with most gratifying results, but war on so unprecedented a scale entails corresponding suffering, and the demands upon patriotic charity are constant and great. The citizens of the Confederacy resident in Europe have heretofore responded to these demands in the most generous manner. To our knowledge, one gentleman alone contributed, as his share of the relief, £1000, and a few weeks since a correspondent in our columns chronicled the touching incident of a young lady, desiring to give something which it would really be a personal sacrifice to give, contributing a valuable ring, her father's first gift to her, to the same cause. No doubt the present

appeal will be responded to in a like generous and patriotic manner. We learn from this appeal of the Southern Club Committee, somewhat to our surprise, that the Federal Government has formally permitted the open distribution of relief among the Southern prisoners. This act of humanity and justice, which immensely facilitates the Samaritan labours of the Club and its agents, might have been expected from any other civilized Government, but it is so strikingly in contrast with the things that have been done in the name, or at least with the consent, of the Washington authorities, that we take especial pleasure in recording the fact.

The Southern Club, as will be seen by announcement elsewhere, is located at 55, Brown's Buildings, Liverpool. The Treasurer of the Relief Fund is J. H. Ashbridge, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Ashbridge and Co., of New Orleans, and who is assisted in the management and disposal of the funds by a Committee of the club.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

The framers of the American Constitution do not seem to have contemplated the existence in the United States of what is known in Europe as government by party. It was hardly likely that they should do so; for the idea of party government was then in its infancy, even in England. It had scarcely become an established rule until the days of Chatham, that the members of the Cabinet must agree on political questions; it was not, even in his time, the rule that the possession of the Government was in the gift of the House of Commons, and that the leader of the party which had achieved the ascendancy there was entitled as of right to the rank of Prime Minister. The King could not, indeed, maintain a Minister in power for any length of time in opposition to the will of Parliament; but the right of Parliament to compel him to accept a Minister of its choice was not yet recognized, although it was strenuously asserted, on some occasions, by the Whig leaders. In a word, government by party was slowly becoming a fact, and had not been accepted as a theory in England when the independence of the American colonies was finally established; and it is therefore natural that we should find no trace of it in the Constitution of the United States. But party spirit is of very rapid growth in a free Government; and there were in the condition of the States and in their mutual relations circumstances which were certain to foster its development there. Nevertheless, it can hardly be thought that if the very able men who framed the Federal organization had contemplated a state of things in which the possession of the supreme power should be handed from one party to another as the rightful possession of that which commanded the most general support in the country or in Congress, they would ever have devised a system so extremely ill-adapted to that form of political life. It is quite clear to all who compare the written Constitution of America with that which has grown up—never written, and therefore subject to continual and almost unconscious modification and development—in England, that the machinery of the former was never intended to be worked by the motive power of party, while the latter has been moulded into its present shape for no other purpose.

In the first place, the special rules which obtain in America with regard to majorities are wholly inapplicable to a system of government by party; and, as we shall endeavour to show, work ill under that system. In the Senate, a majority of two-thirds is required for certain executive purposes. In both Houses, an absolute

majority is required for the election of officers of the House. In the Electoral Colleges, an absolute majority is requisite to the election of the President. For any modification of the Constitution, large proportionate majorities both of the Houses of Congress, and of the States are required. This requirement is exactly adapted to that which was probably the intention of those who introduced it—the government of the country by a selection from among those men in whom the bulk of the nation had most confidence, and the prevention of any undue predominance of a single clique or section. But for that very reason it is unsuited to a system of party government, and when parties arose and resolved to govern, means were devised, wherever it was possible, to evade the effect of the rules requiring an absolute majority. This has been done in the case of the electors who chose the President, by conventions of delegates from the opposing parties, who severally meet and decide upon a candidate who is to receive the suffrages of the whole party, and thus secure that their whole strength shall be concentrated, and that the Electoral Colleges shall not divide their votes among several candidates, and shall not choose the best man in the country, but the most available candidate of the dominant party. When parties are closely balanced in the House of Representatives, the election of a Speaker becomes an exceedingly difficult matter; and public business has sometimes been delayed for weeks by the difficulty of uniting a majority of votes in favour of any one candidate. It may be observed, too, that by virtue of this system of requiring absolute majorities, it would be possible for such a third party as has for years existed in England, either to stop the whole machinery of Government, or to impose its own conditions on either of its two rivals. It is clear that when such a requirement was enacted, party organization and systematic party warfare were not contemplated.

Again, the irremovability of the Executive is utterly inconsistent with the idea of government by party. The English theory requires that the whole power of the Administration shall be in the hands of that party which for the time being possesses the confidence of the country, and that the moment that confidence is transferred, the power shall be transferred also. The American Constitution not only recognizes no such principle, but does its utmost to render its application impossible. In the light in which we are now regarding the matter, the Presidency is analogous not to the Crown but to the Premiership. The President is a party man, elected as a party man; he is, in a certain sense and for the term for which he holds office, the chief of a party. The theory of party government would require, therefore, that he should resign as soon as his party finds itself decidedly in a minority in Congress. But he does nothing of the kind; the American Constitution does not expect that he should do anything of the kind. He holds his office directly from the people, for a period of four years; and during that period neither Congress nor even the people have the right or the power to remove him. He is for that time practically as irremovable as the Queen of England. But inasmuch as he does not merely reign, but also governs, the acts of his Administration are his acts, and he is not therefore to be expected to dismiss his Ministers and change his measures at the bidding of Congress or of public opinion. The result is that the Government is virtually not merely irremovable but irresponsible. Either the President or his Ministers may indeed be got rid of by impeachment. But impeachment is not available, and never ought to be used, as a party weapon. It is not a sword which may be used in fair fight between honourable adversaries; it is the axe wherewith public justice may strike a great political criminal. Accordingly, the Federal Government is not, properly speaking, amenable to correction by the Opposition, however completely the former may have lost and the latter regained the confidence of the country. The Opposition cannot oust the Administration by a party vote; and where this is the case, the conditions of party warfare are widely different from those under which it is waged in England, in her colonies, or in those few European countries whose Constitutions are fashioned on the English model. The spectacle which is now presented at Washington is very strange to English eyes. President Lincoln has completely lost the confidence of the country. A House of Representatives has been elected in which his opponents have a decided majority. The dismissal of his Cabinet has been demanded by his own party. And yet President Lincoln, and Messrs. Seward, Stanton, and Chase remain in office; and if no revolutionary violence be used against them, it seems probable that they will remain in office till the 4th of March, 1865. Nay more, the Congress in which they are certain to meet with a preponderant opposition does not assemble until the 1st December, 1863. And if the Democratic reaction were

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.) The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Cluskey. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

ever so strong, no legal opposition could be offered to any legal act of the present Government until that period; no blunders, no disasters, no mal-administration, nothing but absolute political crime, could enable the States, even after that date, to rid themselves of a Government which they have long distrusted, and are learning to despise. The minority remains in power; the majority is doomed to the "cold shade of opposition."

The Executive powers bestowed upon the Senate are further inconsistent with the theory of government by party; inasmuch as they impose upon one of the branches of the Legislature, a co-ordinate responsibility for a great many of the acts of the Administration, and make those acts no longer the measures of the party in power, liable to party censure, and capable of being made the ground, in the event of their failure, of a vote of want of confidence in the Administration.

The position of public officials is also utterly inconsistent with the theory of government by party. That theory requires that those who are at the head of the Administration should have seats in the Legislature, there to defend and explain their measures; the more so as they must be the leaders of one of the parties which divide that body between them. But the American law expressly excludes from Congress all persons holding offices of trust and profit under the Federal Government. A Minister, therefore, cannot be the leader of a party, unless the party is content to absolve him from many of the chief functions of leadership. On the other hand, the English system maintains all minor officials in their places, nominally "during pleasure," but practically during good behaviour, whatever changes of Government may take place; because the permanence of the civil service is considered necessary for the public convenience. The American theory seems at first to have been similar to our own. Offices there were conferred during pleasure, but under the earlier Presidents they were really held during good behaviour. But when, in the time of Andrew Jackson, party warfare reached its height, and the idea of government by party, in its coarsest form, was enunciated in the phrase that "to the victors belong the spoils," the practice was changed. We are inclined to think that some undue censure has been cast on President Jackson on this account. No doubt the wholesale dismissal of officials is a fruitful source of mischief and demoralization. But if officials are allowed to take part in political warfare, they cannot expect to retain their offices when they are defeated. The English law disqualifies officers of the revenue departments from voting at elections; and English practice inhibits all government officials from taking an active part in party contests. We even remember to have heard one eminent English statesman give it as his opinion, that an official has no right to contribute to political journals. That no such rule obtained in America may serve to show that those who organized the American Government did not dream that it would have to be carried on by the machinery of party.

It is worth while to inquire, shortly, how, especially in regard to these points, the non-adaptation of the American Constitution to the system of government by party has affected the character of parties in the United States. We have spoken of the stringency of party discipline there; a discipline which goes so far that many American writers declare it to be impossible to expect an honest decision from an American jury when party feelings are involved. No Democrat will convict an active Democrat of any crime, and, least of all, of any crime committed in the service of the party; no Republican will find a Republican guilty of bribery, or of embezzlement of public money. We do not say that these charges are literally and fully true; but we find them so often reiterated as to leave no room to doubt that party spirit in the United States is so violent, and party discipline so strict, as to override too often, not merely the individual opinions, but even the moral sense of the citizen. It is easy to see how such intensity of partisanship, such closeness of party cohesion, is fostered by the laws which require in so many cases an absolute majority of votes. Nothing but the most vigorous system of party organization would make it possible to elect a President or to choose a Speaker; parties divided into sections and cursed with a number of those troublesome adherents who indulge in the luxury of a conscience, like the parties to which we are used in England, could never work under such a rule. The same cause is visible in a still worse result. No party can afford to disgust any of its adherents; therefore, no party can put forward its best men, for these have always enemies in their own camp, whose defection would be fatal. This majority rule is, perhaps, one of the chief reasons why, for the last thirty years, no party leader has ever been

President of the United States, and why very few have ever been proposed for that office. It obliges parties to "Sift out safe candidates that no one ain't afraid on," 'Cause they're so thunderin' eminent for bein' never heard on;"

and thereby lowers incalculably not only the character of the Government, but the tone of party contests. A "plurality" rule might have given America Clay, Webster, or Calhoun for Presidents, in lieu of Pierces, Van Burens, and Polks; but if it had done no more than make the former the candidates of their respective parties, it would have raised the tone of American politics far above the level of the last forty years.

The irremovability of the Government involves the irresponsibility of the Opposition, and gives free play to factious conduct and unscrupulous misrepresentation. Every party leader in England is restrained in his strictures on the policy of the Government by the knowledge that a Parliamentary success would oblige him to assume himself the practical responsibilities of office. He dare say nothing by which he will not be able to abide if called upon to carry out his own policy. An American Opposition knows that it has no chance, save at fixed intervals, of coming into power; and it can, therefore, afford to be far more violent and unscrupulous than the bitterest leader of the party on Mr. Speaker's left hand would venture to be, with the knowledge that he may, and the hope that he will, very soon take his seat on the Treasury Bench, and be compelled to defend his policy, and prove its accordance with his present declamations, in the teeth of vigilant antagonists.

The peculiar position which the President occupies towards Congress, which cannot remove him, but which can so thwart him as to bring the wheels of government to a dead-lock, has no doubt helped to foster that corruption which is the disgrace of American politics. Everything which makes the conciliation of wavering adherents and purchaseable opponents an absolute necessity of political success, and which makes it impossible for a Government to rely simply on its measures, and its ability to defend them, tends to corruption. The absence of the Ministers from Congress, and the consequent necessity of entrusting the defence of the Government to private members, who can receive no legitimate reward for their services, cannot but have a similar effect. But the chief cause of this scandal is to be sought, beyond a doubt, in the low moral standard which is inherent in the nature of a Democracy, and its second cause in the fatal system of dismissals, which ensures that at every election there shall be enlisted on either side tens of thousands of persons who are striving not for the good of their country, or the honour of their party, but for their own private advantage. There are always twenty or thirty thousand place-hunters on each side, whose services have in some way or other to be paid for after every party triumph; and where this is the case, political integrity is a dream. Of all the evils which have resulted in the attempt to work by party a Constitutional machinery intended for a very different guidance, none has done so much harm as this practice, which makes politics a trade, and perverts party principles to the service of electioneering agents, and the gain of office-seekers.

(To be continued.)

A SOUTHERN COMMENTARY ON MR. SPENCE'S WORK.

Mr. Spence's work, the "American Union," has received the compliment—no trifling one in a country where printing paper is so scarce—of being republished at Richmond. The republication is in as handsome a style as circumstances and the blockade will permit, and the work bids fair to meet with as extensive and general a success as in this country. It was not, however, to be expected that the Southern public, while justly admiring the great merits of the book, would accept, without qualification or reservation, all the positions assumed by Mr. Spence, and assent either to his views concerning their institutions, or to the errors into which, naturally enough, he has fallen, in common with so many other less able and less well-informed writers, on the subject of the "mean whites." The Southern edition of the "American Union" is, therefore, preceded by a "publisher's preface," which, as an interesting Southern commentary of this remarkable work, we reproduce in *extenso*. We may here remark that a German translation of the same book is at this moment going through the press, and will be published within a few weeks, at most. A French translation, our readers will remember, appeared several months since.

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

The great merit of Mr. Spence's book has induced us to offer a reprint to Southern readers. The work was published in London during November, 1861, and in a few months has gone through four editions. It is rumoured that the author has been called on in the highest quarters for further information in reference to the subject.

Mr. Spence thoroughly maintains the cause of the Southern States in their controversy with the North. His opinion is decided, his reasoning vigorous, his style easy, perspicuous, and forcible. He asserts broadly the right of secession as directly derived from the nature of the Government, and shows conclusively the adequacy of the causes that have induced the South to exercise the right. He is particularly happy in exposing, by a skilful analysis of the last Federal tariff, the iniquitous nature of the tariff system which Northern rapacity had imposed on Southern industry.

Without attempting to analyze Mr. Spence's book, we offer to the reader a few remarks on a passage or two of the work. One of these remarks refer to some additional facts respecting the right of secession; the rest we present rather as a protest than criticism on certain opinions expressed by Mr. Spence on slavery, and on the mode of recognition which European nations may adopt for the Southern Confederacy.

On the subject of secession Mr. Spence adverts to the language of the Virginia Convention as clearly asserting the right of a State to secede—to withdraw from the Federal Government its delegated powers. The language of New York and Rhode Island is still more explicit than that of Virginia. The Convention of New York declares that "the powers of Government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by the Constitution clearly delegated to Congress, or the departments of the Government, remain in the people of the several States, &c. Under these impressions, and declaring that these rights cannot be abridged or violated, and that the explanations aforesaid are consistent with the said Constitution, we, the delegates in convention * * * assent to and ratify the Constitution." It is by virtue of this ratification with these explanations and declarations of right that New York is a member of the Federal Union. The ratification broadly asserts that the right of the several States to "re-assume" the powers delegated to the Federal Government is "consistent with the Constitution." With this explanation the Constitution was adopted; without it the Constitution would have been rejected. The explanation and ratification constitute parts of one instrument. If one is denied, the other is at an end. They stand or fall together. The ratification with the condition was accepted by the Federal Government. The right of New York, therefore, to resume its delegated powers is undeniable, and the right of one State is the right of all. Can evidence be more complete or argument more conclusive?

If additional evidence were wanted, it would be found in the correspondence of Hamilton and Madison. The letters have been lately published at the North as conclusive against secession. The true inference from them is directly the reverse. Hamilton wrote to inquire if a conditional ratification by New York would be sufficient. Madison replies that it would not. The correspondence proves that Madison was opposed to a conditional ratification, and that Hamilton thought it a moot point. But the letters prove what is vastly more important. They show what were the temper and purpose of the Convention. Hamilton's letter is a key to the New York ratification, if a key be necessary. It is of little importance what two men, however distinguished, may have thought or said; what the Convention, a great public body, thought, and felt, and did, is what we desire to know. Hamilton's letter discloses all this. It shows that the Convention desired to attach a condition to its acceptance of the Constitution, and what the letter shows the Convention wished to do, the ratification proves was accordingly done. The condition which reconciled the Convention to the adoption of the Constitution was the assertion that the people had the right to resume all delegated powers whenever their happiness required it, and this condition was inserted in the ratification.

The ratification of Rhode Island, adopted many months subsequently, is word for word the same as that of New York, and was evidently copied from it.

Mr. Spence is very fair on the subject of slavery. Looking at it, however, through the spectacle of English sentiment, he could not be expected to hold opinions agreeing in all points with our own. He rejects the scandalous falsehoods of the Abolitionists, and declares that "the great mass of negroes are in the possession of more robust health, more plentiful food, and more exemption from care than many classes of the labourers of Europe." "The sufferings of a fireless winter are unknown to them." "In old age there is no fear of a workhouse." "Their children are never a burden or care to them, and their labour, although long, is neither difficult or unhealthy." How is it in Europe? "Take the life of a collier there as an example; can anything be more dismal? There are other pursuits in which men grow haggard and worn at middle age; some in which there goes on a stealthy poisoning of the system, yet in which recruits are never wanting." "A single fact shows that the condition of the negro in the Southern States is not one of suffering." The fact alluded to is the rapid increase of the negro race in the United States. It is impossible, indeed, for the most prejudiced observer to deny the physical advantages of the negro slave; they are too obvious to be overlooked. His intellectual improvement is not less certain, though less frequently admitted. It is acknowledged by Mr. Spence. He says intellectually "there has been a positive gain." It is in slavery only that the negro has acquired any knowledge of the mechanic arts, that he has become a useful and efficient agricultural labourer. His improvement in morals and religious knowledge is not less remarkable. Every clergyman will bear testimony to the sincere and simple faith of the Christian slave. More than one Onesimus may be found on every Southern plantation resembling St. Paul's runaway convert in all but unfaithfulness to his master. In all respects—physically, intellectually, morally, religiously—the four million slaves in North America are immeasurably superior to the negro race in their native country. When four years ago a prize slave-ship entered Charleston harbour, the civilized negro of the neighbourhood could not bear to be told that he had descended from such half-human barbarians as he saw in the vessel. Yet with all this Mr. Spence tells his readers that slavery is a "wrong, an outrage on humanity." "After all the argument," he says, "that can be poured into the ear, slavery remains a foul blot on the annals of the age." Is it a wrong, an outrage, a blot on the age, to have civilized four million Africans through the only means by which the end could be accomplished? It is slavery only in a Christian country that has civilized the negro, and it is slavery alone that protects him now in his civilized condition. Remove the guardianship of the slaveholder, and the negro's destruction will inevitably follow. Mr. Spence says it is a wrong, and the wrong reacts on the master. But in this case, if there be a wrong, it is not that of the master: it was perpetrated by those who dragged the negro from his native country. The slaveholder has been the friend, the only practical friend, of the negro race. While others rant and declaim in sentimental phrases that mean nothing, or contrive schemes that do mischief merely, the slaveholder alone has civilized the negro. It is the master's care solely tha

has divested the barbarian of his ferocity, the heathen of his vile superstitions, the savage of his imbecility, and imparted to the negro his truest claim to be "a man and a brother." But if slavery were an evil to the slaveholder "morally and economically," it would have nothing to do with the question at issue. No denouncer of slavery views it in any other light than as it affects the slave and his happiness; and to the slave, slavery has been not a wrong, but a blessing. Mr. Spence calls slavery "a gross anachronism, a theory of 2000 years ago." This is only saying that the form of labour called slavery has been found in all ages and among all nations. It is compulsory labour, nothing more, and will exist in one or another form as long as men shall toil for bread; as long as they waste their lives in coal mines and in manufactories of lead and steel.

But we are not dissatisfied with Mr. Spence. We are content to take what he is willing to give. "No reasoning," he says, "no statistics, no philosophy, can reconcile us to what our *instinct* repels." According to his *reasoning*, if logically carried out, slavery in the States is a good to the negro; according to his *instinct* it is a wrong and an outrage. We will take the distributive share assigned to us of his judgments, and appeal from his instinct to his reason. As an old astronomer discovered that the world moved, notwithstanding the suggestions of his instincts to the contrary, Mr. Spence may find also, in spite of this, that slavery in North America is a blessing to the negro, and the Southern States a paradise; that in a general view of the subject, the only view that can properly be taken of it, there is no wrong and no wrong-doer, so far as the negro and his master are concerned. As to the master, if care for his well-being is to be an element in the calculation, it is enough to say that his position is one in which Providence has placed him, and from which he has no means of retiring. For his temper and character, while he retains his place, he may appeal from the libels of Abolitionists to the judgment of the great philosophical statesman of Great Britain. In his speech on the resolutions for conciliation with the colonies, Mr. Burke bears testimony to the lofty character of the slaveholder; he says, "In Virginia and Carolina they have a vast number of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of the sentiment which has at least as much pride as virtue in it, but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so, and these people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those of the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." The subject under discussion in Parliament led the great English statesman to speak of the high courage only of the slaveholder; but high courage is not the associate of ignoble qualities, and the most elevated examples of public and private virtue are found among the slaveholders of ancient Greece and Rome. The men of Plutarch were masters of slaves. Not less illustrious are those of the Southern States which history has already recorded; and we believe, without a doubt, that the deeds of the past, brilliant as they are, will be equalled, if not surpassed, in daring courage, in boundless devotion, in ready self-sacrifice by the heroic men who are now pouring out their blood like water to vindicate the liberties of the Southern Confederacy. No nobler examples of public or private virtue will be found in the history of any people.

The least judicious portion of Mr. Spence's book is that in which he remarks that Europe may impose on the Southern Confederacy certain conditions respecting slavery. "It will clearly be allowable to our Government," he says, "to decline to acknowledge their independence without express conditions in relation to slavery." On what pretence could such a position be assumed by England? Any conditions in reference to the internal concerns of the Confederacy would be at variance with international law, with the comity due from one independent Government to another, and with the self-respect essential to the well-being of every State. We might as reasonably attempt to dictate to England the mode in which she should govern the ryots of Bengal or the black natives of Australia. Mr. Spence admits the evil effects arising from Northern interference with Southern society; would the interference of England be less mischievous? The purpose would be to promote the amelioration of slavery, the effect would be to retard it. Nothing can ameliorate slavery but the increasing civilization of the slave. When he was a barbarian, lately from Africa, he required restraints which, in his present condition, are no longer necessary, and no longer known. Like his past, his future progress must be the work of time. Slavery to the African is education. All foreign interference would mar its teachings. The advance of the age, of general civilization, is the only true source of improvement here or elsewhere. We freely admit the obligations and duties of the master, but in discharging them he must be left to his own judgment alone.

In connection with this branch of the subject Mr. Spence makes an allusion to slavery in Cuba, and intimates that the condition of the slave is better there than here. Surely this is a mistake. A single fact will prove it. It is a fact adduced by Mr. Spence himself, as conclusive evidence of the good treatment of slaves in the Southern States. The slaves here have increased from seven hundred thousand in seventy years, to four millions, almost without immigration from Africa. In Cuba, an annual importation of Africans is required to repair the waste of life from hard work, and to keep up the number of labourers. Which condition will Mr. Spence prefer for the slave? Even the practice which he adduces as so important in the slave system of Cuba is quite as prevalent in the Southern States. It is provided by law in Cuba that a slave may buy himself free; the same thing is constantly occurring in the Southern States, not by formal legal provisions, but by common practice, which is the master of law. We know negroes who have virtually become their own masters by the customs of the country, who are owners of drays, horses, fishing-boats, slaves, houses, and lands, and who live in their own homes as freemen.

There are a few more opinions of Mr. Spence's work on which we might offer a remark, such as the imaginary degraded condition of white labour in the Southern States, and the supposed scanty progress of Southern industry; but we are content to leave these questions for time to solve. When the South shall be fully released from the trammels of her

connection with the Northern States, she will be able to develop her true character, her capabilities, and resources. There was no lack of industry or energy in the ancient slaveholding republics, and we can see no reason why there should be any in this. Already, under all the disadvantages that have embarrassed her exertions, the progress of the South has been immense. In bestowing on the world's commerce, in a half-century a single product, whose annual value is \$200,000,000, she has given sufficient evidence of what her vigour can perform. What will it not do when freed effectually from the influences of greedy and unscrupulous monopolists.

THE CONFEDERATE TREASURY.

The following is the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated Treasury Department, C. S. A., Richmond, Jan. 10:—

Hon. T. S. Bocock, Speaker of the House of Representatives, C. S. A.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit the following report of the condition of this department. The statements for the last year were made up to the 18th of February, 1862, the termination of the Provisional Government. From the commencement of the permanent Government to the 31st of December, 1862, the receipts and expenditures were as follow:—

RECEIPTS.	
Patent fund	\$13,920
Customs	668,566
Miscellaneous	2,291,812
Repayment of disbursing officers	3,839,263
Interest on loans	26,583
Call loan certificates	59,742,796
One hundred million loan	41,398,286
Treasury notes	215,554,885
Interest bearing notes	113,740,000
War tax	16,664,513
Loan 28th of February, 1861	1,375,476
Coin received from Bank of Louisiana	2,539,799
Total	\$457,855,704

EXPENDITURES.	
War Department	\$341,011,754
Navy Department	20,559,283
Civil, miscellaneous, foreign intercourse, and customs	13,673,376

PUBLIC DEBT.	
Interest on public debt (loans)	\$5,892,989
Payment of Treasury notes, act of March 9, 1861, Principal	\$545,900
Interest	20,860
Redemption of 6 per Cent. Certificates	11,516,400
Redemption of Treasury notes called in for cancellation and reimbursement of principal, under act of May 16, 1861	23,781,172
Total	\$416,971,735

Add balance against the Treasury on the 18th of February, 1862	26,439,572
Total	\$443,411,307

Amount of receipts	\$457,855,704
Deduct amount of expenditures	443,411,307
Balance	\$14,444,397

This balance consists in part of the coin on hand, received from the Bank of Louisiana, and the remainder in interest bearing Treasury notes.

The appropriations made by Congress, and not yet drawn for the Treasury, are as follows:—

Civil and Miscellaneous	\$10,925,049
War Department	57,865,879
Customs	396,612
Navy Department	12,692,373
Amount	\$81,879,913

The estimates for the support of the Government to the 1st July, the end of the fiscal year, are as follow:—

Legislative	\$231,600
Executive (salary of President, &c.)	13,471
Treasury Department	29,929,697
War	242,977,067
Navy	16,948,870
State	150,253
Department of Justice	172,632
Post-office Department	60,123
Miscellaneous	10,000
Total	\$290,493,713

In order to ascertain the amount to be raised by Congress, we must add:—

1. The estimates	\$290,493,713
2. Undrawn appropriations	81,879,913
Total	\$372,373,626

And deduct the balance in the Treasury of	14,444,397
Leaving amount to be raised	\$357,929,229

The debt of the Government at the same date was as follows:—

BONDS AND STOCKS.	
Under act of Feb. 28, 1861	\$14,887,000
Under act of May 16, 1861	6,414,300
Under act of Aug. 19, 1861	67,585,100

Deposit certificates under act Dec. 24, 1861:—

Issued	\$89,005,870
Redeemed	12,516,400
Total	\$145,476,870

TREASURY NOTES.

8.65 notes	\$992,000
Two years' notes	10,919,025
General currency	272,022,467
7.30 notes	120,480,000
\$1 and \$2 notes	6,216,200
Total	\$410,629,692
Total	\$556,105,062

In the above statement is contained a large amount of bonds and interest bearing notes, which are on hand in the various depositories not yet issued. It is important to bear this in mind in estimating the effect of the act of the last session upon funding Treasury notes. The loans in which such notes are funded are those mentioned in the schedule as loans of May 16 and August 19. The amount of those loans, as reported at the last meeting of Congress, was, on the 1st of August, \$41,577,250.

By the statement now reported, the total amount of these bonds is	\$73,999,400
From which should be deducted amount on hand not yet disposed of, say	8,000,000
Total	\$65,919,400

And in order to ascertain the amount of Treasury notes funded, there must be deducted for the bonds issued for produce, say	7,000,000
Total	\$58,919,400
Deduct amount reported 1st of August	41,577,250
Balance	\$17,342,150

This balance shows the amount of Treasury notes funded in five months, the average being about three and a half millions per month.

During the same period the interest bearing Treasury notes have increased from	\$22,799,900
To	120,480,000

Increase	\$97,680,100
From which deduct notes on hand	11,004,600
Real increase	\$86,675,500

THE CONFEDERATE INCURSION INTO HOLLY SPRINGS.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*, Jan. 15.)

The recent cavalry exploit of General Van Dorn in the West was one of the most brilliant feats of the war, not falling short of any that have been made by the renowned Stuart or ubiquitous Morgan. A correspondent of the *Mobile Register* gives the following interesting particulars of his brilliant achievements in the vicinity of Holly Springs, Mississippi:—

Van Dorn took a by-way and meandering route through the swamp, and came within eight miles of Holly Springs in the evening, where he bivouacked his force until two hours before day, when he moved cautiously into town, leaving the Texas brigade upon the heights outside as a reserve. As our forces dashed in from all sides, the entrance proved a complete surprise, the breaking streaks of daylight showing the Yankee tents with their yet undisturbed slumberers. A charge was ordered upon them, and the torch applied to the canvass which covered them. To paraphrase "Belgium's" picture—

"Ah, then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And running in hot haste,
And cheeks all pale and blanched with woe,
Exhibiting Yankee cowardice."

The rapidity with which the tents of the enemy were vacated was marvellous; and, impelled by burning torches and rapid discharges of side arms, the Yankees took no time to prepare their toilets, but rushed out into the cool atmosphere of a December morning clothed very similarly to Joseph when the Lady Potiphar attempted to detain him. The scene was wild, exciting, tumultuous. Yankees running, tents burning, torches flaming, Confederates shouting, guns popping, sabres clanking, Abolitionists begging for mercy, Rebels shouting exultingly, *women on déshabille clapping their hands, frantic with joy, crying, "Kill them! kill them!"* A heterogeneous mass of excited, frantic, frightened human beings—presented an indescribable picture more adapted for the pencil of Hogarth than the pen of a newspaper correspondent.

The surprised camp surrendered 1800 men and 150 commissioned officers, who were immediately paroled. And then commenced the work of destruction. The extensive buildings of the Mississippi Central depot—the station-houses, the engine-houses and immense store houses—were filled with supplies of clothing and commissary stores. Outside of the depot the barrels of flour were estimated to be half a mile in length, one hundred and fifty feet through, and fifteen feet high. Turpentine was thrown over this, and the whole amount destroyed. Up town, the court-house and the public buildings, livery stables, and all capacious establishments, were filled, ceiling high, with medical and ordnance stores. They were all fired, and the explosion of one of the buildings, in which was stored 100 barrels of powder, knocked down nearly all the houses on the south side of the square. Surely such a scene of devastation was never before presented to the eye of man. Glance at the gigantic estimates:—

1,809,000 fixed cartridges and other ordnance stores, valued at \$1,500,000, including 5000 rifles and 2000 revolvers.

100,000 suits of clothing and other quartermaster's stores, valued at \$500,000; 5000 barrels of flour and other commissary stores, valued at \$500,000.

\$1,000,000 worth of medical stores, for which invoices to that amount were exhibited, and 1000 bales of cotton, and \$600,000 worth of sutlers' stores.

While the capture of the camp, parolling of the prisoners, and destroying of the stores was going on, the Texan Rangers, comprising the 9th, 6th, and 3rd legions, became engaged with the Michigan cavalry, and drove them pell-mell through the town, and ran them off north, with a considerable loss to the Abolitionists, and a loss of thirty in killed and wounded on our part.

The ladies rushed out from the houses, wild with joy, crying out:—"There's some at the Fair Grounds; chase them, kill them for God's sake." One lady said, "the Federal commandant of the post is in my house, come and catch him." And a search was instituted, but without success, when the

noble woman insisted that he was there, concealed; and finally, after much ado, the gallant (save the mark!) Colonel Murphy, the intrepid Yankee commandant of Holly Springs, was pulled out from under his bed, and presented himself, in his nocturnal habiliments, to his captors.

The Provost-Marshal was also taken, and, addressing General Van Dorn, said: "Well, General, you've got us fairly this time. I knowed it. I was in bed with my wife when I heard the firing, and I at once said, 'Well, wife, it's no use closing our eyes or hiding under the cover; we've gone up.'"

Our attention was given to Grant's headquarters, which he had left twenty-four hours before. All his papers, charts, maps, &c., were captured, together with his splendid carriage, which was burned. Among his papers was found a pass, to pass the bearer over all railroads and steamboats in the United States, at Government expense; to pass all pickets and guards; and other papers, at once interesting and valuable. Mrs. Grant was also captured, but no indignity was offered to her.

Nearly every store on the public square was filled with sutlers' stores, and after our men had helped themselves, the balance of the goods were burned.

When our forces first reached the depot, there was a train about leaving. The engineer jumped off and ran away, and one of our men took his place, shut the throttle valve, and stopped the train. Sixty cars and two locomotives were then fired and destroyed.

After the complete destruction of all public property about the place, and after each man had supplied himself with a suitable quantity of clothing and boots, at 6 o'clock in the morning the march was renewed, and Davis' Mill was the next place attacked. Here the enemy were entrenched, and sheltered themselves in a block-house and fort formed of cotton bales. The cavalry were commanded to charge, and attempted to do so; but the swamp and intricate lagoons breaking off in front of the enemy's position would not permit it. The Yankees opened fire with some effect from their fort, and were supported by a 9-pound rifled gun, mounted on an iron-clad railroad car, forming a railroad battery. The Texans were again ordered to charge, and Major Dillon, of Van Dorn's staff, whose gallantry during the expedition was particularly conspicuous, attempted to lead them to the attack, but the men refused to follow, believing the way impassable and the position too strong for cavalry demonstration alone. Colonel McCullough, of the Mississippi Cavalry, was ordered to get in the rear of the railroad battery, cut the track to prevent its escape, and capture it. I believe he succeeded in cutting the road, but our forces were compelled to withdraw, and the steam battery was not taken. The force then pushed on to Middleburg and Bolivar, and attacked both places, but found them too strongly defended and garrisoned to succeed in taking either of the points.

When the command turned back after its unsuccessful attack upon Bolivar the enemy sent a force of 10,000, comprising the three branches of the service, out after Van Dorn, and made great efforts to flank and cut off his force; but this dashing officer was too wary for them, and succeeded in returning with 400 head of captured horses and mules, laden with spoils taken from the enemy.

The people of Tennessee are represented as having been almost frantic with joy at the appearance of our forces once more upon their borders. They fed our soldiers with a bountiful hand, and wept for joy. "Thank God, you have come at last!" one and all exclaimed. Their hospitality was not a little surprising to our soldiers, who have been so uniformly swindled and extorted from in Mississippi. The people of Tennessee had been induced to believe that General Grant's headquarters were at Jackson, Mississippi, and that our whole army had been captured. Judge, then, of their surprise when they were visited by Van Dorn's command.

The entire number of prisoners captured and paroled during the raid is 2100 privates and 175 commissioned officers.

The following Special Orders of General Grant are very significant of the extent of the disaster:—

Headquarters, Thirteenth Army Corps.

Department of the Tennessee, Holly Springs, Mississippi, December 23, 1862.

Special Field Orders, No 33.

* * It is with pain and mortification that the General commanding reflects upon the disgraceful surrender of this place, with all the valuable stores it contained, on the 20th inst., and that without any resistance, except by a few men, who form an honorable exception; and this, too, after warning had been given of the advance of the enemy northward the evening previous. With all the cotton, public stores, and substantial buildings about the depot, it would have been perfectly practicable to have made in a few hours defences sufficient to resist, with a small garrison, all the cavalry force brought against them, until the reinforcements, which the commanding officer was notified were marching to his relief, could have reached him.

The conduct of officers and men in accepting paroles, under the circumstances, is highly reprehensible, and, to say the least, thoughtless. By the terms of the Dix-Hill cartel, each party is bound to take care of their prisoners, and send them to Vicksburg, Mississippi, or a point on James River, Virginia, for exchange or parole, unless some other point is mutually agreed upon by the generals commanding the opposing armies. By a refusal to be paroled, the enemy, from his inability to take care of the prisoners, would have been compelled either to have released them unconditionally, or to have abandoned all further aggressive movements for the time being, which would have made their recapture and the discomfiture of the enemy almost certain.

It is gratifying to notice, in contrast with this, the conduct of a portion of the command, conspicuous among whom was the 2nd Illinois Cavalry, who gallantly and successfully resisted being taken prisoners. Their loss was heavy, but the enemy's was much greater. Such conduct as theirs will always ensure success.

Had the commandant of the post exercised the usual and ordinary precautions for defence, the garrison was sufficiently strong to have repulsed the enemy, saved our stores from destruction and themselves from capture.

The General commanding is satisfied that a majority of the troops who accepted a parole did so thoughtlessly and from want of knowledge of the cartel referred to, and that in future they will not be caught in the same way.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

JOHN A. RAWLINS,
Assistant Adjutant General,

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF 1862.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

JANUARY.

1. Battle at Port Royal, South Carolina. Party of the enemy landed, and were driven back to their gunboats. Engagement at Fort Pickens. President Davis' first public levee. Mason and Slidell left Boston.
4. Legislative Council of Kentucky elected Henry C. Burnett and Wm. E. Sims Confederate State Senators. Judge John Hemphill, of Texas, died.
5. Skirmishing at Hanging Rock, near Romney, Virginia.
6. French man-of-war approached Ship Island under a neutral flag, for the purpose of business with the French Consul at New Orleans, and was fired into by a Yankee vessel; an apology soon made.
8. Skirmish at Silver Creek, Mobile.
9. Burnside expedition left Annapolis. Colonel Labbock, of Texas, died.
10. Battle of Prestonburg, Kentucky. Enemy repulsed by Confederate forces under General Marshall.
- 12 and 13. Burnside expedition left Old Point, and caught in a succession of damaging storms before and after reaching Hatteras.
16. Battle near Ironton, Mobile, Confederate troops under Jeff Thompson drove the enemy towards Pilot Knob.
18. Ex-President Tyler died.
19. Battle at Somerset or Mill Springs, Kentucky. General Zollicoffer slain.

FEBRUARY.

1. Skirmish at Bloomery, Western Virginia.
3. Three Federal gunboats opened fire on Fort Henry, Tennessee.
4. Fort Henry taken by Yankee troops.
8. Roanoke Island taken by Federal troops.
9. Federal gunboats reached Florence, Alabama.
13. Battle commenced at Fort Donelson.
16. Fort Donelson surrendered, after three days' hard fighting, with heavy loss on both sides.
17. Provisional Congress terminated.
18. Permanent Congress of the Confederate States organized. R. M. T. Hunter elected President *pro tem.* of the Senate, and Thomas S. Bocock, of Virginia, Speaker of the House of Representatives.
22. Jefferson Davis inaugurated President of the Confederate States.
24. Nashville surrendered.
26. Yankee army occupy Nashville.
28. Day of Prayer and Humiliation in the Confederate States.

MARCH.

1. Martinsburg and Charlestown, in the Valley of Virginia, occupied by Yankee troops.
2. Confederate forces evacuate Columbus, Kentucky.
5. Martial law declared in Richmond, Virginia.
6. Battle at Pea Ridge or Elkhorn, Arkansas, commenced and continued till the 8th. Generals McCulloch and McIntosh were killed.
8. Naval battle near Norfolk, Virginia. The Confederate steamer Virginia played havoc among the Yankee vessels.
9. Confederate army evacuate Manassas and Centreville.
15. Island No. 10 attacked by the Yankee gunboats.
21. Battle of Valverde, in Arizona.
23. Battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, Virginia. Gen. Stonewall Jackson, with about 4000 men, engaged about 18,000 Yankees under General Shields.

APRIL.

6. Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, commenced, and continued until the 7th. General A. S. Johnston was killed.
7. Island No. 10 surrendered to the Federal forces.
11. Fort Pulaski, Georgia, surrendered to the Yankees.
24. Federal fleet succeeded in passing the forts near New Orleans.
25. Fort Jackson surrendered to the Yankees.
26. Federal gunboats arrive in front of New Orleans.

MAY.

1. New Orleans formally occupied by Butler, the Beast.
5. Battle of Williamsburg, Virginia; Confederate loss, killed and wounded, 1600; Yankee loss, killed and wounded, 3600.
7. Battle near West Point, Virginia.
8. Battle of McDowell, Virginia. General Jackson putting Milroy and forces to flight.
9. Pensacola navy yard evacuated by the Confederates.
10. Norfolk evacuated by the forces under General Huger.
11. The Virginia was put on shore in vicinity of Craney Island, and, after burning fiercely for upwards of an hour, blew up a little before 5 o'clock on the morning of this day.
14. The Legislature of Virginia expresses its desire, by resolution, that "the capital of the State be defended to the last extremity," and assures the President of the Confederate States that "whatever destruction or loss of property of the State or individuals shall thereby result will be cheerfully submitted to."
15. Yankee gunboats attack Drewry's Bluff, and were repulsed.
- 23 and 24. Battle at Front Royal, Virginia; Yankees defeated. Battle of Lewisburg, Western Virginia; Confederates defeated.
25. Battle at Winchester, Virginia; General Jackson defeats the Yankee army, puts it to flight, takes a large number of prisoners, and a vast amount of Yankee stores.
26. Bombardment of Vicksburg commenced. Skirmish at Hanover Court House, Virginia.
29. Corinth, Mississippi evacuated by Confederates.
31. General Jackson falls back from Winchester, Virginia. Battle of Seven Pines commenced.

JUNE.

1. Battle of Seven Pines ended. General Jackson defeats the enemy near Strasburg, Virginia.
4. Confederate forces evacuate Fort Pillow.
6. Skirmish near Harrisonburg, Virginia; General Ashby killed.
6. Gunboat battle in front of Memphis. The city surrendered to, and occupied by, the Yankees.
7. By order of Butler, the Beast, W. B. Mumford was hung in New Orleans. Battle of Cross Keys, Virginia; Yankees defeated.
- 8 and 9. Battle of Fort Republic, Virginia; the armies of Shields and Fremont defeated and put to flight by Jackson.
14. General Stuart makes an expedition among the Yankees on the Chickahominy, and destroys a large quantity of property. Battle on White River Arkansas, near Laguelle,

16. An engagement at Secessionville, South Carolina; Yankees defeated. Great battles before Richmond.
26. Battle of Mechanicsville.
27. Battle of Gainesville, or Gaines' Mill.
29. Battle of Frazer's Farm.
30. Battle of Willis' Church.

JULY.

1. Battle of Malvern Hill; the Yankee army completely routed.
22. An agreement for a general exchange of prisoners between the Confederate and Yankee Governments.
24. Yankee gunboats abandon the contest at Vicksburg.
31. General Morgan reports a successful expedition into Kentucky.

AUGUST.

2. General Parsons surprises a Yankee force near Madison, Arkansas, and puts it to flight. Skirmish at Orange Court House, Virginia.
5. Battle of Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Confederate forces under General Breckinridge defeated the Yankees.
6. The Arkansas, a Confederate gunboat, destroyed on the Mississippi River.
8. Lincoln calls for 600,000 more men. Battle of South Mountain, near Culpepper Court House, Virginia.
22. General Stuart captures and destroys a large amount of Yankee stores at Catlett's Station, Virginia.
29. Battle near Richmond, Kentucky. Battle at Manassas commenced and terminated September 1.

SEPTEMBER.

9. Confederate army cross the Potomac into Maryland.
13. Battle of Cotton Hill, Virginia. General Loring defeats the Yankees.
- 13 or 14. General Jackson captured Harper's Ferry, taking about 11,000 prisoners. Battle of Boonsboro, Maryland.
17. Battle of Sharpsburg, Maryland.
19. General Lee moves his army across the Potomac into Virginia. Battle of Iuka, Mississippi.
20. Battle near Shepherdstown, Virginia.
26. General Beauregard assumes command of the army on the coast near Charleston.

OCTOBER.

2. Battle of Corinth, Mississippi, commenced, and continued till the 5th.
8. Battle of Perryville, Kentucky.
9. Galveston, Texas, occupied by the Yankees.
10. General Stuart starts and makes a successful expedition into Pennsylvania.

NOVEMBER.

5. Brisk skirmishing near Warrenton, Virginia. General McClellan, of the Yankee army, relieved of his command. General Burnside takes his place.

DECEMBER.

11. Burnside crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg.
13. Battle of Fredericksburg. Enemy routed.
31. Confederate victory near Murfreesboro' Tennessee.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY BEFORE THE BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO'.

(Correspondence of the *Mobile Register*, Dec. 28, 1862.)

Our line of battle has been formed on the west side of Stone's River, our centre resting about three miles from town—our right extending as far as the Lebanon pike, and our left on the Shelbyville pike, making a distance of nearly six miles. Stone's River crosses the Shelbyville pike on the south side of the town about two miles and a-half distant, and sweeps round in a circular course towards the Lebanon pike, on the north side. General Hardee's corps occupies the right and centre, and General Polk's the left. There are two lines of battle in the front of General McCown's division held in reserve. The enemy still remains on the other side of Stuart's Creek, ten miles from town, and seven from our line of battle.

General Morgan having succeeded in cutting off the enemy's supplies by the destruction of fifteen miles of the Nashville railroad, which I sent you a telegram of to-day, will greatly aid our success. They have received no mails in Nashville since the 24th, the day on which Morgan captured the Abolition forces at Glasgow, Kentucky. As his return to Kentucky is now no secret, I will state that the expedition left Alexandria, Tennessee, on Sunday last, 21st instant, composed of two brigades numbering about 3200 men.

The same correspondent, writing on the next day (December 29th), gives the following interesting information in regard to the battle then imminent:—

I rode out to-day in front of our lines on the Nashville Pike to Stone's River, where our line of battle is formed. The river is very shallow, being at the ford, and not over ankle deep, and is but a mile and a half from town. Polk's corps is on the opposite, or north-west side of the river. The character of the surrounding country is open, and very slightly rolling, being mostly level. On this side of the river are numerous little brick chimneys, which were built in front of our tents, now all struck, and which mark our former camp grounds. The enemy advanced this evening and took up their line of battle about a mile from ours. About 400 yards in front of our line, on the left side of the Nashville road, stood a fine brick dwelling, which was set fire to this evening, with all the barns and outhouses, in order to prevent the enemy from approaching us under shelter. Their signal corps, while the building was burning, approached near the house to reconnoitre, and were plainly seen. On this side of the river there are small patches of thin woods, but, as I have said, the ground is mostly open, and it must consequently be a fair field fight. The forces of the enemy are now estimated at from 55,000 to 60,000. Our full force is about 33,000, thus we have a far superior number against us, and must depend solely on the fighting qualities of our troops. Rosecrans has the advice and aid, it is supposed, of Buell, but I do not suppose the latter is on the field.

By this time to-morrow night the fate of Middle Tennessee will be decided. The following "Memorandum for General and Staff Officers" was issued yesterday (Sunday) morning, which anticipated the commencement of the battle to-day:—

1. The "line of battle" will be in front of Murfreesboro'—half of the army, left wing, in front of Stone's River, right wing in rear of river.
2. Polk's corps will form left wing; Hardee's corps right wing.
3. Withers' division will form first line in Polk's corps; Cheatham's the second; Breckinridge's division forms first line in Hardee's corps; Clement's division the second line.

4. McCown's division to form reserve opposite centre, on high ground, in rear of Cheatham's present quarters.

5. Jackson's brigade in reserve to the right flank to report to Lieut. General Hardee.

6. The two lines to be from 800 to 1000 yards apart, according to the ground.

7. Chiefs of artillery to pay special attention to the posting of batteries, seeing that they do not carelessly waste ammunition.

8. Cavalry to fall back gradually before enemy, reporting by courier every hour. When near our line, Wheeler will move to the right, and Wharton to the left, to cover and protect our flanks and report movements of enemy. Pegasus to fall in the rear and report to Commanding General as a reserve.

9. To-night, if the enemy has gained his position in front ready for action, Wheeler and Wharton, with their whole commands, will make a night march to the right and left, turn the enemy's flank, gain his rear, and vigorously assail his trains and rear guard, blocking the roads and impeding his movements in every way, holding themselves ready to assail his retreating forces.

10. All Quartermasters, Commissaries and Ordnance officers will remain at their proper posts, discharging their appropriate duties. Supplies and baggage should be ready packed for a move forward or backward, as the result of the day may require, and the trains should be in position out of danger, teamsters all present and Quartermasters in charge.

11. Should we be compelled to retire, Polk's corps will move on Shelbyville, and Hardee's on the Manchester pike—trains in front, cavalry in rear.

(Signed)

BRAXTON BRAGG,

General Commanding.

Geo. G. Garner, A. A. General.

THE SEARCH FOR THE ALABAMA.

The New York *Tribune*, in a piteous jeremiad over the exploits of the Alabama, says:—

And now, after twelve weeks' work, the following fleet is on the ocean, every vessel belonging to it a match for the Alabama, save in speed, and several well able to overhaul her:—

Vessels.	How long out.	Screw or Paddle.
Chippewa	A few weeks	Screw
Dacotah	Four weeks	Screw
Junata	Bound out	Screw
Keersage*	Three weeks	Screw
Minnesota	Ordered off	Screw
Powhatan	Some weeks	Screw
Rhode Island	Three weeks	Paddle
Vanderbilt	Five weeks	Paddle
San Jacinto	Some months	Screw
Tuscarora†	Three weeks	Screw
Canandaigua	Some weeks	Screw
Mohican	Some weeks	Screw
Fast steam frigate	Under orders	Screw
Fast steam frigate	Ready Jan. 10	Screw
Fast steam gunboat	Sails next Wednesday	Screw
Colorado	A week	Screw
Ossipee	Two weeks	Screw
Sacramento	Under orders	Screw

*Sent first after Sumpter.

†Called from Europe.

It may seem strange that the energy and resources of the country cannot result in ridding the ocean of a pestering pirate. Officers of the highest standing give the following reasons for this:—

1st. In the Alabama everything is sacrificed for speed. It would not do to build men-of-war on that plan before the pirate's peculiarities were known, and since the most expeditious constructor could not have completed her equal.

2nd. The difficulty of finding one small ship on the wide ocean, especially when she can have as bright a look-out as her competitor, and can get out of the way with great alacrity.

3rd. There is not in the United States, to be purchased for love or money, a steamer possessing the speed necessary to catch her, and at the same time the strength to fight her.

CAPTAIN REDMOND BURKE.

(From the *Richmond Despatch*.)

Captain Redmond Burke, the famous scout and partisan, has fallen a victim to his daring and patriotism.—On the 25th of November, while on detailed service, near Shepherdstown, in Jefferson county, he was betrayed by one of a Union gang residing near, set upon while unsuspecting danger, and divested of his arms, and, spite of his undaunted resistance, murdered in cold blood. Even brave men might have surrendered under the circumstances, surrounded as he was by overwhelming numbers; but his bold spirit refused to submit to the indignity of being taken captive. He defended himself courageously, but could not escape. He fell pierced by many balls, amid the yells of his betrayers and murderers.

He was a brave, true-souled patriot. No heart in all our broad Confederacy beat truer, or with a warmer pulse of patriotism. With a moderate amount of education, he was yet a keen observer, and quick to understand. His virtues were a dauntless courage, a patriotism which nothing could affect, and a faithfulness in the execution of orders which rendered him a favourite with his general. Of Irish birth, and thus an adopted citizen of the Confederacy, he was not excelled by the native sons of the South in devotion to her honour and her interests. The very name of Yankee was hateful to him, and he pursued them, late and early, with what resembled a personal animosity. Taken prisoner on one of his daring scouts, he scaled the walls of his prison at Washington, and made his escape—only to recommence his career with new vigour. It was in the faithful performance of his duties that he fell a victim to his enemies.

Redmond Burke's name will always be recalled in connection with that of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart. He early became a favourite with that commander, and rendered him important service on many occasions. The public and appropriate recognition of these services came in the form of a

commission from the State of Virginia, as captain of cavalry—and he justified, in the amplest manner, the confidence thus reposed in him by the great Commonwealth on whose border his exploits were performed. Whenever the exigencies of the situation demanded the services of a brave and accomplished scout to observe the position or movements of the enemy—to divine their intentions or unmask their designs—Redmond Burke was selected to perform the duty. The information which he brought was, in almost every instance, of the utmost value; and his diligent and thorough execution of orders secured for him the entire confidence of his general.

The romantic incidents which characterized these expeditions have already become the subject of public notice and newspaper comment. The narrative of his escape from the prison in Washington reads like a chapter from some volume of fiction; but this was only one of a hundred such adventures equally romantic and absorbing. In truth, it may be said that Burke's daily life was made up of romances; spent as it was on the scout, the partisan expedition, or the sudden foray on his foes. In this "good work" he never rested. To hunt down the enemies of the South, and slay them in fair fight—man against man, and steel to steel—was the chosen occupation of his life. Already old and gray-haired, age had not chilled the hot flow of his Irish blood, nor dimmed the eye that never covered before a foe.

It is not rhetoric, or exaggeration, to say that the services of this brave partisan were invaluable—that the place of Redmond Burke cannot be easily filled. He has fallen in the faithful execution of his duties—a valiant sentinel at his post upon the dangerous border. The sharp crack of his carbine is stilled—and the enemies of the South may rest more peacefully; but his name and fame will not be forgotten; his courage and patriotism will long be remembered.

A copy of the general order issued on the occasion of his death will appropriately conclude this hasty tribute to the brave partisan's memory:—

"HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY DIVISION, December 3, 1862.

"General Orders No. 14.

"The Major-General of Cavalry announces, with the deepest regret, the death of Captain Redmond Burke, whose valuable services and heroic conduct on our border are historic.

"He was killed by a lurking foe in a night attack on his little band, on the 25th ult., at Shepherdstown, where he had been for some time stationed on detached service.

"He possessed a heart intrepid, a spirit invincible, a patriotism too lofty to admit of a selfish thought, and a conscience that scorned to do a mean act.

"A devoted champion of the South, his gray hairs have descended in honour to the grave, leaving a shining example of patriotism and heroic devotion to those who survive.

"By command of

"MAJOR-GENERAL J. E. B. STUART.

"Norman R. Fitzhugh, Major and A. A. G."

It is fit that this just and eloquent tribute to a tried and faithful soldier should be heard beyond the camp, and the friends and admirers of Redmond Burke will be glad to have thus, in an authentic and unquestionable form, the evidence of that high appreciation which his services commanded from the man whom, over and beyond all others in the world, he loved and honoured.

The following despatch was sent by General Gregg, of South Carolina, a few hours before his death, on the evening of the battle of Fredericksburg, at which he received his mortal wound:—

To his Excellency Governor Pickens.

I am severely wounded, but the troops under my command have acted as they always have done, and I hope we have gained a glorious victory. If I am to die now, I give my life cheerfully for the independence of South Carolina, and I trust you will live to see our cause triumph completely.

MANCY GREGG.

A PRAYER FOR THE ARMIES.

The following is the prayer for the armies in the Service of the Episcopal (Church of England) Church of the Confederate States. It is ascribed to Bishop Green, of Mississippi:—

Almighty God, whose Providence watcheth over all things, and in whose hands in the disposal of all events, we look up to Thee for Thy protection and blessing amidst the apparent and great dangers, with which we are encompassed. Thou hast, in Thy wisdom, permitted the many evils of an unnatural and destructive war to come upon us. Save us, we beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies. Watch over our fathers, and husbands, and brothers, and sons, who, trusting in Thy defence and in the righteousness of our cause, have gone forth to the service of their country. May their lives be precious in Thy sight. Preserve them from all the dangers to which they may be exposed. Enable them successfully to perform their duty to Thee, and to their country, and do Thou, in Thine infinite wisdom and power, so overrule events, and so dispose the hearts of all engaged in this painful struggle, that it may soon end in peace and brotherly love, and lead not only to the safety, honour and welfare of our Confederate States, but to the good of thy people, and the glory of Thy great name through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

GOVERNOR LETCHER AND MR. FERNANDO WOOD.

The Governor of Virginia has repudiated all connection with the Northern reconstruction schemes. The following letter has appeared in the *Richmond Whig*:—

Executive Department, December 8, 1862.

To the Editor of the *Whig*.

I have read your editorial in the *Whig* of this morning, and return you my thanks for your prompt and emphatic denial of the allegation that I was favourable to a reconstruction of the Union. My opinion upon this subject has been freely expressed on all proper occasions—in messages, in proclamations, and in conversation. I quote from my Message of January 6th, 1862:—

"The occurrences of the past nine months have demonstrated conclusively that we cannot live together as equals under the Government of the United States; and the habitual violation of the provisions of the Constitution, and the open disregard of the laws, by President Lincoln and his officials, render governmental association between us impossible. Mutual respect between the citizens of the Southern Confederacy and those of the North has ceased to exist. Mutual confidence has been succeeded by mutual distrust, and mutual good-will by mutual aversion. No Government can be enduring which does not possess the affection and respect of the governed. It cannot be that the people of the Confederate States can again entertain a feeling of affection and respect for the Government of the United States. We have therefore separated from them; and now let it be understood that the separation is and ought to be final and irrevocable—that Virginia will, under no circumstances, entertain any proposition, from any quarter, which may have for its object a restoration or reconstruction of the Union, on any terms or conditions whatever."

I quote also from my proclamation, dated June 27th, 1862:—

The people of Virginia, by overwhelming majorities of their Convention and Legislature, have solemnly announced to the world the purpose of this Commonwealth—under no conceivable circumstances, again to acknowledge allegiance to, or unite the destinies of our people with, those of the United States."

The course they pursued previous to the war was more than sufficient to justify our separation from them; but their disgraceful violation of the Constitution, and of plighted faith since the war; their utter perversions of truth; their reckless disregard of justice and of the rights of property, and their departure, in numerous instances, from the usages of civilized warfare; the invasion of our homes, and the murder of our peaceful citizens, render a connection with them in future odious to our sense of honour and abhorrent to our feelings. It has produced an estrangement as enduring as if there was an impassable gulf between us.

From the time Virginia seceded, I have always been opposed to reconstruction.

It only remains for me to add, that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Fernando Wood, do not know that I have seen him, and have had neither correspondence nor communication, directly or indirectly, with him before or since this war commenced. I state further, that I have had no communication, verbal or written, with any Northern man, upon this subject, since Virginia seceded.

Respectfully, JOHN LETCHER.

THE LATE BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. K. DUNCAN.—The following is the official order announcing the death of the late and lamented officer, General J. K. Duncan.

Headquarters Department, No. 2, Murfreesboro', Tennessee, December 20, 1862.

General Orders, No. 157.

The General Commanding announces with deep regret, the death of Brigadier-General J. K. Duncan, Chief of Staff. He died at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 18th inst., after a painful and protracted illness.

The army of the country will lament the loss of this distinguished soldier, at a time of life when he might with reason, have looked forward to a long career of usefulness and honour. An educated officer of fine attainments, he was among the first in this struggle to enter the service, and was content with a subordinate position. By his zeal, efficiency, and gallantry, he had so won the confidence of his Government, and the admiration of his associates in arms, as to attain a position second only in importance to that of commander-in-chief of an army. His heroic defence of the forts below New Orleans is known to all, and his name has gone down to history. Dead to his family and friends, he will still live in the hearts of his countrymen, as among the brightest and bravest spirits of the many who have given their lives to the holy cause of freedom.

By command of General Bragg.

GEO. G. GARNER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

We quote this order to disprove the slanderous report recently circulated by the Northern press, that this officer had been tried before a court-martial at Richmond, and convicted of dishonourable motives in the surrender of the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi in May 1862.

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A FICTION.—The account of the Seven Days' Battle which appeared in the *Cologne Gazette*, purporting to be written by a Prussian officer in the Confederate service, has found its way to the South. The *Richmond Enquirer* assures its readers that it is "a mere invention, utterly without truth."

The Arkansas Legislature has imposed a fine of not less than \$5000, nor more than \$10,000, and imprisonment in the penitentiary from five to twenty-five years, upon parties caught trading with Yankees.

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 26, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The French proposal has been rejected. We elsewhere print Mr. Seward's despatch. It arrives too late for notice this week, though it richly merits it. The document is of course wordy—as wordy as a novel in a halfpenny serial—it ignores palpable facts, it coolly asserts palpable falsehoods. It assumes the ignorance and idiocy of European statesmen. Mr. Seward is quite confident about restoring the Union, the Federal arms have been very successful, the “small territory” held by the “insurgents” is kept “in close blockade and siege,” and much more of the same stuff. It is manifest, however, that M. Drouyn de Lhays does not believe in this rosy statement of United States' affairs—and why? Mr. Seward is afraid he “has taken other light than the correspondence of this Government for his guidance in ascertaining its temper and finances.” We think it is probable. We are under the impression that if Mr. Lincoln and his Ministers were solemnly to assure the French Minister that China was a part of the Continent of America, or that the Atlantic Ocean had been dried up by one of Mr. Lincoln's proclamations, that the French Minister would not credit the tidings. Just now Mr. Seward's veracity is on trial amongst his own party. We should think this despatch ought to settle the question even to their satisfaction.

But though Mr. Seward thinks proper to peremptorily decline the French proposal, there are decided evidences of the desire of the Northern people to put an end to the war. We do not mean by this that the war is likely to soon come to an end, because the people in the United States have about as much governmental influence as the serfs of Russia, unless they should rise and clear out the White House. But the pacific longings are worthy of note, for they may bring about a revolution. For instance, the French proposal was received without public disapprobation. The *New York Times* says it can see no harm in Commissioners from the North and South meeting in Montreal or Mexico, and discussing the existing difficulties. The *New York Journal of Commerce* thinks the suggestion not only entitled to respectful but grateful consideration. Still more important than this reception of the French proposal is the action of the State Legislatures.

In the New Jersey Legislature on the 11th inst., a series of resolutions was introduced, calling upon the President to return to his original policy; and urging him to revoke his Emancipation Proclama-

tion. They protest against the war being waged to reduce the seceded States to a territorial condition, and express an earnest desire for a speedy and honourable peace. The New Jersey Legislature has also appointed Commissioners to proceed to Richmond for the purpose of inviting the Southern States to join in a National Convention.

Resolutions have been introduced in the Indiana Legislature demanding the establishment of an armistice as soon as practicable, and a Convention of all the States, including those of the Confederacy, to be held at Nashville, Tennessee, on the 1st of June.

The Illinois Legislature has appointed Commissioners to confer with delegates from other States upon the condition of the country, to meet at Louisville, Kentucky, in March next, and has agreed upon a recess from the 11th proximo until June 1, in order to receive their reports. In consequence of the proceedings of the Democrats, the Abolition members have seceded from the Legislature, and threaten to revolutionize the State. Will Mr. Lincoln treat the seceders as rebels?

Kentucky has also appointed Commissioners to the Louisville Conference in March.

Mr. Seward is paying the penalty incident to the union of a long tongue and a short memory; or, perhaps, we should say a conveniently short memory. This time there is no doubt about his being in the wrong, for no sane person would think of preferring the denial of the Federal Secretary to the assertion of the French Minister. The publication of M. Mercier's despatch of the 13th of April, 1862, revealed to the Northerners that Mr. Seward, though such a fierce denouncer of the “rebels,” would be charmed to meet with them in the Senate. On the 9th inst., the Federal Senate passed a resolution requesting the President to acquaint that body with the character of Mr. Seward's conferences with the French Minister. In consequence of this Mr. Seward, on the 12th, laid before the President the correspondence between M. Mercier and himself, accompanied by a despatch denying explicitly that he had made any suggestions to M. Mercier or influenced him in any particular, and stating that M. Mercier's passport to cross the lines was furnished at his own request, and that he travelled in a strictly private and unofficial manner. It is supposed in Washington that, after this affair, official and personal intercourse between M. Mercier and Mr. Seward is impossible, and therefore that the former must be recalled or the latter dismissed.

The Federal official reports of the naval fight at Charleston have been published. Every effort is made to tone down that affair. It is called by Admiral Dupont, “a raid upon the blockading fleet,” but there is just as much pretence for calling the battle of Fredericksburg, “a Federal raid.” It is true the movements of the Northern commanders are always known, and the Confederates attack without giving notice, and we suppose this is what Admiral Dupont means by a raid. We confess we cannot see through these foggy excuses. Admiral Dupont says:—

I have to report that about 4 o'clock on the morning of the 31st ult., during the obscurity of a thick haze, two iron-clad gunboats came out of Charleston by the main ship channel, unperceived by the squadron, and commenced a raid upon the blockading fleet. * * * The *Mercedita* was the first vessel attacked. Her officers and crew had been particularly watchful during the night to look out for suspected vessels, and at 3 o'clock had slipped her cable and overhauled a troop steamer running for the channel by mistake. She had returned to her anchorage, and Captain Stellwagen had gone to his room for a short time, leaving Lieutenant Commander Abbot on deck, when one of the iron-clads suddenly appeared. Her approach was concealed by the haze and the mist of the atmosphere.

Now, as the exit of the Confederates was not seen, how could the Federals know the time of it?

They did not, for the Confederate vessels came out of Charleston long before 4 o'clock. Further, if the particularly vigilant *Mercedita* had been able at 3 o'clock to see a troop ship, and slip her cable to overhaul her, is it not a little wonderful the approach of the Confederate vessel could not be perceived? Commander Stellwagen having an inkling of this difficulty, says at the time of the attack the moon had just set. Very likely, but the Confederate vessels did not come from the depths of the sea, but approached on the surface before the moon had set. We quite believe the *Mercedita* was surprised, but we do not believe in the fog, or, as Admiral Dupont calls it, the “thick haze.” Commander Stellwagen gives a graphic narrative of the surrender of the *Mercedita*:—

At 4 o'clock I laid down. Lieut. Commander Abbott was on deck giving an order to Acting Master Dwyer about recovering the anchor, when they saw a smoke and a faint appearance of a vessel close at hand. I heard them exclaim, “She has black smoke.” “Watch, man the guns.” “Spring the rattle.” “Call all hands to quarters.” Mr. Dwyer came to the cabin-door, telling me “a steamboat was close aboard.” I was then in the act of getting my pea-jacket, and slipped it on as I followed him out. I jumped to the poop ladder, saw the smoke and a low boat, apparently a tug, although I thought it might be a little propeller for the squadron. I sang out, “Train your guns right on him—he ready to fire as soon as I order.” I hailed the steamer, “Ahoy! Stand clear of us and heave off. What steamer is that? I then ordered my men to fire on him, and told him, “You will be into us. What steamer is that?” His answer to the first and second hail was, “Hulloa!” The other replies were indistinct, either by intention or from having spoken inside of his mail armour, until in the act of striking us with his prow, when he said, “This is the Confederate States' steam ram.” I repeated the order, “Fire! Fire! Fire!” but no gun could be trained on him, as he approached us on the quarter, and struck us just aloft our aftermast with a 32-pounder, and fired a heavy rifle through us diagonally, penetrating the starboard side through our Normandy condenser, the steamdrum of our port boiler, and exploding against the port side of the ship, blowing a hole in its exit some four or five feet square. The vessel was instantly filled and enveloped with a cam. Reports were brought to me “that we were shot through both boilers; that the fires were put out by the steam and smoke; that a gunner and one man were killed; that a number of men were badly scalded; that the water was over the fire-room floor, and that the vessel was sinking fast.” The ram had cut us through at and below the water line on one side, and the shell had burst on the other side almost at the water's edge. After the ram struck she swung around under our starboard counter, her prow touching us, and hailed, “Surrender, or I'll sink you. Do you surrender?” After receiving the reports, I answered, “I can make no resistance. My boiler is destroyed.” The rebel then cried out, “Do you surrender?” I said, “Yes.”

After this the crew were paroled, and we should think that it is unnecessary to hold a commission to inquire whether or not the *Mercedita* belongs to the Confederates.

The report of Admiral Dupont admits that the Keystone State was terribly cut up, that the *Augusta*, *Quaker City*, and the *Memphis* were injured. We are under the impression that the admiral's despatch has not only been carefully written, but carefully edited, but no editing can conceal the fact that the Confederates gained a glorious victory.

Charleston, so continually threatened with destruction, is not yet attacked. When the news came of the raising of the blockade, we were told that the question would be settled by the immediate capture of the city. Since then we have had the usual medley of despatches from New York. The first telegram tells us: “The bombardment of Charleston is believed to have already commenced, and telegraphic news to that effect is hourly expected.” Why do the New Yorkers believe before there can be any possible grounds of belief? The expectation was doomed to disappointment, and we are then told: “No news of the commencement of the bombardment of Charleston has yet been received. The fleet that conveyed the expedition consisted of 125 vessels of all descriptions.” Finally, we are informed the attack

on Charleston was postponed on account of a difference between Generals Hunter and Foster. It occurs to us that it is barely possible the expected resistance may have had something to do with the postponement of the attack.

Neither has the assault on Vicksburg been commenced. The Confederates have further increased the defending force, by sending there a large portion of the Army of Virginia and of the garrison of Mobile. Moreover, they have completed the railroad from Lebanon to Meriden, which enables them to rapidly concentrate their forces at Vicksburg. The Confederates are repairing the railroad at Okaloona that was destroyed by General Grant.

But if the Federals are afraid to attack the Confederate fortifications, they do not hesitate to destroy independent property. The correspondence of the *St. Louis Democrat*, dated Helena, Arkansas, February 3rd, states that General Gorman had commenced the destruction of the Levee at Yazoo Pass, on the Mississippi. By this project a large tract of country which separates the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Cold Water River will be laid under water to a depth sufficient to float vessels of light draught. The Cold Water leads into the Yazoo some 200 miles above Vicksburg, and is also navigable for vessels of light draught. It is believed to be a part of General Grant's plan of attack upon Vicksburg to take this means of communication for reaching the rear of the city, and for cutting off the Confederate supplies. When the tyrant of Spain was endeavouring to subdue his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, the people, who were struggling for their liberty, cut the dykes and flooded their country; but in the present instance it is the invader that resorts to this expedient. The war, in fact, has become, with the Lincolnites and their New England adherents, a war of ferocious vengeance. If they could desolate the South and incite the negroes to murder the Southerners, their most earnest wishes would be gratified. When the day of reckoning comes, the savagery instigated by New England will not be forgotten.

We have to record another Confederate naval victory. On the 21st of January, the Federal gunboat *Morning Light*, and the barque *Velocity*, were captured off Sabine Pass, Texas. The *Morning Light* was totally destroyed. The day before this victory the Federal Commandant Bell had issued a proclamation declaring Sabine Pass to be under blockade. The attack was made in the same manner as that which resulted in the capture of the *Harriet Lane*.

The *Houston Telegraph* gives a description of the cotton-clads used in these engagements.

The steamboats thus protected are known as the *Magruder* fleet. Upon the boiler deck cotton bales two or three deep are piled up and securely fastened to frames built up from the hold of the boat. These extend all around the boilers and machinery. A row of cotton bales is also placed on the cabin, and another on the hurricane deck, to protect the sharpshooters. Sharpshooters and swivels from behind these upper breastworks are enabled in perfect safety to sweep the decks of the enemy, and thus prepare the way for boarders. These boats are armed with rifled 32s or larger guns. Quite likely some of the guns from the West-field, of which there are eight splendid Dahlgrens, may be put on some of the boats. These large guns are a single one in the bow of each boat, and there are small guns also in the stern. The boats must be fitted with wrought-iron bowsprits, very sharp at the end, and furnished with barbs, to enable them to fix on to the enemy's vessel. A steel prow, under also, does its work in scuttling the enemy. The wrought-iron bowsprits with barbs are of more importance than the steel prows, inasmuch as they enable our boats to fasten on to the enemy's ships until the crews can board. The crews are generally 150 or 200 men, armed with double-barrel guns, pistols, cutlasses, and bowie knives able to slash their way through anything. Once on the enemy's decks, nothing can prevent their taking the ship.

The gunboat *New Era* was attacked on the 25th January, near Island No. 10, by a party of Confederates who had with them three cannon. The Federal gunboat suffered severely from the enemy on land.

The Federal ram *Queen of the West* has returned from an expedition down the Mississippi, and according to the Northern newspapers she was reported to have sunk three Confederate steamers laden with provisions, taken fifty-six prisoners, and to have gone within range of the Confederate guns at Port Hudson. It seems these doings are imaginary, for Colonel Ellis, her commander, in his official report, states that he failed in an attempt to destroy the Confederate steamer *City of Vicksburg*. He says his shells set fire to the Confederate vessel, but that the flames were extinguished, and in turn the bales of cotton by which his boat was protected took fire from the enemy's shells, which caused him to desist from the attack; but he makes no allusion to the sinking of the steamers or to the visit to Port Hudson. It is probable that the *Queen of the West* got the worst of the only encounter she had on her expedition. If she had destroyed much property a full account of it would have been given in the official report.

The Army of the Potomac is being dismembered—perhaps the best thing that can be done with an army thoroughly demoralized and daily melting away. About 35,000 men are to proceed to North Carolina, under the command of General Burnside, and a portion of them have already left the Rappahannock. This will relieve General Lee from the necessity of remaining in strong force in Virginia, and the Confederates will not think that the presence of a portion of the demoralized Army of the Potomac will add to the Federal strength in the West. A considerable portion of the Army of the Potomac must be kept in the neighbourhood of Washington for the protection of that city.

The *New York Herald* gives the following account of what was reported by telegraph as "a successful reconnaissance on the 7th inst." :—

A rash attempt to force the picket lines of the enemy six miles from Yorktown, last Saturday, was made by Captain Faith, of the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, which resulted in his men being drawn into an ambush near the "Nine Mile Ordinary," and thirty of them being killed. He was himself mortally wounded. His second in command, Captain Hagerston, was taken prisoner, as were the two lieutenants (Williams and Little) who were serving as volunteers.

The *Richmond Despatch* reports a second unsuccessful attack upon Fort M'Allister by the iron-clad *Montawk*, four gunboats, and one mortar-boat, on the 1st. It seems that iron-clad batteries are as invulnerable, if not more so, than iron-clad gunboats.

The Confederates have been repulsed in an attack on Fort Donnellson. The Federals in the fort were surrounded, and had fired their last round of ammunition when the Federal gunboats arrived and shelled the Confederates.

The following items are reported in the Northern papers :—

Accounts are received of an advance of a Federal foraging expedition twenty miles from Murfreesborough on the 30th ult. The Confederate cavalry were encountered and driven back some distance, but were afterwards reinforced, and repulsed the Federals, with a loss of 300 killed and wounded. The Confederate loss is not stated.

The town of Woodbury, Tennessee, previously reported to have been occupied by the Federals, was recaptured by the Confederates, under General Morgan, on the 26th ult.

Twenty-five of the Confederate General Morgan's men are reported to have attacked a Federal wagon train in Tennessee, under an escort of 400 men, and to have succeeded in carrying off eleven of the waggons and thirty prisoners.

The Federal cavalry in Tennessee surprised the Confederates encamped at Middletown and Franklin on the 2nd inst. The Confederate Major Douglass, all his officers, 125 prisoners, and their camp, equipage, horses, waggons, &c., were captured.

The Federals are reported to have entered Lebanon, Tennessee, on the 8th inst., and to have captured Paul Anderson, a member of the Confederate Legislature, and 600 other prisoners.

General Hunter has ordered a conscription of all able-bodied men in his district. The negroes may well pray to be delivered from their friends.

Mr. Sumner has introduced a bill into the Senate to enrol 300,000 negro soldiers; but he did not say how they were to be procured. Besides, it seems that the Federal troops decline to be associated with the negroes. On Ship Island there was considerable trouble on account of the arrival of some negro soldiers. A New York paper says: "We have an interesting report of the operations of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers (coloured) recently in Georgia and Florida. At St. Simon and Jekyll Islands they captured a quantity of railroad iron, valued at \$5000, besides live stock and farming utensils." This may be true, but Federal troops and Federal officers did not require the aid of negroes to teach them how to steal.

We need hardly observe that the Florida has not been destroyed. She was chased by the Federal steamer *Sonoma* off the Bahamas on the 1st and 2nd inst. for thirty-six hours, but owing to her superior speed, the *Sonoma* was distanced, and gave up the pursuit.

The irrepressible conflict in the North in reference to the negro is daily extending. A joint resolution was introduced in the New Jersey Legislature on the 3rd inst. opposing the purchase of the emancipated Missouri slaves. The resolution declares that while New Jersey is ready to contribute its quota of the legitimate expenses of the Government, it will not submit to taxation for the special benefit of one State, and gives notice that it will not consider any debt so contracted in the light of an obligation.

An Illinois regiment has been placed under arrest for refusing to fight under the Emancipation Proclamation.

The Federal General, Loan, commanding the central district of Missouri, has issued orders that all bushwhackers, guerrillas, and other parties found engaged in irregular warfare against the United States in his district, shall be summarily executed. If these orders are carried out, General Loan's

officers will be treated as felons, a fate they will deserve.

General McClellan is becoming the idol of the North. The Municipality of Boston refused to extend to him any hospitality, but this Municipality is the insignificant tool of the fanatics. The New York Assembly, by a vote of 95 against 4, has authorized the Governor to invite General McClellan to visit Albany as the guest of the State. This honour must be exceedingly mortifying to the Lincoln Administration.

The Secretary of War has ordered a court of inquiry to be held at Cairo to ascertain if any, and what, Federal officers have been engaged in trafficking in cotton on the Mississippi, granting licenses of trade, or using Government transportation for private purposes. This court, it is supposed, will investigate the charges current against General Butler during his Administration at New Orleans.

Mr. Chase's financial scheme has passed the Senate, and it is thought in Wall-street that it will certainly pass the House of Representatives.

The British consul left Charleston on the 7th inst., on board her Majesty's ship *Cadmus*.

ENGLAND.

The returns from Lancashire this week show an increase in five unions of 710 paupers, and a decrease in twelve of 3860, leaving a net decrease of 3150. The condition of the distressed districts has been the subject of much discussion in Parliament; but no important information has been elicited, and no hopes of any great amelioration in the condition of the trade have been held out, even by the most sanguine. It has even been suggested—and by Lancashire members—that all that now remains to be done is to withdraw from the idle factories as large a portion as possible of their unemployed labourers. It would appear, therefore, that without acknowledging it to themselves, farsighted men are beginning to be aware that the continuance of the American war must involve, not the temporary suspension merely, but the permanent ruin of the cotton manufacture. We hardly think that the Government or the public are prepared for this; and we believe that if they would only look the situation fairly in the face, they would be disposed to think somewhat differently of the duties and the necessities which it involves. England, without the cotton manufacture, would almost cease to be England.

The Central Relief Committee held a general meeting at Manchester on Monday. The principal topic of discussion was the provision of employment for the persons thrown out of work by the cotton famine. The funds received from New South Wales have hitherto been appropriated to this special purpose; but complaints on that subject have been preferred in the colony, where considerable misapprehensions seem to exist, and it was therefore resolved to merge the sum received thence in the general fund, and to make from that fund all the disbursements, past and future, required for the maintenance of schools and sewing-classes. It was stated that the sewing-classes find employment for 64,000 girls and young women, who would otherwise be idle, and exposed to all the dangers consequent on idleness; and that about 20,000 men and boys find occupation in the schools. There are 25,000 for whom work has not been found. Many landowners in the neighbourhood have taken the opportunity of making extensive improvements, in order to afford work to as large a number as possible of their destitute neighbours. It was determined that every possible effort should be made to induce the public to employ the destitute operatives; all the Committee being deeply conscious of the demoralizing effects likely to result from long-continued idleness and dependence. Mr. Farnall laid before the Executive Committee the following table, showing the number of persons dependent on charity in the various districts therein named :—

UNIONS.	PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION.			
	In receipt of parochial relief.	Maintained by local committees of charity.	Total.	Usually receive relief.
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	20.0	17.3	37.3	1.6
Blackburn	10.4	16.1	26.5	2.6
Burnley	6.3	14.0	20.9	2.0
Bury	9.1	14.6	23.1	1.9
Chorley	9.7	15.3	25.0	3.2
Glossop	17.5	22.6	40.1	1.0
Haslingden	8.1	16.7	24.8	1.3
Manchester (township)	21.2	8.7	29.9	3.3
Oldham	9.3	11.9	21.2	1.7
Preston	19.4	19.4	38.8	3.5
Prestwich	11.4	13.4	27.8	2.9
Rochdale	12.6	14.2	26.8	2.3
Stockport	7.2	22.7	29.9	1.8
Todmorden	12.3	14.2	26.5	2.7
Wigan	6.6	13.0	19.6	2.9

A prosecution for heretical opinions published long ago has been commenced in the Court of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, against Mr. Jowett, Regius Professor of Greek. That gentleman is a man of great ability and a most distinguished scholar. His views are generally thought—and we certainly think them—inconsistent with the teachings of the Church. But as he maintains the contrary, we think that the present prosecution is ill-advised. The judgment of the Court, if it should pronounce any judgment, would carry no sort of weight, and most people would consider Mr. Jowett's opinion as to the compatibility of his views with those of the Church more reliable than that of a chance judge, who was never intended to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and who may very possibly be quite devoid of theological knowledge. If Mr. Jowett were to be tried before a competent ecclesiastical court, we should approve the prosecutors and desire their success; but we cannot give our approval to a proceeding like the present, which seems to us to be simply "frivolous and vexatious."

The debates in the House of Lords are, perhaps, less interesting than they might be if a vote in that House were likely ever to produce a change of Ministry. But they are not wanting, either in practical importance, or in political significance. Especially in regard to foreign affairs, the views of the most enlightened and influential members of the aristocracy of England must carry great weight, both with the people and with foreign nations. And it is only men of character and influence who take a prominent part in the debates of the Upper House. Lord Derby and Lord Ellenborough, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Earl Grey, Lord Russell, and even Lord Malmesbury and the Duke of Newcastle, express more by their speeches than is conveyed in their mere words. They are the leaders of opinion among the highest and best informed classes of English society; and on those questions—and they are many and most momentous—on which the nation is guided by the highest classes, their views may be understood to carry with them the whole weight attaching to the national opinion of England. This makes the discussions in the House of Lords on such questions as that of the Polish insurrection and the Russo-Prussian convention exceedingly important: and the censure of that House will probably have more weight with foreign Powers than the angriest denunciations in the House of Commons. It is the condemnation of statesmen and aristocracies, not the declamation of popular assemblies, which carries a sting to the feelings of Courts and Cabinets abroad.

The eldest son of Sir F. Powell Buxton, the leader of the Abolitionists in the struggle which terminated in the emancipation of the negroes and the ruin of the West Indies, has written to the *Times*, expressing the strongest disapproval of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, as tending to excite servile insurrection, and showing that his father held such incentives to rebellion and massacre in utter abhorrence.

Preparations are making everywhere to celebrate with illuminations, fireworks, public dinners, and festivities of all sorts, the wedding-day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The Ministers have at length consented to introduce a Bill enabling bankers and others with commercial engagements falling due on the 7th, the day of the Princess Alexandra's landing, to make holiday and close their places of business. The nominal reason for this change of conduct is the alleged danger of attempting to carry on business in the midst of the immense crowds expected. The truth we suspect to be that a strong social pressure has been put on the Ministers, and that they are beginning to be ashamed of the ungracious appearance of their first refusal.

The *Times* has the following comment on the conduct of the State of Alabama in paying so punctually the interest due on its bonds: "The Bank of Mobile have remitted a large sum (about £40,000 it is believed) in specie, to meet, up to July 1864, the interest on the Bonds of the State of Alabama, payable in London at the Union Bank. Considering that Alabama is one of the Confederate States that have undergone the most severe trials from the war, this provision must be considered to entitle her to marked commendation." We believe that Alabama is not the only one of the Confederate States which has punctually met the demands of her creditors, in spite of the cruel pressure put upon them by the war.

The *Times* also says: "The final arrangements for the proposed loan of £3,000,000, on the security of cotton, have been made between Messrs. Erlanger and Co., of Paris and Frankfurt, and the Confederate Government, with the consent of Congress, and the particulars will probably be issued in a day or two."

It seems, from all signs at present apparent, that unless Ministers commit some wholly gratuitous folly,

there will be no great party fight this session. The Conservatives are certainly strong enough to have a fair chance of ejecting their adversaries. But it is understood that the Earl of Derby does not wish to come into power until he has a majority in the House of Commons. His lieutenants are wanting in what we may call Parliamentary courage; they have not the boldness to determine on a policy and stick to it; they wait to have their way smoothed for them by Ministerial blunders and indicated by public clamour. Lord Russell has done his utmost to give them a chance; but they have failed to profit by his errors. Mr. Disraeli is a good tactician; but he evidently shrinks from hazarding a pitched battle except on ground of his own choosing. He is probably waiting for some occasion on which he may detach the Radicals from their Ministerial allies, and beat the latter in detail. The bulk of the Conservative party, however, are hardly to be depended upon on such an occasion. Much as they hate Mr. Gladstone and Earl Russell, they hate Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden more. When they see their leader moving into the same lobby with these men, they begin to waver and hesitate. They are glad enough to see a hope of turning out their adversaries; but at any symptoms of an accord with the Manchester school, they begin to doubt. If Mr. Bright is with them, they fancy that they must be wrong. They don't want to conquer by his aid; and they begin to murmur against their leader when they see him using such an instrument. They do not care to "cast out devils through the Prince of the Devils."

An "emancipation" meeting was held at Manchester on Tuesday night. The characters of the speakers may be gathered from the following quotation from Mr. J. Patterson's speech as reported in the *Daily News*.

"He did not approve of the meeting recently held in the Mansion House, when the Lord Mayor received the Ambassador of the Powers of Darkness, the Minister of a hell-born Confederacy!"

EUROPE.

The latest intelligence from Poland is, upon the whole, unfavourable to the patriotic cause. There is a concurrence of testimony to the effect that the Russians have inflicted several severe defeats upon the insurgents in those very districts in which the insurrection had made most way. As to the actual results of particular fights the reports do not agree; they are for the most part absolutely irreconcilable and unreliable, and we abstain, consequently, from all details; but the general impression left by them is that which we have given. We have pointed out before that, whilst the insurrection embraced the whole southern half of the kingdom, its strength was concentrated in that south-western corner which is bounded by Prussian Silesia and the territory of the former republic of Cracow. Langiewicz and Kurowski were both said to be encamped in this district, and each was credited, by sympathizing accounts, with an army of several thousand men. Both have sustained severe defeats; and although the actual losses of the insurgents may not have greatly exceeded those of the Russians, the revolutionary commanders have sustained very damaging checks. Cracow is described as one house of mourning when the fugitives reached it, bringing the particulars of the engagements. We learn from Russian sources that the insurgents have also been beaten upon the Bug, but the story has not yet sufficient corroboration. The general result is, as we have said, in favour of the Russians, so far as the kingdom of Poland itself is concerned. The northern part of the kingdom, and generally the provinces which border upon Prussian territory, with the exception of the district at the extreme south-west, seem to be, if not under Russian authority, at all events not in the hands of the rebels. There is a story, indeed, to the effect that the insurgents have a large force in Augustowo, but we can hardly believe that if this were so we should not have heard something more definite about them. Augustowo is bordered for almost its whole length by Eastern Prussia, and if the insurgents were really its masters we should have learnt something about them from Königsberg and Gumbinnen. On the other hand, the absolute want of all intelligence from Lithuania is suggestive of an extensive development of the insurrection in that quarter. It has been a great point with the Poles to carry the war thus into the heart of Russia, and these old portions of the great republic were certainly quite as ripe for a rising as the so-called kingdom of Poland. Some time must elapse before anything can be heard of the events in these provinces, except through the Russian Government, and as it has not chosen to furnish any information, we are justified in presuming that it is not satisfied with the turn affairs are taking. It is now placed beyond all doubt that the Russian soldiers are allowed, or rather are encouraged, to commit the most horrible outrages. The towns they capture

they reduce to ashes; the inhabitants they rob or murder as the whim seizes them; they spare neither age nor sex, and take no trouble to discriminate between friend or foe; they burnt the family seat of the Zamoyskis, after robbing it of its most valuable treasures; they have plundered and burnt equally the mansions of noblemen who disapprove the insurrection. The worst that can be said of the Poles themselves is, that excited, by these brutalities, they give little quarter when they chance to be victorious. To so great a length have these excesses of the troops gone, that the Archduke Constantine has issued an order directing the officers to maintain the strictest discipline, and to prevent the robbing or ill-treatment of persons not participating in the insurrection. It is bad enough to have to chronicle the perpetration of these outrages. It is worse to be obliged to recognize in them a heavy blow to our hopes for the success of the Poles. Europe had been led to believe that the Russian soldier would in a contest with Poland prove quite unreliable. We see now that, although his officers may have read the publications of Herzen, and have sympathized with Poland, the common soldier takes very cordially to the work of murdering Poles.

The Polish insurrection is the question of the day in Paris. The atrocities avowed by the Russians, the ostentatious intervention of Prussia, have roused all the old sympathies of France for Poland. A great sensation was created on Saturday, by an article in the *Constitutionnel*, declaring that the intervention of Prussia had rendered the insurrection a European question, and denouncing that intervention in the strongest terms. The article was assumed to express the sentiments of the Government and foreshadow its action. The Democratic journals, like the *Opinion Nationale* and the *Siecle*, redoubled their thunder, and the impression got abroad that the French Government had already addressed energetic remonstrances to Prussia and Russia. The *Patrie*, which also has pretensions to official information, announced that a despatch, full of remonstrance, had been forwarded, couched, however, in moderate terms; but the *Constitutionnel*, as if frightened at the monster it had raised, professed itself on Monday astonished at the excitement on the Bourse, and declared that up to the present time the French Government had done nothing beyond enter into communication with the Cabinet of London, in order to agree upon the course which should be followed in the matter. We are disposed to accept this as an accurate statement of the facts. In the absence of the particulars as to the character of the convention, the French Government will hardly have addressed Prussia in the imperious tone ascribed to it. *La France* takes care to point out that there can be no question of an interference by the Western Powers on behalf of the independence of Poland. All that they can ask is the grant of those national institutions promised by the treaties which confirmed Russia in her possessions. The *Opinion Nationale* gives a rumour that Prussia has already refused to listen to the representations of the French Ambassador, and the *Constitutionnel* says only a warning has yet been given—the Prussian Government will hardly desire that it should be a threat. We have observed elsewhere that we have little hope that the Prussian Government will pay more attention to a threat than to a warning; and the question arises, what next? The English Liberal journals insist that the Emperor must declare war against Russia and Prussia, operate upon the Rhine, and send help to the Poles. As the *Daily News*, with a charming *naïveté* puts it, he ought to go to war to vindicate treaties; this is to say, the Emperor, whose successful mission it has been to destroy the Treaty of Vienna, is to declare war in its name. The question is one for the Emperor and France and not for England. The time is not favourable for a war upon such an immense scale as a war with Russia and Prussia would be. Beginning about Poland, Poland would soon cease to be thought of by the combatants. The Emperor will assuredly not resort to war until every other means have been employed to obtain justice for Poland; and even if his remonstrances should be disregarded, it may be questioned whether he will deem it good for French interests to plunge the whole Continent in war.

A report that M. Fould had resigned—a report which is revived every other day—obtained one day this week more credence than usual, and the Bourse closed that day very flat. It seems, like all the previous reports, to have had no other foundation than the difficulties of the Finance Minister's position. The resolution of the Emperor to go to war might possibly have the resignation of the Minister for its immediate consequence.

The *Opinion Nationale* is to be prosecuted for inciting citizens to hate each other, an offence under the Code Napoleon, and not created by the laws of public safety. The incriminated article drew a

contrast between the conduct of the manufacturers of Rouen and those of Alsace, very much to the disadvantage of the former. They were represented as having set themselves to produce cheaply, and in that pursuit to have reduced their labourers to beggary, with but small advantage to themselves. The manufacturers of Alsace, on the other hand, have sought to perfect their products and raise them to the height of works of art—handsome profit to themselves and comfortable wages to their men being the result. The writer draws an appalling picture of the distress in Rouen and its neighbourhood. The Cauchais weavers, he says, feed upon the leaves of the Colza plant. "Mothers take their daughters in their teens to the police office, and have them inscribed on a register which devotes them to infamy for life, and when remonstrated with, reply, 'We have no bread.'"

The Prussian Government is pouring troops in to its Polish provinces. Posen is put under a *regime* which is little less intolerable than a state of siege, although the German inhabitants of the province, who are not prone to judge their Polish fellow-citizens too moderately, have declared that there is not the slightest danger of disturbance. The exact terms of the convention with Russia are not known. Herr von Bismark Schonhausen was interpellated upon the subject in the House of Deputies, but refused to give any reply. A debate, however, followed this refusal, in which the conduct of the Government was severely censured; and the Minister declared that no remonstrances had been made by England or France—a statement true perhaps in the letter, but not in the spirit. The House, however, has determined to formally pronounce its opinion in favour of non-intervention. A motion to that effect has been submitted by two Liberal deputies, has been accepted by the Committee appointed to examine it, and will, no doubt, be adopted by the House almost unanimously. It will not have the slightest effect upon the policy of the Government.

Although Herr von Bismark declined to give the House any information about the convention, he seems to have talked freely enough about it to different members. A conversation he had with Herr Behrends, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Chamber, member for Dantzic, and therefore considerably interested in the matter, has been mentioned, not only in the newspapers, but in the House. The Minister is reported to have declared that the convention gives the Russian troops freedom of action for three miles (twelve English miles) within the Prussian territory—a concession which, considering the great distance along which the Prusso-Russian frontier runs, is practically handing over to all the horrors of war a very large slice of Prussia. Herr von Bismark is also said to have hinted that Russia was getting tired of the kingdom of Poland, and might be disposed to hand it over to Prussia. We should add that the Minister is said to have talked in this way "after dinner," and to show unmistakably after dinner that he had been dining.

The remonstrances of France and England are not likely to change the policy of the Prussian Government. The convention is much more the child of the King than of his Minister, and King William is an obstinate man, who will not be frightened by any threats from France. On the contrary, the party which surrounds him is evidently calculating upon using those threats to obtain a decisive triumph over the Liberals. They reckon, and not without reason, that any French demonstration on the Rhine would revive the German feeling against France. A declaration of war by France against Prussia would paralyze the House of Deputies. It could not refuse the supplies necessary for the defence of the country, and in the excitement of the contest it would be almost forgotten. We believe that King William would rather risk a war with France than give way to the House of Deputies.

The House has resolved to examine the budget for 1863, and hold the Ministers personally responsible for the expenditure of 1862. Herr von Bismark and his colleagues do not seem to be much impressed by the threat.

The Germans have a way of showing their sympathy with the Prussian House of Deputies in its great constitutional fight, which inflicts considerable inconvenience upon the President of the House, Herr Grabow. When they meet together upon any public occasion, they toast the House of Deputies. That is all very well; but in the excess of their enthusiasm they insist upon acquainting the President with the fact that they have just emptied a glass of Rhine wine, and exercised their lungs in several loud "hochs," in honour of the body of which he is the organ. So they send Herr

Grabow telegrams that he may be put in immediate electrical rapport with them. There is nothing very objectionable in this, although, it seems a sad waste of money; but the telegrams, although sent at an early hour of the morning, sometimes reach Berlin very late at night, and Herr Grabow is knocked up just as he gets comfortably to sleep, to sign receipts for the messages. Five times in one cold week the sympathy of his countrymen dragged him out of bed. That sympathy, however, sometimes takes a very agreeable form, the wine growers of the Moselle and of the Rhine gau have sent him some choice samples of the vintages of 1858. For although the Rhine gau is in the Duchy of Nassau, the proceedings of the Prussian Parliament are followed there, and indeed in all other parts of Germany, with almost as much interest as in Prussia itself. As we are speaking of President Grabow, we may mention that the Berlin newspapers have been extremely scandalized by what they consider a gross insult offered to the representatives of the people in his person. The President attended some royal reception, and in the course of his peregrinations found his way into a room, from which he was immediately desired by the officials to withdraw; that was cruel treatment enough, but there is more to tell; the poor gentleman could not get a chair to sit upon. A deliberate design to insult the House is built upon these trivialities.

The telegraphic summary of Signor Mingheiti's speech gave the impression that the Ministers asked from the Italian Parliament the authorization to contract a loan for the nominal sum of seven hundred million of *lire*, or twenty-eight millions sterling. It seems, however, that what the Minister has really asked is, the authority to realise for the Treasury seven hundred millions, that is to say, at present prices to contract a loan for at least a thousand millions. The Minister calculates his total deficiency to 1866 at 1325 million *lire*, thus made up—

Actual deficit for 1862	..	375 millions
Estimated „ for years, 1863-6	..	950 „

which he proposes to provide for in this manner,—

By the Loan	..	700 millions,
Sale of Public Bonds	..	500 „
Treasury Bonds	..	150 „

1350

We can only hope that Signor Mingheiti's estimate may turn out accurate. But in the present state of affairs a good many Powers are likely to come into the loan market. This competition may materially interfere with the operations of the Italian Treasury, and we can scarcely believe in the capacity of Italy to purchase Crown lands to the amount of five hundred million *lire* in four years.

The news this week from the Danubian Principalities is interesting. The National Assembly of the Danubian Principalities has passed a resolution to the effect that official legations should be appointed to the principal courts of Europe. Prince Couza replied that, although his personal wishes went with the resolution, he was obliged to dissent from it, as its adoption would create diplomatic difficulties. The Principalities, although practically almost independent, are nominally under the sovereignty of the Porte. The object of the National Assembly, in that, a true exponent of the wishes of the people, is to throw off the suzerainty and obtain their recognition as an independent nation. We may accept their ultimate success in these endeavours as assured. At present England and Austria will take care that their wishes are not gratified. Letters from Bucharest make much mention of intrigues to place the Duke de Leuchtenburg upon the throne of the Principalities. In the present embarrassments of Russia, it is quite needless to take notice of such a project, even if it should be seriously entertained.

There has been another revolution in Greece; just as peaceable as the former and quite as effective. It seems that Canaris, one of the members of the Provisional Government, resigned, whereupon the two other members, Bulgaris and Roupfos, formed a new Ministry, to which the National Assembly gave its approbation. However, either the resignation of Canaris or the composition of the new Cabinet was disagreeable to that portion of the sovereign people which inhabits Athens. A popular demonstration, in which a part of the garrison assisted, made the fact known. Bulgaris and Roupfos resigned their positions as members of the Provisional Government, the new Ministers resigned, and the National Assembly invested President Moraitini with the executive power. The want of a regular established Government is creating the greatest evils throughout Greece. Earl Russell has apparently given up his efforts to find a king for Greece; the Greeks themselves, faithful to their first love, insist upon having Prince Alfred, or no other king. Would it not be well to leave the Greeks to settle the matter for

themselves? They cannot have the king they want. Europe cannot find them another. Ought not their future to be left in their own hands, to make or mar? The suspense is throwing the whole country into disorder. Why should not the Greeks be allowed to constitute a republic?

The Sultan has resolved to economize, a hatt has been published, in which he gives up 20 per cent. of his own civil list, orders the reduction of official salaries, and the dismissal of superfluous employes. *En revanche*, he builds barracks, increases his army, and buys warlike stores, we fear that the balance of the two operations will not be favourable to the Turkish exchequer.

BRAZIL.

The excitement occasioned by the proceedings of Mr. Christie and Admiral Warren has not diminished at Rio Janiero. The National Defence Fund is augmented every day by very liberal donations, and king and people seem to vie with each other in the determination to make any sacrifice necessary for the defence of the national honour. We fear that this feeling will not be lessened by the despatch with which Earl Russell attempts to conclude the question by intimating, in that magnanimous manner in which a bully may deal with a poor fellow whom he has just victimized, that by-gones should be by-gones, and that, having got all he demanded, he is content to be on good terms with Brazil. The correspondence which has been laid before Parliament supplies no new information; it only assures us of what we were already well informed, that Mr. Christie only acted in accordance with instructions from Earl Russell, and, although the outrage was undoubtedly aggravated by the ill temper of the Minister, the ultimate responsibility rests upon the Foreign Secretary. According to the *Nord* the French Government has sent a dispatch to Rio Janiero, expressing great sympathy with the Brazilian Government.

It is now said that the Spanish Cortes are positively to be dissolved. Why, does not appear. They have given the Ministry a large majority whenever it wanted one, and that surely ought to have spared them a little longer.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Derby gave notice that he should move for papers relative to the Polish insurrection.—After a short passage of arms between Lord Normanby and Lord Russell with regard to the French occupation of Rome, Lord Carnarvon rose to call attention to the present state of prison discipline. A Royal Commission had lately been issued to inquire into the working of the system of penal servitude, he should therefore limit his remarks to the case of prisoners confined for short periods in county and borough gaols. Above 130,000 passed through these gaols in the course of the year, and he was sorry to say that in the last year of which we had the returns a great increase had taken place, particularly in the worse class of crimes. He complained that prison discipline was not sufficiently penal, and that it was varied and uncertain. The "hard labour" to which prisoners were sentenced was exceedingly light, and the dietary was far too liberal. Criminals were far better fed than paupers or agricultural labourers. Neither of these latter had meat, except occasionally; criminals had meat almost every day. Again, punishment for infractions of prison rules had become exceedingly rare, chiefly on account of the sentimentalism of chaplains and prison inspectors. He entered into details to show the variety of treatment in different prisons, and the difference of expenditure, ranging from £16 to £90 per prisoner. Punishment ought to be deterrent, but under the present system imprisonment had almost ceased to be formidable to the criminal.—Earl Granville admitted that both as to labour and as to diet the system in county gaols was probably too lenient; at the same time it must be remembered that the diet which would keep free men in health would not suffice for prisoners. The power of Government over county gaols was very limited, and strong objections were felt to increasing that power. He thought it might be advisable to have a Committee to consider the matter.—The Earl of Malmesbury supported Lord Carnarvon's views. He said that paupers received from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per week; prisoners were maintained at a cost from 10s. to 12s. Prisoners received a more liberal diet, in many gaols, than soldiers and sailors. Such contrasts tended to demoralize the people, and to encourage crime.—Lord Wodehouse said that on an average of years crime was diminishing. The great fault of our system was the want of uniformity in our different prisons; still, in all separate confinement and hard labour were inflicted. He approved of the treadmill, as being a deterrent kind of labour; as for the diet, he thought it was certainly made too agreeable; but the universal report of the medical officers was that it could not be made less nutritious without injuring the health of the prisoners. He thought some greater power should be given to the Home Office to enforce some uniform system.—Lord Wensleydale supported Lord Carnarvon, and said that in Prussia the prisoners only received meat on four days in the year, and yet were kept in good health.—Lord Truro urged that the prohibition of spirits rendered extra food necessary.—The Marquis of Salisbury supported Lord Carnarvon.—Lord Cathcart said that confinement had a lowering effect on the system, and rendered extra food necessary.—The appointment of a Committee was agreed to.—In answer to the Earl of Dudley, Lord Granville said that Government would make no further change in the treatment of convicts until they received the report of the Royal Commission.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Tite (President of the Institute of British Architects), the First Commissioner of Public Works said that

some of the recent railways and bridges no doubt sadly disfigured the appearance of the capital, and he should be glad to attend to any suggestions on the subject from Mr. Tite or the Metropolitan members.—Mr. M'Mahon asked whether Government proposed to take any steps to remedy the inconveniences attending the present arrangement of judicial circuits?—The Attorney-General said that no change was proposed, except in reference to the Northern Circuit.—In answer to Mr. Stansfeld, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that no alteration was intended in the Spirit Duties.—The House went into Committee to consider the Queen's Message relating to a provision for the Prince of Wales. After a loyal exordium, in which he contrasted the advantages of constitutional monarchy with the evils incident to despotism and democracy, Lord Palmerston referred to precedents showing what provision had been made for previous heirs-apparent to the throne on their marriage. He said that in 1715 and 1745, that provision had been £100,000 per annum, in addition to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. In 1795 a still larger provision was made for the Prince who was afterwards George the Fourth. But under the present reign, contrary to the usual practice, the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall had been accumulated for the benefit of the Prince. Part of those accumulations had been invested in the purchase of a landed estate in Norfolk; part would be required for the outfit and establishment of the Prince. The remainder, with the probable income of the Duchy of Cornwall, will produce about £60,000. It was proposed to vote a further income of £40,000 a year, making a total of £100,000. A further allowance of £10,000 would be proposed for the Princess, with a jointure of £30,000 a year if she survived her husband.—Sir H. Wiloughby thought the House ought to have the accounts of the Duchy of Cornwall.—Mr. Augustus Smith objected to the grants. He said that the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall amounted to £32,000 a year, and that the Prince received £16,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund.—The House listened with impatience, and constant cries of "Oh, oh," and "Divide."—Mr. Disraeli expressed his surprise at the conduct of Mr. Smith, and the rebuke which he administered to that gentleman was greeted with loud cheers. He said that the sum proposed was exceedingly moderate, and he hoped it would be sufficient; he thought that the Prince was fully entitled to any benefit he might derive from the improvement of the revenues of the Duchy.—Mr. Gladstone explained that the £16,000 paid to the Prince out of the Consolidated Fund was a compensation for certain duties on tin which had been abolished, and which would have produced a much larger revenue.—Sir John Trelawny, amid loud expressions of impatience, objected to the grant.—Mr. Bouverie stated that at the commencement of the present reign the net revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall did not exceed £12,000 a year, and the expenses of management were about £12,000. By the admirable management of the late Prince Consort the income has been raised to £50,000, and the expenses reduced to £8,000. He thought that public opinion out of doors would consider the proposal of the Government exceedingly moderate; it was much less than had been generally expected.—The whole of the propositions of the Government were agreed to *nem. con.*

Sir George Grey moved the second reading of a Bill to continue the law for the Punishment of Corrupt Practices at Elections.—Mr. H. Berkeley opposed it. He said the law ought to punish, not the elector who took a bribe, but the candidate who gave it. He showed that the present law did not prevent either bribery, treating, or intimidation.—Lord Henley objected to the rule that paid agents should not be allowed to vote.—Mr. Bentinck said that the annual discussion of that subject was an annual farce, for no one in or out of the House really thought bribery criminal. He thought testimonials to the members of Parliament (alluding to the sums received by Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Cobden) quite as objectionable as bribes to voters.—Mr. Powell strongly objected to the disenfranchisement of constituencies in which corruption was proved to have taken place to a considerable extent; which he said was punishing the innocent for the guilty.—Mr. Phillips said that the Corrupt Practices Act had done a great deal of good.—Mr. Sergeant Pigott approved the Bill.—Lord Robert Montagu pointed out many methods of bribery which the law could not touch.—Mr. Packe suggested that public houses should be closed during polling hours.—Sir George Grey said in reply, that because the law could not do everything, that was no reason why it should not attempt to do what it could. He defended the rule prohibiting all persons engaged in the collection of revenue from voting at elections. He defended the temporary disenfranchisement of boroughs in which extensive bribery prevailed, saying that it would induce all respectable persons in the place to endeavour to ensure purity of election.—The Bill was then read a second time.

Mr. Villiers moved the second reading of his Bill to continue the Act of last year for relief of unions suffering from the cotton famine. He agreed to the suggestion that the Act should be only continued for six months more, in order to afford opportunity for further discussion; also to the proposal that the time for the repayment of money borrowed on security of the rates should be extended from seven to fourteen years. He said that the Act had had no such effect in producing laxity in the administration of the Poor Law as some persons had feared.—Colonel Patten said that he would not oppose the second reading, but he objected to the principle of the rate in aid. It was quite true that the property in Lancashire and Cheshire had increased in value by the cotton manufacture. But that increase of value was received by the landlords, whereas the burden of the rate in aid fell upon the occupants. He said that greater facility should be given to unions of raising money by loan. Some persons had wished that the extra rates should be paid by the owners of property; but the fact was, that the owners of property had already rated themselves in the way of voluntary contributions to a much greater amount than they could be called upon to pay by such a modification of the Poor Law.—Mr. Gregson said that if the American war were to end immediately we should receive plenty of cotton, but if not, we ought not to keep the operatives in demoralizing idleness. He had received a letter from India expressing the hopelessness of inducing the natives there to buy calico at the present prices, and he thought that, unless an increased supply of cotton could be obtained, we ought to assist our operatives to find other employment. He had seen a very curious document the other day, namely, a bond from the Southern States of America for 50,000 lbs. of Orleans cotton at 6d. per lb. deliverable at the termination of the war, at any port of shipment free of export duty, forty days after the presentation of the bonds. He thought the purchase of these bonds would be a very good speculation, and was himself rather tempted to buy one. By these bonds the South were enabled to obtain the sinews of war.—General Lindsay complained that the union of Wigan, where liberal local contributions had kept down the poor rates, had been obliged to assist other distressed unions.—

Mr. Egerton remarked that when a union extended into two counties, the Act provided that it should receive a rate in aid from that in which the greater part of it situated. This the Poor Law authorities interpreted to mean, not where the greater part of the rateable value was situated, but where the greater part of the area lay; and thus Macclesfield with a normal rate of 4s. 6d. had to contribute to the relief of Ashton, whose poor rate was usually very low.—Mr. Sydney said that the Consolidated Fund ought to bear the pressure of the cotton famine.—Mr. Humberston said the rate in aid was vicious in principle, and if adopted, ought to be made national.—Lord E. Howard said that in one union the relief of the poor required a rate of 24s. in the pound. The cottage owner, the shopkeeper, the small farmer, would be ruined if the rate continued at the present level. He thought the Government ought to lend to the distressed unions. He considered it probable that the condition of Lancashire would soon be worse than at present.—Mr. Cobden did not like the rate in aid. He thought that greater facilities for borrowing ought to be afforded. Government should permit the unions to borrow when they please, and limit the sum which might be borrowed. He suggested that the Lancashire members should meet together, and talk over the matter before the Bill went into committee.—The second reading was then agreed to.

On the motion for the second reading of the Bill to modify the system of credit allowed for the payment of malt duties, several members for agricultural constituencies complained of the inadequacy of the relief offered, and of the hostility of Mr. Gladstone to the agricultural interest.

On the order for going into committee upon the Births and Deaths Registration (Ireland) Bill, Lord Naas moved an instruction to the Committee to make provision for the registration of marriages in Ireland. He insisted upon the great importance of a registration of marriages, which could be effected, he observed, without any alteration of the marriage law. He specified various plans of registration, and expressed his surprise at the timidity of Sir R. Peel in dealing with this question, in which he would encounter no difficulty.—Mr. Monsell gave his cordial assent to the motion. The system of registration of marriages introduced into Scotland had worked well there, and it was most desirable, and this was a favourable time, to get rid of the difficulty in Ireland.—Sir G. Bowyer dissented from this conclusion; he thought it inexpedient to introduce the subject of marriages into the Bill.—Sir R. Peel said it appeared to him that the House was rather in favour of going on with the Bill as at present framed. Lord Naas had said that his proposal would entail no alteration of the marriage law in Ireland. He (Sir R. Peel) was of opinion that it would; that it would be impossible to legislate upon the subject without introducing many alterations in that law. He hoped, therefore, that the House would support him in proceeding with the Bill as it stood.

After further discussion the House divided, when the motion of Lord Naas was negatived by 89 to 66.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Carnarvon questioned the accuracy of a statement made by Lord Granville the other night, that no police supervision was exercised over convicts on ticket-of-leave in Dublin.—Lord Granville explained. Supervision there was, but it was not exercised by the police.—The Duke of Marlborough moved for a return giving a nominal list of persons released on tickets of leave since 1857. He cited a case of Radpath, who ought to have suffered at least eight years' penal servitude in this country, but who had been removed to Australia the year after his trial (1858), and was now at large there.—The motion was withdrawn.

The Earl of Ellenborough asked for papers relative to the Polish insurrection, and the convention between Russia and Prussia. In a speech of great force and eloquence, he explained and condemned the recent treatment of the Poles by Russia. He could not doubt that the Cabinet felt as he felt, and as every English gentleman must feel, in regard to that treatment. The insurrection took every one by surprise. After manifesting conciliatory dispositions, suddenly on the night of the 21st of January, Russian soldiers surrounded the homes of persons living in Warsaw, and without giving them an hour to prepare for the separation, tore away from their families, not those who were best fitted for military service, but those who were suspected of disaffection, and whom it was therefore thought by the police expedient to consign for life to the army. This drove the people to despair; it was a blow, and the nation rose to avenge it. He trusted that the Government would declare their opinion that the insurrection had been provoked by the conduct of Russia. At present that country was hardly to be considered a part of Europe. By the Crimean war her passage of the south-west had been cut off; the Polish insurrection had now similarly separated her from Europe in the North. She had to reconcile to herself not merely the Poles, but the public opinion of Europe, whose censures she could not but feel. It was impossible but that the French army and the French nation should sympathize with Poland, remembering how long and how gallantly the Poles had fought for France; and the Emperor could not choose but give diplomatic expression to that sympathy. The Poles are striving now for national life, as Prussia strove in 1813. By that strife Prussia won whatever honour and influence she now enjoys; and if the King insists on helping Russia to trample out the liberties of Poland, his conduct can hardly fail to bring about a crisis in his own dominions, which may extend further and again disorganize all the States of Europe. The noble Lord concluded by expressing a hope that the present insurrection might be the commencement of a brighter era, and that the present generation might witness the re-establishment of Poland.—Earl Russell said that he could not publish the report received from our Consul at Warsaw, as to do so would render that gentleman's position untenable. The present insurrection was not wholly unexpected. Great though peaceable demonstrations had occurred in Warsaw last year; and it could not but be expected that, if no concessions were made, further and more violent results would follow. The higher classes in Poland—the landed aristocracy—had not desired any revolutionary violence. They had hoped to obtain a constitutional Government or at least a national Administration from the Czar; and it had been reported that the Emperor Alexander II. was not indisposed to grant these things. But when 200 of the great landowners signed an address in this sense, they were told that they had committed a crime against the State; and Count Zamoyski, one of the chief men in Poland, who had been instrumental in the presentation of the address, was ordered to quit the country; and—though apparently by mistake—did not obtain permission to return even to visit his dying wife. The middle classes of the towns, on this, had been driven to despair, had formed secret societies and plotted insurrection. Instead of endeavouring first to put down these societies by law, and then to conciliate the

Poles, the Russian Government had adopted—it was said at the suggestion of the Marquis Wielopolski, himself a Pole—the resolution to strike the blow which had provoked this insurrection. The conscription is at all times a harsh measure. But instead of enforcing it fairly, the Russian authorities had exacted the whole contingent from the towns, where disaffection was supposed to be more general than among the peasantry, and had taken the conscripts not by lot but from a list furnished by the police. This drove the people to despair and to instant rebellion. As to the convention between Prussia and Russia, he had not been able to obtain a copy, nor did he understand that a copy had been furnished to the Ministers of those Powers in London. He was informed, however, that the Russian troops were to be allowed to pass over Prussian territory in arms, and to pursue and capture insurgents on Prussian soil. Austria had wholly refused to accede to any such arrangement, while still adhering faithfully to her previous engagement with Russia. He had not hesitated to communicate to the Russian Government his opinion that its conduct in reference to the conscription was imprudent and unjust. He had also told the Prussian Ambassador that, by giving such assistance as the convention promised to Russia, Prussia made herself, in some sense, accessory after the fact to the conduct by which the insurrection had been provoked. The rebellion might prove to be a mere movement of despair; or it might assume the dimensions of a national movement. He declined to produce the papers asked for.—Lord Malmesbury censured the conduct of Prussia, and asked whether, by the convention, unarmed fugitives crossing the Prussian frontier were to be given up to Russia.—Lord Russell said that the convention was, he believed, silent on that point. [We rather think that a treaty already exists between the two Powers for the extradition of political offenders. It is so stated in the "Recollections of Siberia," which we lately reviewed.] The cheers which greeted both Lord Ellenborough and Lord Russell at every sentence condemnatory of the conduct of Russia and Prussia, or expressive of sympathy with the Poles, were very significant. It is not often that the House of Lords is so moved; and that that august and Conservative assembly should feel so strongly for rebels is as striking a proof as could be desired of the universality of the opinion that the rebellion has been not only provoked, but thoroughly justified.

FRIDAY, FEB. 20.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Ewart asked for information concerning the Russo-Prussian convention.—Lord Palmerston, without any comment, stated the facts precisely as they were given by Lord Russell in the other House. On the motion that the House do go into Committee of Supply, several questions were put and motions made. Mr. D. Griffith said that we gave our sympathy freely to residents in the Valley of the Mississippi; why should we refuse it to inhabitants of the region of the Nile? Forced labour was the great evil and curse of that country; it was slavery in its worst form, because the slaveowner had a direct interest in the health and well-being of his slave, whereas a ruler with despotic power obtained labour on his own terms, and was troubled with no responsibility as to the maintenance of the wretched people who were brought in chains to perform his tasks from a distance of 200 miles. He wished to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government would afford their support to Ismail Pasha in the execution of his declared intention to abolish forced labour in Egypt?—Lord Palmerston said that her Majesty's Government highly approved of the intention of the Viceroy of Egypt.—Viscount Enfield asked whether the First Commissioner of Public Works would reopen the road across Hyde Park, which had proved so useful during the Exhibition?—Mr. Cowper answered in the affirmative; but added that carts and omnibuses would not be allowed to use the road.

Sir L. Palk, who had withdrawn that part of his motion which had reference to mediation in the American war, and who in the course of his speech said that the time for mediation had gone by called attention to the distress existing in the manufacturing districts, dwelling upon the extent of the distress and the discouraging aspect of the future, both as regarded the continuance of voluntary contributions of funds for its relief, and the prospects of a supply of cotton, as to which he thought there was no cause for hope. Upon the latter point he blamed the action or non-action of the Government, who, he thought, might have promoted cotton culture not only in India, but in Queensland, Jamaica, and other British dependencies. He moved an address to her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission may be issued to consider the best mode of obtaining a permanent supply of cotton. The House was very empty, and the motion was evidently considered a bore. Mr. Milner Gibson replied, which he would not have been allowed to do if his colleagues had attached any importance to the proposition. He thought the remedy proposed was very questionable. He doubted whether a Royal Commission of such a kind had been ever appointed, and it could not make any report which would justify Government in undertaking, or Parliament in sanctioning, a direct encouragement of cotton cultivation by the advance of money, and thus becoming a cotton trader. All the information which a Royal Commission could obtain was already before the House and the country. The appointment of a Royal Commission could, therefore, do no good, while it might do harm, by creating groundless expectations and paralyzing private enterprise. He hoped that Sir L. Palk would not press his motion, from which no practical benefit could arise.—The motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Maguire (who took an active part as Mayor of Cork in promoting subscriptions for the relief of distress in Lancashire) asked whether the attention of the Government had been directed to the distress now existing in Ireland, and, if so, whether any measures were in contemplation for its relief. He detailed facts from which he argued that Ireland was retreating; that cultivation and live stock were diminishing; that from being an exporting it had come to be an importing country; that it was subsisting upon its capital, not upon the profits of trade; and he read statements which went to show the natural result of this state of things, in widespread distress and destitution.—Colonel Dickson bore testimony to the existence of the deepest distress in Ireland, which was extending to the commercial classes.—Sir R. Peel was bound to admit, on the part of the Government, that, in consequence of deficient harvests, a great pressure was felt by various classes; but he could only reply that over the causes which afflicted Ireland, resulting from atmospheric influences, the Government had no control, and it would be very difficult for them, with the state of Lancashire before them, to propose a grant of public money. He had lost no opportunity of stimulating the activity of the local authorities. Mr. Lewis (one of the members for Marylebone) called attention to the great number of railway schemes affecting the metropolis (upwards of thirty) introduced in the present session, and asked what protection is afforded to the public interests in this matter. He thought the Board of Trade should take up the question, or that power should be given to the Metro-

politan Board of Works to protect the interests of the public. He moved for copies of reports upon the subject. Mr. Massey pointed out the difficulty in the way of any Government interference in the matter. He agreed, however, that the public interests should be protected; and powers for that object could not be entrusted to a body more competent to deal with it than the Metropolitan Board of Works. He promised to propose an alteration of the Standing Order to enable the Board to exercise the power of public protection. Sir G. Grey thought the suggestion that the Metropolitan Board of Works should be allowed to appear before the committees on behalf of the public was entitled to consideration.

This motion of Mr. Lewis was agreed to.

The House then went into Committee upon the Births and Deaths Registration (Ireland) Bill, the clauses of which were agreed to after a very long discussion.

After disposing of some other business, the House adjourned till Monday.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the absence of Lord Russell, Lord Stratheden was obliged to postpone his motion for the production of any correspondence which may have taken place between Mr. Mason and the Foreign Office. The rest of the sitting was occupied by a discussion on a proposed extension of the Great Eastern Railway through London as far as Finsbury-circus.—Lord Derby objected to that extension, and wished that some more efficient protection should be afforded to the interests of Londoners in regard to measures of this kind. He thought the Metropolitan Board of Works ought to have a *locus standi* before the Select Committees on Metropolitan Railway Bills.—Lord Granville agreed with this suggestion.—Earl Grey thought the Bill might be postponed for a short time, and that, as the Session was likely to be an idle one, the House would do well to consider how the interests of owners and occupiers generally might be protected in such cases.—After some further discussion the debate was adjourned for a fortnight.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A short personal explanation took place between Lord Robert Montagu and Lord Clarence Paget, Secretary to the Admiralty. The latter has recently gone down to a dinner at Chatham, and while there, talked rather loosely about the future greatness of the place as an arsenal. Lord R. Montague and Sir F. Smith, at present member for Chatham, chose to treat this loose talk as an official promise made for electioneering purposes. This Lord Clarence Paget denied, and after a somewhat angry explanation, the subject dropped.

Mr. S. Fitzgerald gave notice that on Thursday next he should move for papers in continuation of correspondence already published between her Majesty's Government and that of the United States, and also for correspondence between her Majesty's Government and certain gentlemen here who represent the Southern States.

After a few unimportant questions had been asked, and answered, the second reading of the Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill came on. In answer to Sir H. Willoughby, Mr. Gladstone denied that on the death of the Prince of Wales the Duchy of Cornwall reverted to the Crown. After some debate, the bill was read a second time. In answer to Mr. Butt, Sir George Grey said he did not intend to propose any alteration in the law relating to the confinement of insane persons.

Mr. Buxton called attention to the purchase and deportation from Egypt of a negro regiment by the Emperor of the French, which elicited from Lord Palmerston a statement of the circumstances of the case, and an emphatic declaration that the late Pacha, in agreeing to the measure without the sanction of his sovereign, the Sultan of Turkey, had exceeded his powers. Not content with this, the Egyptian Government had committed an act which could be likened only to the violence and cruelty that had been recently inflicted by the Russians on the inhabitants of Warsaw. They had employed persons to perambulate the streets of the towns, with orders to seize every Nubian whom they deemed fit for military duty, tear him from his family, and send him on board a French frigate to be conveyed to Mexico. Her Majesty's Government had expressed their opinion to that of Egypt that such an arrangement was perfectly irregular, and that it was a violation of the rights of the Sultan, for the Pacha had no right to dispose of the subjects of his sovereign without the Sultan's consent.

After an irregular discussion on naval subjects, the House went into a Committee on the navy estimates.

Lord C. Paget prefaced his exposition of the estimates, by remarking that he could congratulate the Committee upon the reduction of their amount, because the Government had been enabled by the generosity of the House to make such enormous exertions that the navy had been thereby placed in an efficient state. The money vote proposed for 1863-64 was £10,736,032 which was less than the vote for 1862-63 by £1,058,273. After pointing out the reductions in the several items of expenditure, Lord Clarence stated the number and description of armour-clad vessels afloat and building. The number of these vessels under construction or at sea was twenty-one. Of this number ten (including one small vessel) were actually at sea, or would be ready at the end of the year, and eight more would be completed by April next year. He explained the course proposed to be taken in the conversion of line-of-battle ships, and with the frames of wooden ships building. The number of seamen and marines was the same as last year—namely, 76,000 men. He read an account of the amount of our naval force afloat and its distribution, and, in conclusion, gave very satisfactory details of the condition of the navy, the continuous service men, the Naval Reserve, and the Naval Coast Volunteers. He moved the first vote of 76,000 men. Sir J. Pakington thought Lord Clarendon was justified in claiming for the Government the merit that it had effected this reduction of £1,000,000 without encroaching upon the efficiency of the naval service. He thought the resolve not to diminish the number of men was a judicious and prudent one.—Mr. Baxter complained of the suggestion by Mr. Bentinck, that France meditated an invasion of this country. As a financial reformer, he did not move a reduction of the number of men, because he thought the Government in earnest in economy and retrenchment, and hoped they would not stop.—Sir J. Elphinstone noticed some topics in Lord C. Paget's exposition. He thought that ventilation was not sufficiently attended to in the navy, and the proper construction of ships for tropical climates.—Admiral Walcott hoped that no measure would be resorted to that would lessen the efficiency of the service.—Mr. Cobden said there were not two opinions as to the maxim of the last speaker, that England should maintain a navy superior to that of any nation in the world. But the superiority of a navy did not now depend upon the number of men: it was a question of science and skill, so that when he objected to 76,000 men, he did so for this reason, that he

defined the Government so to employ that number in the ships they had that they could be of any use to the country. And when he objected to the number of men he objected to the whole expenditure of the Navy, for the number of men voted was the measure of the expenditure in all the departments. The conduct of the Government in shipbuilding had been nothing less than insanity, and the House should be cautious in trusting them now. Could we afford, rich as the country was, to go into all these novelties, on a grand scale, of iron-clad broadsides? Were we sure that in a few years they would not share the fate of the sailing line-of-battle ships? He called upon the Admiralty to suspend the building of monster broadsides till the plan of Captain Cowper Coles had been tried, and if it was successful this enormous number of men would be unnecessary.—Mr. Laird concurred with Mr. Cobden in commending the invention of Captain Coles, and in urging the Government to let the cupola ships be tried before the completion of the broadsides.—Mr. Lindsay dwelt upon the enormous loss the country had sustained through the caprices of the Government in their shipbuilding operations. The debate continued in the course of which Lord C. Paget gave further explanations on the subject of the iron-clad vessels. Ultimately, the vote and a few other votes were agreed to, when the Chairman was ordered to report progress.

Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading of the Tobacco Duties Bill, which was resisted by Mr. Ayrton and some other members on the ground of its alleged unfairness towards British manufactures. The debate was adjourned.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Bishop of Bangor moved the second reading of a Bill to allow service in certain Welsh Churches to be performed in the English language. The motion was agreed to.—In answer to a question from Lord Stratheden, the Under-Secretary for War explained the relations between the Government and the Volunteer force, and the impossibility of appointing a field-day except on some such general holiday as Easter Monday.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sir J. Hay moved a resolution, "That this House will, upon Thursday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of an address to her Majesty, submitting that, in the opinion of this House, 1, the position of the officers of her Majesty's naval service in respect of promotion and retirement is not satisfactory, and ought to be amended; 2, that, with a view to the increased efficiency of the naval service, and to meet the just expectations of officers with respect to promotion, it is desirable to adopt for all ranks the principle of retirement by age; and, 3, that the pay of naval officers ought to be so adjusted as to enable them consistently to maintain the rank they hold and to give them fair remuneration for honourable service." Observing that considerable dissatisfaction existed among the officers of the navy, and, in his opinion, not without good grounds; that they looked upon the Admiralty as anything but friendly to the concession of their just rights; he proceeded to justify and enforce his propositions, showing that his scheme of retirement would benefit the service and promote its efficiency by producing a steady flow of promotion. With reference to the last proposition, he pointed out the grievances suffered by officers of the navy through insufficient and diminished pay and allowances, which he contrasted with those of the army and the civil service, and also with the remuneration of officers in the navy of other nations.—Lord Palmerston moved, as an amendment, the following resolutions:—"1, that this House, having on the 13th of March, 1861, instructed a Select Committee to consider the present system of promotion and retirement in the Royal navy, is of opinion that its decision should be suspended until the subject shall have been accordingly considered and reported upon; and, 2, that a Select Committee be appointed to consider the present system of promotion and retirement in the Royal navy, and to report their opinion thereon." Doing, he said, full justice to the motives of Sir J. Hay, and convinced that he was actuated by nothing more than a desire to promote the interests of the service, he could not refrain from regretting the course which, in and out of the House, Sir John had thought proper to pursue. Military and naval bodies ought not to become deliberative assemblies, to enforce upon the Government changes for their own benefit; to meet together, to appoint committees, and to correspond with members of the profession, calling upon them to state their grievances. Such a proceeding tended to shake the foundations of military and naval discipline, and would form a most dangerous precedent. The course taken by Sir J. Hay, in proposing his resolution, was not altogether consistent with the functions of the House, which ought not to assume those of an administrative character. The propositions, moreover, were vague, and would leave the Government entirely at sea as to the mode of carrying them out. But it was not expedient for the House to present such an address to the Crown; it was for the Government, on its own responsibility, to propose any addition to the expenditure they might deem necessary for the public service, and for the House to reject or to adopt the proposal.—Sir J. Elphinstone supported the original motion, considering that the wrongs and grievances of the officers of the navy called for inquiry and redress.—Mr. B. Cochrane dissented from some parts of Sir J. Hay's scheme; but, as a whole, he thought it one for which he deserved the highest credit.—Mr. Ferrand, in supporting the motion, observed that the officers of the navy had appealed to the Admiralty, but had appealed in vain; they had laid their claims before the Board, who, not showing that those claims were unjust, returned a curt and offensive reply. They were then compelled to come to that House; for to whom were they to appeal?—Mr. Bentinck, after some remarks upon the composition and proceedings of the Committee of 1861, admitted that there was a great deal of force in what had been said by Lord Palmerston as to the mode proposed by Sir J. Hay of dealing with the question, and suggested that the proposal to refer it to a committee should be accepted.—Lord C. Paget analyzed the plan of retirement proposed by Sir J. Hay, showing in detail the injurious action it would exert upon the service, and that it was impracticable without inflicting injustice upon officers. He disputed the correctness of the comparison made by Sir J. Hay between the pay of the British and French naval officers. He did not deny that there was room for improvement, but there had been great improvements made in the pay and position of all classes in the navy, and it was not fair to make charges against the Admiralty, and to instigate officers to discontent.—Sir J. Pakington insisted that Sir J. Hay was not liable to the charge made against him by Lord Palmerston, and that his motion was not open to any objection on account of its form. He, on his part, charged Lord Palmerston with inconsistency, and a change of tactics in now proposing an inquiry by a Committee which he had opposed in 1861. He (Sir John) thought the question ought to be dealt with by the Executive, or, if not, that it should be referred to a Royal Commission.

With regard to the plan proposed by Sir J. Hay, he did not assent to all the details, but he corroborated Sir John's statements as to the underpayment of the superior officers of the navy. Though he should vote for the motion if pressed to a division, he suggested whether he would not best discharge the duty he had so well performed by not pressing it; and he appealed to the Government whether, in that event, it would not be better that they should undertake the question.—The motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. Adderley moved for leave to bring in a Bill inflicting corporeal punishment for robbery with violence.—Sir George Grey objected to the principle of the measure. Leave was given.—Sir George Grey asked leave to introduce a Bill postponing the payment of Bills of Exchange due on the 7th proximo, the day of the arrival of the Princess Alexandra. Leave was given.—The Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill passed through Committee.—Mr. Newdegate asked whether the Princess was a Protestant.—Lord Palmerston replied: I am very glad to be able to answer the question of the hon. gentleman in a manner that will, I am sure, be satisfactory to him and to the House. When the question arose of selecting a Princess who might be the wife of the Prince of Wales, the following conditions were thought to be requisite: first of all, that she should be young; next, that she should be handsome; further, that she should be agreeable, that she should be amiable in her disposition, that she should be well brought up; and, lastly, that she should be a Protestant. All these conditions, I am happy to say, are united in the Princess Alexandra. I trust, therefore, that the choice will be as satisfactory to the nation as I am sure it will be conducive to the happiness of the Prince of Wales.

At half-past 10 o'clock the House adjourned until Thursday.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, February 25.

The Cotton Market at the date of our last report was very much depressed, and Fair Dhollerahs hardly saleable at 16½d.

On Thursday and Friday there was considerable pressure to realize, and several low sales were reported, especially in American, strict middling Mobiles being forced off at 20d. On Saturday the market opened weak, but on receipt of the Australasian's news, reporting cotton at New York 93 cents, with an excited market; a considerable amount of business was done in the afternoon, at an advance of 1d., and in some cases 2d. per lb. on the previous forced sales of American cotton.

On Monday, the possibility of serious complications arising out of the Polish question, had a damping effect, and holders showing a disposition to sell freely at a slight advance, the market closed tamely with sales of 4000 bales.

On Tuesday the market was very flat, the business reaching only 2,500 bales. To-day a little more has been done, the sales reaching 5,000 bales, but mostly at lower prices and on the basis of the depressed sales of last week. We quote Fair Dhollerah 16½d., and Middling American 21d. to 21½d.

By the City of Manchester to-day we learn that the French Emperor's offer for mediation has been peremptorily declined by the Northern Government, at the same time resolutions have been passed in the Illinois Legislature calling for a general convention of States next month, to consider their present difficulties, and the New Jersey State Legislature have determined to communicate direct with the Southern Government. Meanwhile the attack on Charleston has been postponed, and the army of the Potomac is in process of dismemberment, whilst affairs at Vicksburg are still in *statu quo*.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, February 24.

There has been no noticeable change in our yarn and cloth market during the past week, notwithstanding the reduction of the bank rate from 5 to 4 per cent., and the better telegrams from Bombay dated 4th of February, reporting an active demand for our staples at improving prices, which may be accounted for by the quietness of the Liverpool cotton market, and a general belief here that the North cannot carry on the struggle against the South much longer.

The German houses are in possession of orders for pincops and doubled yarns, which they do not feel inclined to place at present, in consequence of the cotton market showing such signs of weakness, as to induce them to believe that lower prices will be taken by spinners shortly.

Home trade yarns have been very quiet, and the agents who deal largely in this description complain much of the manufacturers returning a very large proportion of the Surat cotton yarn sold lately, as being almost unfit to make into cloth. This complaint, indeed, has been very great during the last two or three weeks.

Cloth of all kinds has been in little demand, and not a single sale of any consequence is reported.

To-day the market has been very quiet, although there has been a better feeling observable, sellers showing no disposition to yield at all in their quotations.

There have been some inquiries for 40s. and 60s. yarns, in bundles, suitable for India, but only a small amount of sales in them has been effected.

Home trade yarns are nominally firm, but in case offers had been made, no doubt a concession might have been submitted to by the seller.

Cloth remains in the same state as last week, although there have been some inquiries made for 22-inch T cloth, 2 and 3 lbs. also for 30-inch Madapolams suitable for the Levant.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The following are some of the prices of general merchandise sold at public auction at Charleston on the 17th ultimo:—

Epsom salts \$1 50 per lb; glauber salts 90c per lb; cop-peras 75c per lb; sal soda 75c per lb; bi carb soda \$2 10 to \$2 20 per lb; castor oil \$14 75 per gallon; gum opium \$32 to \$86 per lb; Spanish indigo \$515 per lb; Carolina do. \$7 50 per lb; Bengal do. \$8 per lb; calomel \$8 50 per lb; quinine \$14 to \$16 per oz; morphine \$22 per oz; allspice 23c per lb; nutmegs \$1 55 per lb; English cheese \$3 05 per lb; cognac brandy \$22 to \$26 per gallon; Northern straw brooms \$12 50 per dozen; Southern do. \$18 per dozen; Liverpool salts 30c per lb; coffee \$2 65 per lb; black pepper \$2 25 per lb; ground

do. \$2 per lb; green tea \$11 per lb; black tea \$4 70 to \$4 80 per lb; yellow soap, 57½c to \$4 per lb; castile do. \$3 87½ per lb; adamantine candles \$2 per lb; sperm do. \$1 95 per lb; wax do. 95c per lb; mustard, in ½lb bottles, \$12 per dozen; do. in ½lb cans \$7 per dozen; sweet oil in pint bottles \$20 per dozen; olive oil \$13 per gallon; cotton cards, No. 10, \$21 50 per pair; matches \$7 25 to \$17 50 per gross; wax matches \$1 40 per box; buff paper \$40 per ream; note paper \$7 50 to \$12 50 per ream; buff envelopes \$7 50 to \$11 50 per M.; French calf skins \$240 to \$285 per dozen; enamelled skins \$185 per dozen; sole leather -3 87½ per lb; English offals \$1 75 per lb; chewing tobacco 55c to 82½c per lb; felt and wool hats \$3 to \$14 25 each; men's gaiters \$16 50 to 19 per pair; brogans \$4 50 to \$12 per pair; men's boots \$17 25 per pair; military boots \$41 per pair; Oxford ties \$12 per pair; ladies' gaiters \$12 50 to \$17 per pair; black sewing silk \$20 per lb; machine thread \$25 per dozen; drab flax thread \$9 50 per lb; black do. \$11 25 per lb; spool cotton, 200 yards, \$4 25 to \$5 per dozen; linen bosom shirts \$60 per dozen; silk handkerchiefs \$3 to \$5 each.

Glue 80c per lb; Japanned tin plates \$7 50 per dozen; super carb soda \$2 15 to \$2 22 per lb; family soap 80c per lb; Whittemore candles \$1 25 per lb; Cuba coffee \$8 per lb; epsom salts \$1 70 per lb; English copperas 87½c to \$1 27 per lb; potash 95c per lb; matches \$10 to \$20 25 per gross; brown bar soap 85c per lb; wool \$2 35 per lb; black tea \$6 per lb; English sole leather \$4 25 per lb; French calf skins \$258 to \$275 per dozen; kip skins \$245 per dozen; French kid do. \$160 per dozen; elastic for shoes \$2 55 per yard; bars, round and square iron, 32c to 33c per lb; hoop bands 22c per lb; Liverpool salt 42½c per lb; cognac brandy \$27 per gallon; chewing tobacco 55c per lb; whale oil \$14 per gallon; sperm do. \$32 per gallon; eagle buttons, large and small, \$18 per gross; needles, assorted, Blunts' \$4 37 to \$6 per M.; india rubber pipes \$65 per dozen; briar wood pipes \$38 per dozen; tooth brushes \$12 to \$18 per dozen; ivory combs \$14 to \$18 per dozen; india rubber combs \$13 50 per dozen; Howe's pins \$10 25 to \$13 per pack; calomet \$9 per lb; chloroform \$13 per lb; croton oil \$22 per lb; blue mass \$7 per lb; silver plated spoons \$20 per dozen; English shoe thread \$16 to \$19 per lb; raven sewing silk \$22 per lb; bone buttons \$24 per gross; red flannel \$2 37½ per yard; black broad cloth \$15 50 per yard; Irish linen \$3 per yard; longcloth \$5 83 to \$1 40 per yard; men's white half hose \$11 to \$15 per dozen; suspenders \$32 per dozen; linen cambric hdkfs \$27 per dozen; men's white shirts \$65 to \$110 per dozen; Welsh flannel \$3 12 per yard; spotted do. \$5 per yard; Angola flannels \$2 82½ per yard; fancy soap \$4 15 to \$4 50 per dozen; black alpaca \$6 10 per yard; note paper \$8 50 to \$12 per ream; cap paper \$16 per ream; letter paper \$13 to \$29 per ream; felt hats \$15 each; playing cards \$17 per dozen; ladies' gaiters \$6 50 to \$16 per pair; military boots \$53 per pair.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, February 24th.

Your readers are all more or less acquainted with a very suggestive fable of Lafontaine's, the hero and victim whereof is an unfortunate donkey. Some great calamity having befallen the kingdom of beasts, lion, tiger, wolf, fox, come forward in the handsomest manner, and proclaim that though they may have devoured a few peasants, worried flocks and plundered hen-roosts, their consciences are perfectly at ease. The court of quadrupeds unanimously vote that such peccadilloes cannot by any means have brought down the visitation they suffer from. Our long-eared friend then comes forward, encouraged by the impunity he sees so freely granted to great offenders, and jauntily intimates that one very hot day as he was passing along a green field under a heavy load,—

“ — l' occasion, l' herbe tendre
Et le diable aussi quelque peu metantant,
Je tondis de ce pré la largeur de ma langue.”

No sooner are the words out of his mouth than a chorus of reprobation arises against him,—

“ Haro sur le baudet ! Ce maudet animal
Ce pelé, ce galeux ! il a fait tout le mal !”

In short, his friends eat him up.

On reading the speeches in Parliament on Friday, and the articles in the French papers during the past week, shall I venture to confess that the King of Prussia appeared to me to stand very much in the same light as the luckless *baudet*? He has been sorely tempted—for many years he has been longing for a taste of that right royal dish, absolutism.

He has heard, until very lately, a great deal, both from East and West about the duty of Governments to check the “progress of revolution,” and now, when an insurrection breaks out in an adjoining country, which threatens to spread to his own dominions, his singleness of purpose in offering his aid to put it down, is received on the part of England, France, and Austria with an unanimous shout—*haro sur le baudet*!

The Prussian *baudet*, however, might prove a tougher customer than his fabulous prototype; and in spite of rumours, and of threatening articles in semi-official prints, I do not believe in any aggression being contemplated. Apprehensions, however, do exist of such an aggression, and there is a great deal of wild talk about the restoration of Poland, &c. That diplomatic remonstrance will not be spared is highly probable, but that the Emperor of the French, backed by the “moral support” of England, will march an army to the Rhine, I confess is more than my powers of belief are able to stand.

Great uncertainty still prevails as to the nature of the arrangement between Russia and Prussia, and it is

doubted whether it really amounts to so flagrant a breach of neutrality as the speeches delivered by Lords Russell and Palmerston would lead one to suppose. But, taking it for granted that it is everything that it is described, and assuming for instance that Prussian troops have crossed the Polish frontier, it is not easy to see on what principle the Western Powers could justify their intervention between two of the oppressors of Poland and their victim. Neither England nor France interfered when Russia passed her battalions into Hungary to crush the successful insurrection, which neither Windischgratz nor Radetzki were able to cope with; and though justice, policy, and humanity all advocate an intervention to put an end to the sanguinary drama in America, England refuses to share in it, on the flimsy pretence that Mr. Lincoln and his associates do not appear in the proper frame of mind to entertain it.

Having attempted to put the policy ascribed to the Western Powers, with regard to the Polish insurrection in its proper light, let me say that the popular feeling here has been roused to a very unusual degree of indignation by the atrocities which have goaded the Poles into insurrection, and that entertained towards Prussia has been well described as partaking of the loathing with which a volunteer assistant to the hangman would be regarded. The sympathy of all liberal minds is naturally due to a gallant people fighting for their independence, and those who advocate on the other side of the Atlantic, a cause akin to that which the Poles are fighting for against tremendous odds in Eastern Europe, cannot but form wishes for their success.

There are points in common between the Poles and the Confederates, just as there are points in common between the tyranny of the Czar and that of President Lincoln, and between the Turchin's, Butler's, McNeil's, and the Russian butchers who knout women to death, and have towns plundered and sacked, whilst they are at breakfast (Czas of Cracow.) But there is this great difference between them, that the Poles are fighting a hopeless battle, whilst every day makes the success of the Confederates more certain.

The Russians, though their troops are worsted in partial encounters, show no sign of faltering in their task of crushing out the remnants of vitality in Poland, whilst the North divided against itself, defeated in the field, ruined in finances, gives signs of having had enough.

The *Moniteur* and the political world here generally attach great importance to the movement which is taking place in the West, and to the unanimous reprobation which the proposal to embody a negro army, excites in every part of the Union. Southern victories have brought the North to a very low ebb, but it seems reserved for the Abolitionists to give it the *coup de grace*.

It is said that the reply of the Federal Government to M. Drouyn de Lhuys' note of the 9th, has been brought by the Australasian, and from the silence of the *Moniteur* it is inferred that it is negative, as was expected. The war affords to the Butler's, Cameron's, &c., too favourable an opportunity for plunder that they should wish to terminate it. It would be killing the goose with the golden eggs. The belief, however, continues general that the hostilities are drawing to a close, and the approaching triumph of the South may be confidently predicted from the gloom which is settling down upon their enemies.

M. Proudhon, the well-known apostle of socialism, has this week published a book which has made some impression, from the vigour of his attacks on those who happen to disagree with him, and from the very extravagance of his conclusions. The work is entitled *Du Principe Fédératif*,—of which principle (which may be rendered the doctrine of State-rights) M. Proudhon is so devoted an adherent that he proposes to carve out France into a number of Federal republics, with Paris for their capital. There is a good deal in the book that verges on insanity, at the same time there is a certain amount of method in its madness, and his reflections on the present contest in America are not without point. M. Proudhon with a philosophical elevation of thought, which his countrymen are far from being able to comprehend, reproves European democracy for its support of the North in this struggle, and condemns it still more strongly for approving Mr. Lincoln's “emancipation” proclamation, which seeks to do away with the “name” of slavery, but substitutes for it that white slavery which he pronounces to be infinitely worse—which the French call “*proletariat*,” and which we know but too well in England, though we have no name for it. The work, however, owes its success in Paris, not to its philosophy, but to the virulence of its attacks on sundry well-known journalists who are dished up, *a la sauce piquante*, and greatly relished by the community at large, who enjoy

personalities, all the more from the tame and too parliamentary tone the papers are compelled to assume.

The Bourse has been greatly affected during the past week by the reports of an impending war with Russia and Prussia; of an army of observation being stationed close to the Rhine; of the resignation of M. Fould, and other calamities, equally vague in their character, and uncertain in their existence. Nothing could be more easy than to collect 40,000 or 50,000 men from Metz to Strasburg within 43 hours, when such large Place d'Armes, as Paris, Nancy, and Lille, are connected by two or three lines of railroad. But all these rumours have, I believe, their existence merely in the panic caused by the ignorance of the public as to what the intentions of the Government may really be.

A letter from our Richmond correspondent arrives at the moment of our going to press. Its interesting contents will be laid before our readers next week.

VICKSBURG.

The following description is taken from the letter of the Special Correspondent of the *Morning Herald* dated Philadelphia, February 10th:—

The Mississippi flows near Vicksburg through flats of its own deposit. Those flats vary from 20 to upwards of 100 miles in width. They are subject to an overflow of from four to twenty feet deep. At the city a breadth of hills runs out through these low flats to the very bank of the Mississippi. A narrow apron of overflowed land lies at a few points between those hills and the river; but in most instances the channel lies with its whirling current at their very base. A belt of land subject to overflow lies for a width of about 200 yards between the Mississippi and the base of the “bluff” on which Vicksburg stands. That hill presents to the river a contour similar to that of a truncated cone. It rises up in a rapid slope to a summit 300 or 400 feet high. The streets of the city are cut into the sides of the hill, and constitute a succession of terraces one above another. The system of defences adopted for the position is outside my knowledge, but must be as formidable as any such system can be in the case of a profile admitting of a dozen lines of earthwork around the whole sweep of the hill, each commanding the other, and all commanding the water approach so completely as to make a direct advance from the “landing” utterly impracticable. This bustling hill is but one of a chain that, equally formidable throughout, embraces the channel of the Mississippi as far south as Warrenton. This semicircular sweep of “bluffs” has doubtless been made—as it may have been very easily—unapproachable at any point by a hostile force from the river. The flank approaches to this breadth of hill country are very difficult. The Yazoo River constitutes the line of access to it on the north. The naked red clays of the whole region back of Vicksburg are torn by heavy rain storms into a tangled network of ravines deep and steep. This favours the defence in general, and makes it from the line of the Yazoo perhaps irresistible. The weak point of the communications of Vicksburg lies, however, at the place where the railway from that city to Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, crosses on the trestlework the swamp of Big Black River. That part of the railway is but a few miles back of Vicksburg, and is accessible from a point on the Mississippi below Warrenton, by way of the valley of the Big Black. In high stages of water, as at the present, it is approachable by gunboats. In either case this appears to be the assailable point of the defences of Vicksburg.

Vicksburg is situated on one of those bends in the channel of the Mississippi known locally from their shape as “horse shoes.” The city occupies the toe, the range of hills extending south of it to Warrenton, rising up like a wall around one-half the circle of that “horse shoe.” The tongue of land within the bend is subject to overflow. Across this the Federals have cut a canal with the expectation that the Mississippi rushing through will widen and deepen it to the dimensions of a new bed. “Cut offs” such as the Federals expect to make in this instance, have been made similarly at other points on the river. In this case, however, the soil is stiff clay, and there is therefore grave reason to conclude that the river will fail in opening by its own action the shallow cut into which they have introduced it to the dimensions required. This canal is in fact sat down as a failure. A new cut is being opened at another part of the horse shoe; but this probably will be found, unless carried down with the quicksand, equally unavailable. At all events, it will fail to result in any change useful for the purposes of navigation before several months. In order to place you in possession of the physical conditions of the attack on Vicksburg it is only necessary to repeat that with the exception of the breadth of hill country on which that city is situated all the country around is a more or less reclaimed swamp. The whole region for a 100 miles on every side of the Confederate defences, except in the rear, is subject to an overflow of from four to twenty feet deep, and even the rendezvous of the Federal army, protected temporarily by an embankment that may be cut through in half an hour, must in the present stage of the Mississippi floods be saturated with wet. A further rise in the water would drive the Federal army to their transports, and yet immense reinforcements are being forwarded from Memphis to participate in its desperate and bloody enterprise.

The Confederate Judge, Magrath, has delivered an opinion sustaining the constitutionality of that portion of the amended Sequestration Act which gives to the next of kin of an alien enemy the sequestered property of such alien enemy. The question of constitutionality was made under directions from the office of the Attorney General.

Missouri has recently contributed fifteen additional regiments to the Confederate army. Several of these regiments participated in the recent battle in Arkansas.

Resolutions have been introduced into the Virginia Legislature, declaring the determination of the State to guarantee to the Confederate Government the payment of her proportion of the public debt, and pledging the faith of the State for the same; also, a proposition to enroll and organize all exempts in the State into Brigades, regiments, and companies, to be subject to the call of the Governor in case of necessity.

Total number of emigrants arrived at New York for the year ending December 31, 1862, 75,982; arrived to same date in 1861, 65,529. Increase over 1861, 10,453.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1863.

The American Question before Parliament.

On Monday last Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald gave notice that on Thursday (this day) "he would move for papers in continuation of correspondence already published between her Majesty's Government and that of the United States, and also for the correspondence between her Majesty's Government and certain gentlemen here who represent the Southern States." A notice of a motion similar in purport had previously been given in the House of Lords by Lord Campbell; but the motion itself has been adjourned until next Monday at the express request, as we have good reason to believe, of Earl Russell, who thus stands pledged to discuss it on that day. The same request, coming almost simultaneously from both Houses, and urged by men representing the two great antagonistic parties, affords a strong proof, if any were needed, that this request is made for no party purposes, and that the American question is not, as it ought not to be, an object of party tactics. It is difficult to imagine on what grounds the Government can refuse these papers. The "civil war," as it is still misnamed by many, has not diminished in magnitude or interest since the beginning of the last session, when a perfect shower of blue books on America gratified the public curiosity. This year there have been papers on every other foreign question, but not a page relating to this, the greatest of all. It could not be that there were none to publish, for even if the Washington Government has fully anticipated the publication of the diplomatic correspondence with the North, it is generally understood in well-informed circles that the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the representatives of the South is not the least interesting portion of the diplomatic record of the year. Publication of this correspondence could not consistently be refused, as it was towards the close of last Session, on the ground that it was unofficial or extra-official, because of the representatives of the Confederate States not being recognized in their diplomatic character. From this objection, even if it were well taken, the Government is estopped by its former publication, in February 1862, of the notes of Messrs. Yancey, Rost, and Mann, and even of the present Commissioner of the Confederate States. What was right then must be right now. It can scarcely be that this correspondence contains matter of such momentous importance as to require, in the public interest, the veil of secrecy.

The only valid reason which can be imagined for withholding it is, that it must inevitably lead to a debate, and therefore to an expression of Parliamentary opinion. To our thinking, it is high time that this expression should be made. The French proposal of mediation has just been peremptorily refused by the Government at Washington, and with it, as we predicted, the friendly suggestion of entering into negotiations with the South. The last pretence for delay is therefore removed. If well-authenticated rumour is to be credited, the

French Emperor has long since decided, as the alternative in the event of the rejection of his double proposition, to recognize the Confederate Government, and the question of veracity which has arisen between his Ambassador and the Chief of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet is not likely to alter this resolve, or to retard its execution. Under these circumstances, it behoves the dignity and self-respect of this country to decide what attitude she will assume; whether, in spite of French recognition, Great Britain will still persist in ignoring the just claims of the Confederates, and thus make enemies, commercially as well as politically, of both the American nations alike, or whether she will act true to her position as a great Power, and her relations with both combatants, and assure France of a cordial co-operation in a measure which cannot much longer be deferred.

Why there should be any hesitation between two courses, when all the considerations of justice, humanity, and policy, so obviously point out the right one, it passes human ingenuity to conjecture. In our dealings with the late United States, have we incurred any obligations towards the States north of the Potomac and the Ohio which do not equally bind us towards the States south of these rivers? As members of a Federation treating with us through a common agent, these States stood before us equals and peers in all respects, and as such we recognized them by the treaty of 1783, declaring each by name to be a free, sovereign, and independent State. Has there subsequently been any treaty by which we recognized in, and guaranteed to, one group of those States a right of sovereignty over the others? By what title can we withdraw from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, what we accord to the fullest extent to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New York? What claims of legality has the Government at Washington which do not belong in the same degree to that at Richmond? The former consists of representatives of a certain number of States united for specified common purposes; so does the latter. Both Governments are founded upon substantially the same political theories, and established by the same forms and the same rules of representation. Of the two, the one at Richmond has proved itself to have a stronger hold upon the affections and loyalty of its citizens. It has moreover, in a comparison of probable stability, the advantage over its rival. No one even of those who would still refuse it recognition now doubts its ability to maintain itself, while the warmest partisans of the Washington Government cannot be blind to the multiplying signs of its rapidly approaching disintegration. Why, then, should we have one measure for the North and another for the South? Let it not be said that the fear of one makes us unjust to the other. Suppose the North had the power as well as the inclination to make war upon Great Britain, would our excessive forbearance not rather provoke, than avert the danger? When did nation bent on war ever wait for just ground or lack a pretext? If we were in the position of the lamb to this Northern wolf—as, thank Heaven, we are not yet—would our drinking ever so low down the stream prevent him from devouring us?

The friends of the South throughout this country await with eager interest the result of the motions to-night and on Monday, and especially the discussion in the Lords, in which Earl Russell is expected to take part. It seems probable that the Government will not refuse the papers demanded, and in that case the decisive debate may be postponed a little while longer. We hope, however, that both the movers will urge upon their colleagues and the country the necessity of prompt and consistent action, not so much for the sake of helping the Confederates, who have shown themselves able to dispense with foreign help, as for the sake of British interests and British honour. The correspondence moved for will show the grounds on which the Confederate Government has claimed official recognition, and the grounds on which the British Government has hitherto refused it. Between them let Parliament and the public judge.

The New Campaign.

Mr. Seward is once more confident, another "ninety days" is fixed as the period within which the *coup de grace* will be given to the Southern Confederacy. The North is always going to begin, always on the eve of some tremendous enterprise, and this time, the public is assured, such preparations have been made, such precautions have been taken, that victory is certain. Yet the news brought by the last mail is ominous of failure. A week ago the attack upon Charleston seemed imminent. The gage of defiance had been boldly thrown down by the Confederates. The Federal Flotilla had been driven ignominiously from Charleston waters. We were told that prompt and summary vengeance was at once to be enacted, and a New York mob revelled in the belief that the attack had commenced. But there is another postponement. The great fleet of transports which embarked General Foster's 65,000 men has sailed quietly by Charleston and landed its human freight on St. Helena Island; the only change off Charleston Harbour is the substitution of a blockading squadron of iron-clads for the wooden vessels which fared so badly in the late engagement; and the people of the Palmetto City are half inclined to believe that the storm cloud has passed them by, and that the bolt of war will fall upon Savannah. There really seems to be some fatality attending the expeditions of the Federals. For weeks and weeks General Foster's army has been on the point of striking a blow. It lay for a month or two at Newbern, North Carolina; it advanced a few miles towards Kingston, and everybody expected a dash upon the railroad between Richmond and South Carolina, and an attack upon Wilmington. It is suddenly countermarched, and re-embarked; and it is next heard of, not at Charleston nor at Savannah, but at Saint Helena Island. The "mystery," as the New York papers say, is at an end, and General Foster, having landed his troops, has gone leisurely back to Washington to consult about future movements, and to complain of General Hunter. Meantime the grand Army of the Potomac is being broken up, and General Burnside, at the head of 35,000 men, is reported on his way to North Carolina, where, we presume, he is to imitate General Foster's resultless advance upon Kingston. We have never been able to understand the precise object of the large force assembled at Newbern. But if 65,000 men were not sufficient to accomplish it, half that number is not likely to be more successful; and we confess our utter inability to fathom Northern strategy at this point, unless the object be to keep Burnside and his *corps d'armée* out of harm's way, and not to risk too many men under "fighting Joe Hooker." The dismemberment of the Federal army in Virginia will, however, relieve all anxiety about Richmond, and set a considerable Confederate force free to succour Charleston, Tennessee, Vicksburg and Port Hudson. In any change of front, the Confederates operating upon interior lines, and having direct railroad communication, must have the advantage in rapidity of movement. Their strong lines along the road between Washington and Richmond will always enable them to make head against the Federal army with a greatly inferior force. The town of Richmond was long ago placed beyond the reach of a *coup de main*. It is reasonable to believe that a considerable portion of the Virginian army has been despatched Southward, and that when the day of battle comes in Tennessee and Mississippi, the veterans who have so often "driven" the Federals in Virginia and Maryland will have their share of the fighting.

For the present the immediate interest of the conflict is concentrated at Vicksburg. Thither all the available forces of the North are being hurried, and the struggle which has twice terminated disastrously to Federal arms is about to be renewed in terrible earnest. Hitherto the Federal attack has been conducted from the Mississippi and from the Yazoo. At both points the natural defences of Vicksburg render it almost impregnable. In front a belt of marsh land, 200 yards in width, stretches

some three miles along the Mississippi to the foot of the precipitous hill on the side of which the terraced city of Vicksburg stands. Every terrace, and the summit of every slope, is covered with batteries, and the attempt to storm from the river would be about as hopeless as to assault Gibraltar from the "neutral ground." From the south of the Yazoo the approaches to Vicksburg are hardly less formidable. A series of ravines, formed by winter torrents, constitute so many outworks for the defenders of the town, which a very little engineering skill will enable them to convert into strong positions, against which the whole fury of the Northern army may dash itself in vain. But it is said to be the intention of the Federals, by cutting the "levee" of the Yazoo River to inundate the whole country in the rear of Vicksburg, to float their lighter transports up from the Mississippi and Yazoo, and so intercept the communications between Vicksburg and Jackson, and cut off the supplies of the garrisons. In the meantime M'Clermand's troops are hard at work digging the canal on Louisiana bank. But as the soil is said to be a stiff clay, there seems to be very little chance of their completing the work this season, and when it is borne in mind that the whole country within 100 miles of Vicksburg is subject to overflow when the rivers are at their height, and that the Federals are at this moment sleeping on ground only a foot or two above the present stage of the river from which they draw water, it is easy to conceive the desperate nature of the enterprise the Federals have taken in hand. The best sanitary measures can do little to help great camps of men huddled together upon this saturated soil. And although the few weeks of cold weather that are yet to be expected may keep under the fevers and other diseases incidental to such exposure, it needs but the recollection of the condition to which the Federal flotilla off Vicksburg was reduced last year in the hot season, to bring before us vividly the terrible sufferings and losses the Federals must undergo when the waters subside, and they are subjected to the literal influences of the malaria from the drying swamps. The only hope of the Federals, then, lies in immediate action. But if due advantage has been taken of the natural facilities afforded for defence, and if, as we do not doubt for an instant, Vicksburg is properly garrisoned, the North must meet with another fearful disaster. Of the attack on Port Hudson we still hear nothing, and the reason assigned for the delay is the inefficiency of Farragut's flotilla. So many drafts have been made upon him for ships at other points, in consequence of the successes of the Confederates at Galveston and Sabine Pass, the capture of the Harriet Lane, and sinking of the Hatteras, the destruction of the Westfield and others, that it is said his force is scarcely strong enough to blockade the mouths of the Mississippi. But in the case of Port Hudson, as in that of Vicksburg, every day's delay is in favour of the defence, and it is now, perhaps, doubtful if the assault of Port Hudson will be at all attempted, unless the fall of Vicksburg shall enable Grant and M'Clermand to co-operate with Banks and Farragut.

We have heard little of Rosecranz's movements in Tennessee for the last two or three weeks, but report says that he has been largely reinforced, and that an advance is contemplated upon Tennessee River, and even into Georgia. In this case, a great battle is imminent. Whether Longstreet or General Johnston is to have the command of the Confederate army in Tennessee, it has certainly been strengthened by several brigades from the army in Virginia, and the Confederates cannot allow Rosecranz to obtain the command of Eastern Tennessee without a struggle. Already the irregulars are pressing in upon his railway communication and cutting off his supplies. Forrest's horse are attempting to fasten themselves permanently on his line of transport, and even Fort Donnellson was on the point of changing hands, when the fire of some Federal gunboats drove off the victorious assailants and saved the remnant of the Federal garrison. In truth, the immense

distances over which the Northern armies have to operate must expose them to constant attacks in the rear, and paralyze all their most important movements. Another Confederate force is at this moment marching northward upon Memphis, and repairing the Mississippi Central Railway, for a further advance. Memphis has been stripped of its garrison; and it is quite possible that General Van Dorn contemplates striking a sudden blow at the communications of General Grant, by the capture of this important town. Memphis could not be held long against the Federal flotilla, but its capture for a week would go near to involve the starvation or surrender of the army before Vicksburg, as two or three batteries or field pieces on the heights of Memphis would be quite sufficient to bar the passage of the Mississippi to unarmed transports. It is at Vicksburg, however, that the final act of this bloody drama has to be played out. There will be the great shock of war; for there it has to be decided whether the Confederacy shall be rent asunder and the waters of the Mississippi open to the products of the West, or whether the last link that holds the Western States to the Union shall be broken.

The Western and Middle States.

The most unaccountable phenomenon, and that which most disappointed the well-founded expectations of the Confederates, has been the zeal, nay, the fury, with which the Western States of the late American Union entered upon the war for the subjugation of the South. These States, carved out of the ample territory of Virginia, and peopled to a large extent—except in the extreme North-West, where the German element preponderates—by men born south of the Ohio, or their immediate descendants, had in all former political contests been the fast friends and staunch allies of the South. As a purely agricultural population, they had many interests in common with the planting States and antagonistic to the manufacturing and commercial communities of the East. They also shared, with scarcely less intensity, the Southerner's dislike and contempt for the "Yankee." Whatever may have been the causes which forced the Western States into an unnatural alliance with New England—whether it was a chimerical fear of losing the free navigation of the Mississippi, the hostility growing out of the madness of the last Presidential contest, or simply an unreasoning ebullition of popular passions—certain it is that the Western States have heretofore been the chief supporters of the war, and have borne nearly the whole of its burdens. They have furnished the only really good soldiers for Mr. Lincoln's armies; whatever successes the North has to console itself for the long list of reverses, are due to them; and whenever, as in the valley of the Mississippi, they have met the Southerners, the battles were far more fierce and less decisive.

New England, the instigator of the war, has monopolized all its spoils without feeling any of its hardships. While she has made up her quotas to the armies by foreign hirelings, her factories, her ships, her jobbers and contractors, have drained the wealth of the Union, and it is to her chiefly that the enormous debt of the Washington Government is due. Henry Ward Beecher, in a recent speech, said, "New England rules the United States," and it has been even so. A New York paper gives us a curious illustration of the completeness of the political ascendancy which "Yankeeland" has been permitted to attain over the other States of the Federation. The Senate, it is well known, is the most important branch of the Federal Government, not only because it is the highest legislative assembly, but because it may on occasion assume judicial functions, and always shares with the President the exercise of the principal executive powers. Now, the chairman of every important Committee of the United States is a Senator from New England, as the following list will show:—

Committee.	Chairman.	Where from.
Foreign Relations	Sumner . .	New England.
Finance	Fessenden .	New England.
Military Affairs	Wilson . . .	New England.
Naval Affairs	Hale	New England.
Post Office	Collamer . .	New England.
Pensions	Posters . . .	New England.
Claims	Clark	New England.
Public Buildings	Footes	New England.
Contingent Expenses	Dixon	New England.

It is astonishing that these palpable facts have so long escaped the attention of the other States in the agonized Union. At last the long-expected cry is raised in the Western States, "While our heart's blood waters the battle-fields of the Union, New England has the profits of the war." Most significant events are taking place. Illinois has just appointed Commissioners to represent her sovereignty in a Convention to be held next month at Louisville, and which has for its avowed object to negotiate terms with the seceders. The measure was not passed without violent protests of the minority, which threatens armed resistance, and Illinois is virtually on the eve of a civil war within her borders. The neighbouring State of Indiana is about to follow her example; and thus it may be that within a few months, unless a great victory on the Mississippi galvanize the Washington Government into life, one after another of the Western States will detach itself from the unholy alliance against the South. A determined attitude on the part of Europe could have precipitated this event months ago, and might still place it beyond the chances of useless battles on which it now depends.

The feelings of the West have found an echo in the Middle States, those great and populous communities which lie, politically as well as geographically, between the sectional extremes of the late Union. Free speech and free press have been restored in the Metropolitan State of New York. From Pennsylvania brave and bold words have been heard, and her people also are growing weary of New England domination. New Jersey has acted with energy and promptness, and has made as yet the most important step towards peace. These are hopeful symptoms, which we shall watch with painful interest. They are signs of returning reason. But alas! a single mischance may dissipate the hopes founded upon them. Were Charleston or Vicksburg to succumb to superior numbers, though their fall could have no bearing upon the ultimate issue of the war, which is already decided beyond doubt, the same madness would once more seize the people of North America, and the demon of bloodshed would again have an indefinite lease of power. Humanity may well rejoice that in the two greatest, and probably the last battle-fields, the chances of war seem to be with the Confederates.

The Twenty-second of February.

This week has brought with it the anniversary most honoured by Americans, whether of the South or North—the anniversary of the birth of Washington. We will not dwell on the reflections which the day suggests—how on this day one portion of the Great Republic, of which he is called the founder, stands arrayed against Washington's immediate countrymen—how his descendants fight this day, and on an immensely vaster scale, the same battle, against superior odds, for self-government and national independence, that he fought against the misguided advisers of George III.—how the Constitution which his wisdom helped to frame has been torn to shreds by those who profess to be his successors, and how the seat he honoured is disgraced by an imbecile jest-monger—how all his solemn warnings have been disregarded, and the lessons which he taught, both by precept and example, have been forgotten. The 22nd of February has now become, and in the memories of two historically distinct nations will remain, the anniversary of a greater event than that of the birth of any man, however exalted over his fellows; it is the anniversary of the birth of a nation.

On the 22nd of February, 1862, the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States came into

operation, and Mr. Jefferson Davis commenced his six years' term as the first President of the infant Confederation. It will amply repay to glance rapidly over the historical significance of this event. A year and a few days previous, delegates from six of the Southern States, shortly after joined by a seventh, had assembled at Montgomery, to abjure, in the name and by the authority of their respective constituencies, the Federal compact which bound them to the American Union. For the purpose of ensuring unity and concert of action in so grave a crisis, these States formed themselves provisionally into a Confederation, under a provisional permanent the functions of which were to expire by limitation in one year from the date of its formation. At the same time, however, and with due deliberation, the plenipotentiaries of these seven States agreed upon the bases and framed the conditions of a Government and close alliance, which could derive its validity only from the full and firm endorsement of the popular will, to be ascertained according to long-established usages, and with the slow and solemn formality of law. Never did a revolution so boldly appeal to the people, never was a people's verdict so unanimous. Though the thunder-cloud of war burst upon these States with a thousandfold the fury which the most cautious had feared, though great and splendid armaments were hurled against them while they were almost defenceless and wholly unprepared, though they were cut off from intercourse with the world by being shut out from the great common highway of nations, the people of these States never faltered. The greatness of the danger brought them allies and friends to share it, and the seven States became thirteen. So perfect was the unison of feeling among all classes of the population that, bating the shock and turmoil of war which in all respects bore the characteristics of a foreign war, the change of the Federal agent from Washington to Richmond was almost insensible, and affected the internal tranquillity less than in times of extraneous peace the periodical change of a Presidential incumbent had done. Nowhere were there civil commotions, nowhere any collision with constituted authority. The States acted as sovereignties with the unanimous consent of their citizens. It is impossible to exaggerate the severity of the test to which the framers confidently exposed the new Constitution. In every State, in every town, in every hamlet, a multitude of local and general elections had to be held before it could spring into life; the results of the primary elections had to be sifted and confirmed through the agency of Legislative Assemblies, and all this with a powerful enemy at the outer walls, without any machinery to restrain and repress general or local dissent, if such there should be, or to muzzle the expression of individual opinions—all this at a time when all combined to work upon the timidity of men and to disincline them from so perilous a leap as that proposed. Yet at the appointed time and with the appointed forms, after a year of war and of invasion, the new Government, fully panoplied, as though it dated generations back, commenced its functions. From that day the Revolution ceased to be an untried experiment and became an established fact. That day the Confederate States took their place in the commonwealth of nations and their diplomatic recognition became a simple matter of form and a question of time.

As the Confederacy in its formation may be likened to Minerva, mature as soon as born, so in other respects it may well be likened to Hercules crushing the serpents in his cradle. The infant nation, like the infant individual, usually needs the fostering care of others to ripen into vigorous life. The policy, the self-interest, or the active sympathies of other and older nations have almost always afforded that aid to the new-comer. To the Southern Confederacy all such aids were wanting. To it, for the first time in history, was assigned the cruel task of doing in its infancy what few, and those only the most powerful nations, could have successfully done in their maturity—conducting a war on a scale unprecedented in modern times. The most memorable

contests for national independence would have had a different issue, had similar conditions been imposed. We speak not of Greece or Belgium, or even of Italy, to all of whom help was granted in the hour of greatest need and in proportion to that need; not of the Spanish-American colonies, supplied with arms, money, and ships, by the United States; but of the Netherlands, who in their struggle against Spain had the material aid of all Protestant Europe, without counting the substantial assistance of England; the American colonies, which in their War of Independence had for allies the armies and navies of France, Holland, and Spain. How the Confederate Government has stood this extreme trial is proved by the fact that the anniversary of its establishment finds it stronger in moral and material resources, and its enemy weaker, than on the 22nd of February a year ago.

A year ago Northern Americans in London celebrated Washington's birthday—strange contradiction!—with a show of circumstance and ceremony. There was then much valiant talk about "empire," "manifest destiny," "natural boundaries," supposed to extend from the frozen ocean to Cape Horn, and some profane perversion of holy texts to the sanctioning of bloodshed and strife. This year the celebration scarcely affords a chance paragraph to the newspapers, and the only persons known among those present are the officials of the Washington Government. Well might Mr. Adams say that he felt "embarrassed," "in the position of the Irishman who, being somewhat exhilarated, got so far as to doubt his own identity and said, 'Faith, it is not I, but somebody else,' that he felt, in fact, as if he were in a 'straight jacket.'" Well may Mr. Adams doubt his own identity, for, to the disgrace of English statesmanship, he is permitted to represent officially the thirty-three States once constituting the American Republic; when in truth he is "somebody else," the representative of at most twenty of them. He is permitted to do so in violation of the solemn treaties which recognize Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas as free, sovereign, and independent States, the treaty signed in this generation which acknowledged Texas as an independent Republic. He is permitted, by a mockery of common sense, and a disregard of common justice, to represent as Minister a country with which his Government has been for two years at hopeless war, the current of whose history he is himself forced to confess is for ever distinct from that of the country to which he belongs, and the anniversary of whose birth he thus unwittingly commemorates, while unblushingly invoking the name of Washington.

What Constitutes a Nation.

There are some words—and those of most frequent use—the meaning of which no one questions, and yet the meaning of which it is most difficult to define. These are words which summarize a range of ideas so vast that the mind fails to comprehend them at a single glance. The word "nation" is one of these words. To fix and determine with any degree of accuracy the scope of its meaning, is something more than an etymological puzzle or even a philosophical speculation; it is the gravest practical problem which a statesman has to solve. When potentates and diplomatists assembled a half century ago to reconstruct the map of Europe, this problem was before them, but they neglected the grand opportunity for its permanent solution. Instead of the boundaries which the Creator had traced on the face of nature, and in the hearts of men, they invented an artificial system, which, however skilfully devised as a balance of power, was in violation of natural laws, and therefore perishable. The peace of Europe was to be secured, not by consulting the instincts of nationality, but by deliberately repressing and crushing them. Political organizations were framed, and political frontiers drawn, not to extend over homogeneous populations, but rather with a view of embracing as many contradictory and irreconcilable elements as possible. Scarcely a Government was

constituted by the Congress of Vienna that did not receive under its sway fragmentary nationalities, whose traditions, prejudices, and tendencies were in conflict with its own. In every instance where the peace of Europe has been seriously endangered since, it has been from this cause. The Netherlands, north and south of the Scheldt, differing in race and in religion, could not co-exist under the same governmental head, any more than they could in the time of Caesar, or during the common revolt against Spain. Italy could no longer brook her German masters and her plurality of sovereigns, and, after many centuries, for the first time resolved in earnest to become a nation. Many-headed Germany is haunted in its sleep by the dream of unity. Even in the petty kingdom of Denmark conflicts of nationality are the source of European discord. Poland, always a smouldering volcano, is the most recent and most formidable outbreak of rekindled national life, which, whether burning with a peaceful light, or blazing up in a lurid flame of revolution, is consuming, one after another, the artificial barriers set by the treaties of Vienna.

It has been the fashion of late years to ridicule the idea of nationality, and to treat it as a chimera. Doubtless evil-minded or misguided men have often abused the hold which this idea has upon the human heart, and in its name, as in that of liberty, great crimes, as well as great follies, have been committed. But nationality is, in fact, to the aggregate of a human society what liberty is to each of the individuals in the aggregate. The same imperious necessity which is felt by the individual, of possessing a certain freedom and responsibility of action, to give him self-respect, to develop fully his higher faculties, and to preserve, so to speak, his own identity, this same imperious necessity which is felt by the individual man, is felt, and for precisely the same reasons, by great masses of men. As the adult spurns the leading-strings of the child, so a nation will revolt against any guidance which is not its own, even when that alien guidance is paternal and judicious, which it seldom can be. To this sentiment of nationality, animating alike the smallest as well as the largest human societies, mankind owes some of the most brilliant deeds of heroism; and it cannot be regarded otherwise than as one of the sacred feelings implanted in our breasts. Indeed, it predominates in some respects over nearly all others, for all our relations in life are, in a great measure, regulated by the manners and modes of thought which are the characteristics of the nationality to which we belong. The idea of nationality is, in fact, that of country, and wherever brave men do and dare in defence of that idea, we cannot but honour the deeds and the daring. It is, indeed, impossible to circumscribe, by settled rules, the proper sphere and lawful scope of the sentiment of nationality, because it is most difficult to define what constitutes a nation. Assuredly it is not a population living under the same Government, for many distinct nationalities are frequently brought under a common sway, without in the least losing their distinguishing peculiarities; and on the other hand, a nation may be in all respects a nation, although a multitude of governments take the place of one national head. The heterogeneous populations of the Austrian empire do not constitute a nation, and yet the subjects of all the kings and princes of Germany constitute only one. Community of descent is not altogether a reliable criterion of nationality, for the descendants of the same stock often diverge very widely in national characteristics; and on the other hand, these islands afford a most striking illustration of how completely time and events may fuse antagonistic populations into one strongly marked nationality. But this much is certain, that whenever and from whatever cause the consciousness of national identity pervades a population, a nation is born. Those who belong to it, do so, not because of the operation of any political machinery, but because they have in common something which they cherish, whether that something be in the present or only in the past.

We have just witnessed in the New World the sublime spectacle of the birth and fiery baptism of a nation; to the Old World, Poland is now teaching the lesson, how many trials and through how many generations the sentiment of nationality, once awakened, will survive. Whatever doubts might still have been entertained as to the radical and inherent differences of character between the peoples north and south of the Potomac, no doubt can be entertained that they are distinct nations now and henceforth. The currents of their history are for ever diverted into different channels, for a few brief years have given to each a past never to be forgotten. In the South especially, the sentiment of nationality has struck deeper roots than in most other countries. Not only has the country its statesmen and its generals, its triumphs and its reverses, but each family in the land has its hero or its martyr. If the South had not possessed the conditions of a vigorous nationality before, it would have derived them from the events of this war. Poland, one of the oldest of nations, has not a more heroic age than the Southern Confederacy, the youngest of nations, has already lived through, nor a more inexhaustible wealth of historical recollections than this brave sisterhood of States has amassed. The civilized world has pronounced the attempted murder of Polish nationality a monstrous crime. Is a similar attempt less iniquitous because it is perpetrated in the New World, and under different pretexts? By the unanimous verdict of all generous minds, Poland has amply atoned for the many sins of her past by the long years of suffering and of cruel oppression which she has endured. Are the gushing sympathies which now well forth from every part of Christendom towards her less deserved by the people beyond the Atlantic, whose brief career is so fruitful of promises for the future? At this moment England is preparing to put forth her whole moral might, and to interpose it between the oppressor and the oppressed. All parties and all classes unite in the effort, to the honour of them all be it said. But let it not be forgotten in that hour of overflowing sympathy, extinguishing for the time all sordid feelings, that it is sought in the New World to make another Poland of a country peopled by our own race and near kindred.

The Defences of England.

When the history of a war is written, as in the case of the Crimean war, it generally appears that, but for some comparatively trifling circumstance, the conflict might have been avoided. We are astonished to find how fair a prospect there was of the preservation of peace when we were preparing for an appeal to the sword. A wise Government will learn from this, not that warfare is altogether avoidable, but rather that in the midst of apparently profound peace, war is always possible, and even imminent. Whilst we have been watching with eager interest the contest that has convulsed America, Europe has now and then given due notice that the time has not arrived when the art of warfare may be forgotten. Fourteen months ago England was making ready to avenge the insult offered to her flag by the United States. Italy has been a source of continued anxiety, and still is, for it is highly probable that Victor Emmanuel will have to fight for the kingdom won by French valour and bestowed upon him by the generosity of the French Emperor; and it is not likely that Italy will fight her battles without other nations taking a part. Greece is in a state of governmental anarchy. Turkey is restless. We have lately been on the eve of another Chinese war; we have treated our ally Brazil as an enemy; and France is engaged in a campaign in Mexico. Within a month a still more serious affair has cropped up. The insurrection of the Poles, that was to be conquered in a few days, has proved a truly national movement, and the friends of that long-suffering and heroic people almost dare to hope that the night of dire oppression is past, and that, even if they do not have a separate king, they may, at least, have a separate and independent kingdom, and so

far as they are concerned make the Czar of Russia a constitutional monarch. England and France have chafed under the real or supposed duty of non-intervention, and have felt bitterly the anomaly of being permitted to shield Turkey from Russian ambition, and not being permitted to lend a hand to assist the Poles in getting rid of the cruel yoke of Russian bondage. But though the peoples of Western Europe were sullenly consenting to let Russia and Poland fight out the quarrel between themselves, they will not tolerate the intervention of another Power to aid the Muscovite. To the surprise, indignation, and ineffable disgust of the civilized world, the Prussian Government, that has so lately violated the free Constitution of the Prussian people, has entered into a compact with Russia to aid her in case of need, and has further been guilty of arresting Poles on their way to join their compatriots. If Prussia persists in this policy she will inevitably provoke an armed remonstrance. It is therefore, especially at this juncture, a matter of congratulation that the English Government, while making a considerable reduction in the estimates, has not impaired the efficiency of our army and navy. Without anticipating war, we are glad that we are prepared for it, for in our offensive or defensive strength lies our best hope of maintaining peace.

For a professedly non-military Power our army is of considerable dimensions. In India, in addition to the native troops, we have 72,676 men. Besides these we have 14,242 regulars, including 9349 belonging to the India depots. There is a reduction of about 4000 in the present year. The total number of her Majesty's regulars is 220,918. But this is not all. We have 128,000 militia, 14,000 yeomanry, and 150,000 volunteers for home defence, and these, being trained to the use of arms, are the depots from which our regular force may be rapidly and effectively recruited and increased. The total number of men of all departments of the service is over 500,000. Our troops are splendidly-equipped, and our arsenals are brimful of the *matériel* of war.

But England is essentially a maritime Power; and even Mr. Cobden admits our navy ought to be the largest in the world. We have in commission 150 vessels, carrying 2257 guns, and manned by 30,337 seamen. We have in course of construction and at sea 21 armour-plated ships, and the wooden frames for five more armour-plated ships are to be built. With regard to what Lord Paget very properly calls "the pith, the marrow, and the bone of the service—the seamen"—76,000 officers, seamen, marines, and boys have been voted. Although we have the same number of men, the expenditure for the navy is £1,053,273 less than last year, and this too in spite of an increase in the item for the conveyance of troops. Mr. Cobden found fault with the estimates, but, as usual, refused to divide the House. We confess we do not understand the honourable member's tactics. If he think the estimates excessive, he ought to place on record a practical proof of his dissent from them; if he do not think them excessive, he ought not to grumble at them. We are, however, convinced that Mr. Cobden has so much sense and patriotism that he would not find fault with the estimates, if he did not know that his fault-finding will not produce any change. He contended that wooden ships are useless; but that is not quite certain, though it is true that they are not fit to contend with iron-plated ships; and our Admiralty is putting our wooden ships into armour as fast as possible. Further, Mr. Cobden seems to think that hereafter nothing but turret ships will be used, and therefore, we shall require less men. That was certainly no reason for carping at the vote for the current year, seeing that at present we are obliged to depend on other than turret ships. Nor is it at all surprising that Captain Cole's cupola ships are better than broadside ships; and beyond question, they will not alone constitute a navy. Like Mr. Cobden, we sit at the feet of nautical Gamaliels, and when he prates about the strength of the Federal navy, we must remind him that men who know something about the matter think that a few first-class English

vessels could sweep the Federal navy from the seas. The hon. member made an extraordinary slip on Monday night. He said: "He asked any practical man whether, if we had a war with America to-morrow, he would send one of our line-of-battle ships, with 700 or 800 men, and thirty or forty tons of gunpowder on board, to meet the iron-clad Monitor on the other side of the Atlantic?" Has Mr. Cobden not heard of "the iron-clad Monitor, on the other side of the Atlantic, foundering? Perhaps the hon. member refuses to believe in Federal reverses. If we are so foolish as to take heed of the loud bark of the Yankees, we are not so idiotic as to fear the bite of their dead dogs. Mr. Cobden informs us, on the authority of Captain Coles, that "all their (Federal) iron-clad Monitors are mounted with guns of 450 lbs." This may be true, but we have yet to learn whether they can compete with vessels of different construction, whether such guns are compatible with speed and seaworthiness, and whether the iron-clads may not be disabled or taken by boarding. The Monitor foundered at sea in something less than half a gale of wind, and the Montauk had her turret damaged by a land battery. We repeat, that turret ships may be a useful appendage to, but they do not of themselves constitute, a navy, and until now they have not proved successful or invulnerable on the other side of the Atlantic.

Our saving in the army and navy estimates for the present year is £2,053,386. The army estimates are £15,060,237, and the navy £10,736,032, being together £25,796,269, of which amount £3,525,216 is for the non-effective service. No expenditure that maintains the integrity of our empire is extravagant, and it is even, in a pecuniary point of view, cheaper to spend a large income in preparing for war than having to go to war from not being prepared. When Mr. Cobden tells us that having a large army and navy encourages nations to go to war, he only states a half truth, for being prepared does not so much stimulate the spirit of aggression as it discourages attack. Strength is only comparative, and when ambition makes a people go to war, they do so, not because they have a large army and navy, but because they think themselves stronger than their neighbours.

English Universities.

The idea conveyed to the mind of a foreigner by the word "University" varies according as he is a German, Frenchman, or American; but is so utterly different from that which is conveyed to the mind of an Englishman, that it may be pronounced a truth, that foreign Universities have scarcely anything in common with English Universities, except the name. No one can reasonably doubt that the political and social life of a civilized country is influenced to a great extent by the system of education under which the youth of the wealthier classes is trained, and when that system aims at something more than mere instruction in the various branches of knowledge, and actually succeeds in framing the character, defining the views, and controlling the sentiments of those who are made subject to it, the enormous power which is thereby exercised for good or evil over the destinies of a great country, and indirectly over the world, may easily be imagined, and all this the Universities of England pretend to do and succeed in doing; and how far their influence has been wielded for good and not for evil, the present position of this country fairly indicates. Opinions may and must differ on the relative excellence of political systems, on the wisdom of a particular line of policy, on the doctrines maintained by political parties, or on the conduct of a particular Government; but the world at large is every day becoming more and more impressed with the fact, that English statesmen and educated Englishmen at large do endeavour to act in both foreign and domestic affairs with straightforward honesty of purpose, and a strenuous desire to conquer prejudices and obey reason.

Believing, then, as we do in the great effects produced by our University systems, we think it possible that some exposition of the constitution of one of them would prove not only valuable but also interesting to our readers. To the English portion of them the subject is, to a considerable extent, familiar; but to many of those who have felt the results and appreciated the assistance of such an institution, a review of its principal features may be acceptable, while to those who have not been equally fortunate, as well as to foreigners, no apology for introducing the subject can well be required. Possibly no one is not aware that Oxford and Cambridge are the principal seats of learning, and stand on an equal footing in all respects with each other. It is difficult to comprehend why Lord

Macaulay should have designated Oxford as the "more splendid" of the two sisters; but with him, as with all men, the proverb was true, *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, for Macaulay was a Cambridge man. We, however, make no invidious distinction, and it is merely as a matter of convenience, and to obviate confusion, that, at present, our remarks will be directed exclusively to the University of Cambridge.

In order to make ourselves intelligible, we must, at the outset, state that the members of the University are divided into two great distinctive classes, those who have terminated their educational career, and those who are still engaged therein; or, to use the technical expression, those who are no longer *in statu pupillari*, and those who are. The former is the governing body, the latter the governed. The former class has attained the degree of Masters of Arts; the latter is subdivided into two bodies—first, those who have attained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and, second, those who are yet students in the ordinary acceptation of the term and of course have not attained to any degree at all—they are usually called undergraduates. A student becomes in the regular course a Bachelor of Arts at the end of three years from his first enrolment at the University, and a Master of Arts at the end of six years. Premising thus much, by way of explanation, we come at once to the constitution of the University. There is, then, as of course is to be expected in a monarchical country, a supreme ruler, the Chancellor, chosen for life to an office of honour rather than of responsibility or power, and always filled by a personage of the highest rank. The former Chancellor was the Prince Consort, the present is the Duke of Devonshire. His duties devolve upon, and are performed by, the Vice-Chancellor, who is chosen from the list of the Heads or Masters of the Colleges, of whom we shall presently speak more at large. There are two Houses of Assembly, to use an expression not quite accurate, but intelligible to foreign ears. The upper is called "The Council of Senate," the lower "The Senate." The former is composed of sixteen members, one half of whom hold office for two years, and the other half for four years. Four of these members are chosen from the Heads of the Colleges; four from the list of the Professors of Literature and Science, of whom there are twenty-eight; and eight from the Senate. This Senate, or Lower House of Assembly, consists of all the Masters of Arts, and has the same power and exercises the same kind of influence in the affairs of the University as the House of Commons does exercise in England, and as the Lower House of Assembly is supposed to exercise in Continental States. Of course, only a small proportion of the Senate is continuously resident in Cambridge, but those who are resident have the privilege of electing the Members of the Council, or Upper House. The Vice-Chancellor and all the officers exercising magisterial, financial, or other authority on behalf of the University, are chosen by a somewhat artificial system, and hold office for one year; for each office the Council of Senate nominate two persons, of whom the Senate elect one. All laws, orders, and regulations emanate from the Council of Senate, but must be ratified and approved by the Senate. Such being the constitution of the University, as presented in its broadest outline, we cannot fail to be struck with the marvellous constancy with which, even in designing the organization of a social institution, the English people endeavour to imitate the framework of the political system under which they live. Nor must it be supposed that this constitution is a mere remnant of antique prejudice preserved by a spirit that clings to the cobwebs of five centuries. It is the silken web of the nineteenth century, a thing of yesterday, almost an untried experiment, based on and connected with the primary system, but itself numbering but six years of existence, the result of the inquiries and recommendations of a Royal Commission, embodied in a Bill, made an Act by the two Houses of Parliament, and ratified by the Royal Assent on the 29th day of July, 1856. Yet how it bears the stamp of an English system!—it is monarchical culminating in one head, whose authority is so limited as to resemble rather the Chairmanship of a Board than the power of a President—it is restrictive and conservative, for the nomination of all officers, and the right of originating all laws, is vested in the Council or Upper House; it is democratic, for the election of officers, and the exclusive right of passing laws, is vested in the Senate or Lower House; and that this assembly is essentially democratic is a fact at once apparent when we reflect that it embraces every person who is no longer *in statu pupillari*, that there is no intermediate body, and that the degree of Master of Arts, follows, as a matter of course, upon that of Bachelor of Arts being conferred at the end of six years from the student's first admission to the University. Its members are not merely in the vigour of life and intellect, but even in the youth of existence—not yet bound to a line of thought from which it is an effort to free the mind—not yet restricted to a line of policy to deviate from which would incur the accusation of inconsistency. Free thus from prejudice, so far as humanity can be free, tempered with the wisdom and discretion taught by constant and familiar intercourse with a small nation of wise men, ready to bow to the demands of the mighty in knowledge and foresight, the truest political and social leaders, yet never the slaves of a *partisan*, they present the finest materials for a deliberative assembly that Utopianism could imagine, and would perhaps effect results in themselves perfect were an approximation to the perfect possible, amid the faults, foibles, and weakness of the human mind.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting feature of the University system is the existence of the colleges in a

separate and independent state: in point of fact, it is the aggregate of these bodies which constitutes the University. Each college is a petty state, autocratic, and autonomous: each possesses a system of government entirely its own, and almost as complex and elaborate as that of the University itself. Moreover, the University exercises no jurisdiction or power whatever, over the individual colleges, either coercive or dictatorial. They have, by mutual compact, agreed to unite for certain purposes, and for those only; and beyond the defined limits of those purposes, their federation cannot possibly be extended. They respect the rights of each other, and consistently vindicate their own claim to independence. They are not even taxed for the benefit of a common fund, and an attempt made by the Commission appointed under the Act of Parliament, to which we have already alluded, to impose such a tax, was met with a resistance as unanimous as it was successful. The purposes for which they have agreed to unite are two fold; first, the examination of the students of all the colleges in a body, and the conference of degrees consequent thereon; second, the exercise of a proper control over the whole body of students by what we may call a magisterial, and constabulary, or police authority. The University, however, a corporan, and can acquire, and does possess property; but it is poor, and the colleges are rich; it is decidedly weak, and they are decidedly strong. The most strenuous defender of State rights in America would not be slow in coming to the conclusion that the relations of the colleges to each other and to the University leave nothing to be desired.

Now these colleges are in number eighteen; each is governed, or rather presided over, by a Head or Master, who is elected for life by the Fellows of the college. Certainly, his power, which before was somewhat overweening, has been shorn of its fairest proportions by the Commission, and a system of monarchical or even despotic authority, which harmonised admirably with the views of a Tudor Dynasty, has been exchanged for one which more resembles the limited prerogative of Queen Victoria. Still, from the earliest times the Fellows of the college have held the power of the purse, a power which any one in the least acquainted with the working of constitutional forms of government will readily appreciate; and the purse of a college is no mere shadow—it is not a bundle of Chase's greenbacks or unredeemable bonds; it has a substantiality about it that is highly appreciated by those who have the good fortune to share the contents, and its currency has always been cash. In fact, the revenues of these colleges are enormous; some few range as high as £30,000 a year, and are entirely derived from landed estates situate in the fairest parts of England. The colleges have always been specially exempted from the Mortmain Acts, which, at various times, and with varied strictness, have hindered or prevented the appropriation of land to charitable purposes. Even Henry VIII., who stripped the monasteries with ruthless vigour, founded and endowed the wealthiest and greatest of the colleges of Cambridge. These estates are managed by the societies to which they respectively belong, without foreign interference, the only provision being that no estates shall be sold without the approval of one of those innumerable boards of commission the establishment of which seems to be the main design of a modern Act of Parliament. Doubtless, this is a very wise precaution, but possibly the consideration may suggest itself, that members of a college, like private individuals, have sufficient regard for their own interests, if not for their successors, to keep all that they have, and, if possible, to acquire more. As to the disposition of these revenues, it will at present suffice to state that they are applied, in the first instance, to the maintenance of the splendid establishments which each college supports, the repair of its edifices, the service of the chapel, and the supplies of the Hall; a salary varying from £800 to £2000 a year is awarded to the Head, to whom also is allotted a fine house within the precincts of the college, and who is thus enabled to support his position with proverbial dignity and hospitality. Next, educational objects, such as the payment of tutors, lecturers, and other offices, and the sums awarded by way of prizes and annuities to students of superior merit, claim their share; the residue, with reasonable reservation, is distributed among the Fellows of the college. These persons, to whom we have before alluded, are selected from students of the college who have taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Merit constitutes the sole title to the honour and emoluments of the position; the number of Fellows is limited, and vacancies are filled as they occur. Assembled under the presidency of their head, they discharge the functions of an administrative body, electing their officers and controlling the educational and financial departments. The tenure of their Fellowships is determined in some cases by marriage, in some by effluxion of time, in others by the omission to take the Orders of the Church, but the rule of the colleges is not uniform. The Fellows may reside or not, as taste directs them. If they attempt the adventurous career of the learned professions, they command the means of support while success is yet uncertain. While those who remain at college are enabled to pursue those studies to which their lives are not unfrequently devoteded. Combining, as in many instances they do, great learning with great simplicity of mind and a lofty elevation of character with a frank and genial disposition, they seem, as they follow the even tenor of their existence, to catch a gleam from the immortal light of the sages and poets by whose works their genius is illumined, and in their turn kindle a flame to the powers of which youth is not insensible, and to the contemplation of which even manhood may turn when wearied and distracted with the turmoil and confusion of every-day life. They rivet the link which binds the

successive generations of society, and present an impregnable barrier to the assaults of fashion and caprice. Supported by the vast endowments of their foundations, and strong in the loyal support of those around and about them, quite independent of government or popular aid, they are not compelled to vary their system of learning or theology to suit the shifting views of moralists or politicians. Their strength lies in their perfect independence, and such independence we believe to be an indispensable element in the success of all great educational institutions.

Before concluding, we would draw attention to the remarkable capacity of our Universities for producing men fitted for every walk of life. At present we cannot speak of the nature of the studies pursued therein, but it is sufficient, perhaps, here to state that they are principally confined to classics and mathematics. In spite, however, of that which to an American must appear a narrow restriction, it is the fact that men from the Universities fill and adorn every kind of station in life, and exercise with success every variety of profession. The bulk of the clergy is drawn from Oxford and Cambridge, and the Episcopal Bench is entirely recruited from those sources. We see men who have attained the highest University honours now members of the Cabinet; they abound in the House of Commons, and at the bar. But we may go further, and find officers in the army who have taken with them from the Universities a sound sense and a firmness of character which is by no means despised in the mess-room and on parade. Some have even exchanged the lecture-room for the merchant's office and the banker's house, and have displayed a practical industry and shrewdness that will bear comparison with the experience of those who, from the age of sixteen, have been devoted to the ledger and the waste-book. One objection to our remarks we are bound to anticipate. We shall be accused rather as enthusiastic admirers, than as sober critics, observant only of virtues, and blind to faults; but we frankly own that the Universities are by no means free from great errors and great defects. Yet these appear rather in the details than in the general features of their systems. Abuses and mistakes are inseparable from the contrivances of human ingenuity, and no institutions can have existed for five centuries untainted and unalloyed. Many of the evils that do exist are not incapable of reformation; some, and perhaps the most glaring, are not the results of the system; but whatever their origin or nature, they are not to be removed but by wise and deliberate measures, lest the remedy prove a greater mischief than the disease.

(To be continued.)

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE ASCENDENCY OF THE FEDERALISTS.

How little the idea of party government entered into the views of the first President of the United States, and of the able and earnest statesmen who surrounded him, may be judged by the composition of his Administration. The Cabinet in those days consisted only of four members; of whom the most important were the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. These two offices were filled by the two men who afterwards came to be regarded as the chiefs of contending parties, and who actually represented the conflicting tendencies which divided the people and the Constitutional Convention. Those who inclined respectively in either direction were known at first as Federalists and anti-Federalists; the former being the party which desired to establish a Confederation in the strict and limited sense of that term, the latter wishing to create a Government which, if not formally and avowedly national, might in due time become so. The Constitution was the result of a compromise between these two views. When that compromise had been agreed upon, and was actually at work, the names, and in some sense the position, of parties were interchanged. The national party, desiring before all things to strengthen the bonds of union and strengthen the central power, were naturally known as Federalists; while the title of anti-Federalist was as naturally assigned to those who main-

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties, with an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.)
The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopædia. Edited by M. W. Clusky. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)
Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)
Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.
The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

tained against the Federal Government the separate and independent sovereignty of the several States. Had there been a real and clear division of parties beforehand, this interchange of names could hardly have taken place during the lifetime of the statesmen who upheld each view in the Constitutional Convention. But as party organization had never existed, and party names had not become familiar, the change was so easily effected that few European readers are aware that the name of Federalists was ever applied to the party which opposed what Frenchmen would call the "solidarity" of the United States.

The chief of this party, which had probably from the first a majority of the people on its side, and which speedily assumed or acquired the name of Republican—that of anti-Federalist seeming to imply something of disloyalty and antagonism to the newly-established Federal Constitution, and being therefore unsuitable to a party by which that Constitution was fairly and loyally accepted—was Washington's Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. This gentleman was tainted from his youth with what were long scouted in England as French ideas—the doctrines of the wild and generally infidel philosophers whose teachings did so much to prepare the way for the French Revolution. He it was who drew up the Declaration of Independence; he it was who foisted upon the United States the absurd assertion that "all men are born free and equal." He was by nature an intriguer, and by prejudice an Abolitionist. But, though by no means a great statesman or a political philosopher, he was one of the most shrewd and capable practical politicians of his day: he was more pliant and more adapted to win popularity than any of his rivals; and he was fortunate in falling upon a time and country in which revolutionary theories were in favour. He was well fitted for the leadership of the popular party, which asserted the individuality and sovereignty of the States—of which they were naturally jealous—against what was believed by the foremost minds of his age to be the general interest in the development of a strong and united nationality. He was fortunate, moreover, in the subsequent turn of events, which made it evident that the object of his adversaries was unattainable; that causes deeper and more insuperable than State jealousies or popular prejudice must render the formation of a national Government impossible.

Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was perhaps the ablest man among the Federalists. He had wished to create a really national system of government, by far the best thing that could have been done, had it only been practicable. He had an evident leaning towards monarchy, not from any sentiment of loyalty, but from a sense of political expediency. Perhaps he did not fully comprehend the impracticability of improvising royalty, and the helpless weakness which must always beset a constitutional monarchy founded on the shifting soil of popular favour, and built of the ruins left by revolution. Only an ancient dynasty, rooted among a people accustomed for ages to reverence the royal name, can possibly fulfil the delicate functions of a merely nominal sovereignty. But, at all events, Hamilton saw that the United States would never accept a monarchy; and his wish, therefore, was to establish, under Republican forms, a Government with as few of the weaknesses and vices of Republicanism as possible. He desired that the President and Senate should hold office during good behaviour, and that the State Executives, with very limited authority, should be appointed by the Central Power. Even in the most liberal construction that they would bear, therefore, the powers bestowed by the Constitution upon the Federal Government fell far short of what he would have assigned to it. But he did his best, consistently with the Constitution, to strengthen and consolidate the authority of that Government. He was, therefore, the natural chief of his party, which, however, did not generally share his more extreme and esoteric opinions. The Federalists were probably from the first in a minority among the people; but, until party antagonism assumed an organized form, their known ability and their high personal character preserved for them a decided ascendancy in the councils of the Union. Another source of influence which they could ill have spared was the high and unrivalled authority of General Washington; who, though removed beyond the sphere of party conflict, was believed to share almost entirely the views of the Federalists.

Mr. Secretary Hamilton's two principal measures were the funding of the public debt, including the assumption of a large portion of the State debts, and the creation of a United States' bank. He carried both his measures, but not without vehement opposition. The opposition to the assumption of the State debts appears to have proceeded entirely from local considerations. Those States which had the largest debts—among which were Massachusetts and South Carolina—favoured the

measure; Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Georgia were averse to it; though even from these States some clear-sighted Federalists discerned its importance in their point of view, and gave it their support. The opposition to the bank in Congress is also said to have been animated by local jealousies. Its seat had been fixed at Philadelphia, and the Southern members are affirmed to have wished to locate it further South. However this may be, every Southern vote but seven was given in the negative, and every Northern vote but one in the affirmative. Washington submitted the bill to his Cabinet, asking their opinions as to its constitutionality. It was pronounced constitutional by Hamilton and Knox. Jefferson and Randolph maintained a contrary view. The President's opinion was shown by his assent to the Bill, notwithstanding the division in his Cabinet.

After this, the feeling of personal antagonism between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury grew stronger and more bitter; and nothing but the irresistible influence of General Washington could have made it possible for them to act together. In the meantime, partisanship was growing more general and more angry in Congress and in the country; and there was already visible that geographical line of party demarcation which should have warned all clear-sighted statesmen of the radical evil that lay at the root of all the disputes and all the perils that from time to time arose, and which, if it could not be cured, must inevitably end sooner or later—as it has ended—in the disruption of the Union. It would not be easy, even in an old-established and loyal kingdom, to maintain national unity very long under a system of government by party if party lines coincided with geographical boundaries. Under a Federal Government the danger is less pressing, but more certain and incurable. It is true, on the one hand, that the independence of the States narrows very much the area of party conflict and the importance of party victory or defeat; and therefore a Federation may contrive to hold together, despite the antagonism felt on domestic topics between its component parts, longer than a single State could do if its northern half were at feud with the southern; simply because party strife affects individual interests less keenly in the former case than in the latter. But, on the other hand, it is obvious that when States appear in the field as partisans, party conflicts become too serious and too violent to be permanently confined within constitutional limits; and that when all the States south of a geographical line are ranged on one side, and all north of that line on the other, the debate is likely to be ere long transferred from the halls of the Legislature to the field of battle. Looking back on the history of the United States, it is plain that what has now happened was certain from the first to happen as soon as the foreign and commercial policy of the nation (which is under the absolute control of Congress) became of such interest to the States as to provoke them to angry antagonism, or as soon as there seemed the least danger that Congress, under the control of a party representing one section of the Union, would attempt interference in the domestic policy of the other. The tendency of parties to become sectional, which appeared before the expiration of Washington's first term of office, obviously carried with it the seeds of disunion if not of civil war. But at first the subjects of sectional controversy were not those which for the last forty years have been constantly before the minds of both North and South. The first tariff awakened no vehement controversy. The Northern States did not care to take a strong line in hostility to slavery; the Southerners were by no means unanimous in its defence. The fact that all the foremost men in the country were slaveholders, while few of them approved of slavery in the abstract, checked any disposition to make this subject the theme of party conflict. It was chiefly on topics of financial or foreign policy that the North and South found themselves in antagonism. The greater length of the war in the Southern States, and their greater efforts in its prosecution, left them in a state of embarrassment and distress which brought them on many occasions into political conflict with the North; and as they had been by far the greatest sufferers in the conflict with Great Britain, they naturally felt towards her an antagonism which the Administration did its utmost to discourage.

The war between France and England compelled the President to take up a distinct course of foreign policy. It was clearly the interest and the duty of America to remain neutral. She could gain nothing, and would risk a great deal, by quarrelling with England, which was now infinitely better able to hold her own than she had been in 1776 and the subsequent years; and France, engaged in a revolution at home, and in war with half the world on her frontiers, could not again render aid to the United States. Moreover, the insolent

tone of the French Republic was galling in the extreme to the Administration, and prevented them from feeling any of that sympathy with their quondam allies which might have blinded them to their country's interests. But the Opposition were blind; and the neutrality of the Government was furiously denounced as subservience to England. Only the casting vote of the Vice-President saved in the Senate a bill for enforcing the observance of neutrality on American citizens; and in 1795 the treaty concluded with Great Britain only just escaped defeat.

In the meantime, Jefferson had resigned at the end of 1793; and Hamilton in 1795. General Washington announced his intention to decline a third election in 1797; and retired amid the general regret of the country. Yet so high did party spirit run, that a leading paper of the day could actually speak of "the Father of his country" in such terms as these:—

If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation was deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct then be an example to future ages. Let it serve as a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal Government instruct mankind that the mask of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people.

The closeness with which parties were balanced was shown in the contest for the succession to the vacant chair of Washington. The whole number of votes in the Electoral Colleges was 138, making the absolute majority 70. John Adams, of Massachusetts, late Vice-President, the candidate of the Federalists, received seventy-one votes; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, the Republican candidate, had sixty-seven votes. John Adams had the votes of every Northern State, except Pennsylvania, and three votes from Delaware, and seven from Maryland. Jefferson had all the rest of the Southern votes, and the whole vote of Pennsylvania, save one. Thus in the first great party contest, the two sections stood arrayed in antagonism, and sectionalism was established as the basis of American party organization. That vote might fairly be said to have been ominous of the vote of 1860, and of its consequences.

Parties were closely balanced in the House; in the Senate, the Administration had a majority. War with France was generally anticipated, and preparations for it were made; but those very preparations averted the calamity. The resumption of negotiations, ordered by the President without the knowledge of his Cabinet, produced a disagreement which led finally to a breach among the Federalists. The Cabinet was broken up; and on the recurrence of the Presidential election in 1800 Mr. Adams was defeated. Seventy-three votes each were cast for Burr and Jefferson; sixty-five for Adams; and sixty-four for Pinckney—the rule then being that the candidate receiving the largest number of votes became President and the next Vice-President. The election, by this tie, was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Mr. Burr received the support of the Federalists. After a long and obstinate contest, the votes of Delaware and South Carolina were withdrawn, and Jefferson, receiving the votes of ten States out of sixteen, was elected. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island voted for Mr. Burr. The Federal party never recovered this defeat; and for the next twenty years the political heirs of Mr. Jefferson had a monopoly of power.

(To be continued.)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.*

It is much to be deplored that religion should ever be associated with asceticism, and wisdom with dullness, instead of the one being arrayed in the garments of gladness, and the other being pleasing as well as useful. We have, indeed, made a considerable advance towards correcting these errors. Religion is no longer, except amongst a few sections, considered incompatible with the free enjoyment of social intercourse and social pleasures, and religion has consequently exercised a powerful and beneficent influence in all classes of the community. At present, it is not considered necessary to make the pursuit of knowledge as difficult as possible, and there is even some danger of our having so smoothed the way as to make the learning of the age superficial and fruitless. An author who wishes to gain a reputation—and to do this he must have readers—is bound to blend amusement with instruction. The task is exceedingly difficult. Study will make most writers instructive, and there is no lack of writers who can amuse—it is the talent for combining the two that is so rare—the capacity for preparing mental food that is equally palatable and nutritious. Mr. Senior accomplishes this admirably. Those who read this volume for amusement will be almost unconsciously instructed, and those

* Biographical Sketches. By Nassau W. Senior. (London: Longman and Co.)

who seek in it instruction will find that a true story well told is as exciting to the imagination as well told fiction. We hope this observation will not be misconstrued. We do not mean that our author has produced that strange medley known as historical romance, in which truth is only employed to make falsehood more dangerous because deceptive; but that he gives life to the records of the past, and in this volume before us he has done so under unfavourable circumstances. The space occupied by the quarterly reviewer is limited, no matter how vast the subject he treats upon, and the most he can hope to do is to present a sketch; but let it be remembered a sketch may be perfect. Mr. Senior eschews details, except when they are necessary for illustration; yet we venture to say that his essays generally convey not only a clearer but a fuller view of the subjects than do the elaborate works on which they are nominally founded. In reading this volume we recall the remark of an author who said, "I did not understand my book or its subject until I read the review of it in the *Edinburgh*."

The first sketch will probably be as popular as any that follow; it treats of the era of the French Revolution, of the events that changed the face of modern Europe, and that still exercise a controlling influence over the minds as well as the actions of men. The life of M. Berryer—to whom was granted the very exceptional good fortune of having a son as distinguished as himself—would, in any period, have supplied ample materials for a biography. For sixty-four years he was engaged in the practice of the law, and this in a manner that gave him a better opportunity than is enjoyed by the English barrister of investigating the character and designs of his clients. In England and Scotland the professional rule prohibits any intercourse between the advocate and his client, except in the presence of the client's solicitor;

But on the Continent not only does no such rule exist, but the counsel appear to perform almost all the duties which with us are confined to the solicitors. We shall find M. Berryer receiving his clients, calling on them, travelling with them, obtaining evidence—in short, acting almost always in the double capacity of counsel and attorney.

In 1778, at the age of twenty-one, M. Berryer was admitted to the bar, and does not appear to have known the tedious interval that almost universally (at least, in this country) intervenes between the call to the bar and the advent of clients. Mr. Senior, who afterwards dwells upon the horrors of the Reign of Terror, prefaces that part of his sketch by some anecdotes that show the whole system was corrupt, and that revolution, though a violent, was the only, remedy. It is not surprising that monarchs and governments should dread revolution, but it is wonderful that they do not perceive that revolution is the offspring of tyranny and bad government—that it is the natural effort of the body politic to get rid of mortal disease. When such incidents as the following were tolerated—when they were of every-day occurrence—how could the nobility of France be astonished that at length the people rose against their oppressors whom they despised even more than they hated?

As a further illustration of the morals of the old regime, we shall introduce in this place the notice of a more important cause of M. Berryer's, though it terminated at a later period of his career—that of Madame de Pestre de Seneffe. When the events which we have to relate commenced, she was between fifty and sixty years old, and resided at Brussels, a widow with seven children, and a still more numerous progeny of grandchildren; enjoying a high reputation, and a large jointure derived from property in Belgium and in France. At a supper in the palace of the Prince de Soubise, a set of Parisian fashionables resolved that one of them should proceed to Brussels and marry the opulent widow. The necessary funds were supplied by a contribution, and the choice of the emissary was left to chance. The lot fell upon the Comte de Wargemont, a man of high family, and of considerable property, heavily encumbered.

On his arrival at Brussels he introduced himself to Madame de Pestre, and secured the services of her maid and of her confessor. The maid concealed him one evening in her mistress's bedroom. In the middle of the night he showed himself. Madame de Pestre called for assistance. This was the signal for the appearance of the maid, who urged on her mistress the danger to her reputation of an *ecclat*, and proposed that the advice of the confessor should be taken. The Count protested that his indiscretion had been forced on him by the violence of his passion; and the confessor recommended that all scandal should be avoided by an immediate marriage. Madame de Pestre was weak enough to consent; but as she yielded, not to love, but to fear, she insisted that the marriage should take place in Brussels, that she and all her estates should continue subject to the laws of Flanders, that her husband should have no power to require her to enter France, that she should continue absolute mistress of her property, and that the only benefit derived by the Count should be a life income of 20,000 francs, and 100,000 francs as capital.

The marriage on these terms took place in February 1776. The husband almost immediately quitted his wife, and in June wrote to ask her whether she could suppose that he had any motive for marrying an old woman except the full command of her fortune. A few days afterwards he informed her that he intended to seize all her property in France, and to force her to join him there. His attempts to execute these threats produced a compromise, in pursuance of which a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, in a suit instituted by the husband, was pronounced by the ecclesiastical tribunal of Mechlin; and the Count, in exchange for

all his claims under the marriage or the settlement, received 350,000 francs and an annuity of 10,000 more.

The 350,000 francs, however, were soon spent, and the Count renewed his legal warfare. He attempted to set aside the divorce, succeeded in getting possession of the French estates, and kept up a never-ending litigation respecting those in Belgium. Madame de Pestre died, worn out with care and vexation. The annexation of Belgium rendered the whole property of her children subject to the jurisdiction of the French laws, and the Count spent the remainder of his life in prosecuting them from tribunal to tribunal. M. Berryer was counsel for Madame de Pestre and for her descendants; and he dwells upon his exertions in their cause as one of the most arduous and one of the most brilliant parts of his professional career. They procured him on one occasion a curious testimony of admiration. M. de Wargemont was dead, and his sister, Madame de Querrieux, had succeeded to some of his claims, and apparently to some of his litigiousness. As her brother's representative, she prosecuted an appeal against the Pestre family. An elderly lady sat behind M. Berryer while he conducted the defence. She was observed to listen with great emotion, and as soon as he sat down, pressed him to accept, as a mark of her admiration, a ring made of the hair of her youth.

During the Reign of Terror M. Berryer was obliged to relinquish his professional pursuits, so far as pleading in open court was concerned. He determined to refuse all public offices, but he did not altogether escape suspicion; and had it not been for his friends he would have been added to the countless victims of the terrible Committee. He obtained admission into the Treasury as sub-agent;

In this new post, his days were passed in the office, and his evenings in transacting the legal business of his former clients; and again he fancied himself safe. Some vexations, indeed, he was exposed to, but they were almost ludicrous annoyances. He and his wife were forced to bring their table into the street, and to consume, in the presence of the passers-by, "le diner patriotique." His wife was sometimes forced to attend at the baker's to inspect the sale of bread, to see that no one was served before his turn, and that no one was allowed to purchase beyond his strict wants. At other times she had to head a deputation from the women of the section to the Convention, deliver a patriotic speech, and receive the fraternal embrace of the president.

M. Berryer was entrusted with the secret intention of overthrowing Robespierre—a confidence that might have cost him his life:—

Such was the state of things when, on the 24th *Prairial* An 2 (June 12, 1794), Bourdon de l'Oise requested a visit from M. Berryer. He went, little expecting the frightful confidence that was to be reposed in him. "Robespierre," said Bourdon, "has become my enemy. He intends to murder me by the guillotine. I have resolved to be beforehand, and to destroy him with my own hand." As proofs of his courage and resolution, he displayed the dress which he had worn at the storm of the Bastille, still covered with the blood of its defenders; the plumes which had ornamented his cap in the Vendean war, torn by balls in every feather; and the huge sword with which he had pierced many an enemy, and which was now to be plunged into the heart of Robespierre. Berryer listened in terror; but still more dangerous matter was to come. Bourdon added, that he had selected him as depositary, not only of his secrets, but of his last wishes and of his fortune, and placed in his hands a parcel containing his will, his title-deeds, and instructions to be followed in the very probable event of Bourdon's fall before he had an opportunity to execute his attempt, or in consequence of the attempt.

For forty-five anxious days, and almost sleepless nights, M. Berryer retained this terrible deposit. He was now for the first time an actual conspirator. His connection with the chief conspirator was notorious. His safety seemed to depend on Bourdon's immediate success in destroying, by his own hand, both Robespierre and the oligarchy of which he was the president. Assassination is a desperate resource. The attempt itself rarely succeeds, and where it does succeed rarely produces the intended result.

Happily the tyrant fell, and the worst phase of the revolution was over. We need not further pursue M. Berryer's career, though we may remind our readers that he defended Marshal Ney, and incurred the enmity of the Bourbons by doing his best to prevent them committing a crime and a blunder which even to this day is freshly remembered against them.

The volume comprises eight sketches, including "Lord Campbell's Chief Justices," and we but do them justice in saying that they were worthy of a place in that Review which first gave to the world the biographical essays of Macaulay.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FEDERAL PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, February 12.

The President to-day sent to the Senate the following despatches:—

MR. DAYTON TO MR. SEWARD.
(Extract, No. 255.)

Paris, January 15, 1863.

Sir,—A despatch will shortly be sent by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to M. Mercier, requesting him to suggest to you on a suitable occasion the propriety of appointing Commissioners to treat with the South for peace, and for Union if possible; if not possible, for such terms of separation as may be eventually agreed upon. This communication was submitted by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the Emperor on the 9th inst., and returned to him by the Emperor yesterday. The despatch answers what is supposed would have been the objections to a proposal for an armistice or mediation.

1. It proposes, it says, no interference of any kind by a foreign Power.
2. It does not require or ask for any cessation of hostilities pending the negotiations; but, like the negotiations of peace in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, permits everything to proceed as if no efforts for a settlement were being made.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.
To his Excellency W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, &c.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS TO M. MERCIER.

(Translation.)

Department of Foreign Affairs, Political Division
Paris, Jan. 9, 1863.

Sir,—In forming the purpose of assisting, by the proffer of our good offices, to shorten the period of those hostilities which are desolating the American continent, we have to be guided beyond all by the friendship which actuates the Government of the Emperor in regard to the United States. The little success of our exertions might chill the interest with which we follow the fluctuations of this contest, but the sentiment to which we have yielded, is too sincere for indifference to find place in our thought, or that we should cease to be painfully affected while the war continues to rage. We cannot regard without profound regret, this war, worse than civil, comparable to the most terrible distractions of the ancient republics, and whose disasters multiply in proportion to the resources and valour which each of the belligerent parties develops. The Government of his Majesty have, therefore, seriously examined the objections which have been made to us where we have suggested the idea of a friendly mediation, and we have asked ourselves whether they are truly of a nature to set aside as premature every tentative to a reconciliation. On one part has been proposed to us the repugnance of the United States to admit the intervention of foreign influence in the dispute; on the other, the hope, which the Federal Government has not abandoned, of attaining its solution by force of arms.

Assuredly, Sir, recourse to the good offices of one or several Powers contains nothing incompatible with the pride so legitimate to a great nation, and means purely international are not those alone which furnish examples of the useful character of mediation. We flatter ourselves, besides, that in proffering to place ourselves at the disposal of the belligerent parties to facilitate between them negotiations, the basis of which we abstain from prejudging, we have manifested to the patriotism of the United States all the consideration to which it is entitled, now perhaps still more than ever, after such new proof of moral force and energy. We are none the less ready, amid the wishes which we form in favour of peace, to take into account all the susceptibilities of national feeling, and we do not at all question the right of the Federal Government to decline the co-operation (*concours*) of the great maritime Powers of Europe. But this co-operation, is it not the only means which offers itself to the Cabinet of Washington to hasten the close of the war; and if it believes that it ought to repel any foreign intervention, could it not honourably accept the idea of direct (*pourparlers*) informal conferences with the authority which may represent the States of the South? The Federal Government does not despair, we know, of giving a more active impulse to hostilities. Its sacrifices have not exhausted its resources, still less its perseverance and its steadfastness. The protraction of the struggle, in a word, has not shaken its confidence in the definitive success of its efforts. But the opening of informal conferences between the belligerent parties does not necessarily imply the immediate cessation of hostilities. Negotiations about peace are not always the consequence of a suspension of warfare. They precede, on the contrary, more often the establishment of a truce. How many times have we not seen plenipotentiaries meet, exchange communications, agree upon all the essential provisions of treaties, resolve, in fine, the question even of peace or war, while the leaders of armies continued the strife, and endeavoured, even to the latest moment, to modify by course of arms the conditions of peace. To recall only one memory drawn from the history of the United States, the negotiations which consecrated their independence were commenced long before hostilities had ceased in the New World, and the armistice was not established until the act of the 30th of November, 1782, which, under the name of Provisional Articles, embraced in advance the principal clauses of the definitive treaty of 1783. Nothing, therefore, would hinder the Government of the United States, without renouncing the advantage which it believes it can attain by the continuation of the war, from entering upon informal conferences with the Confederates of the South, in case they should show themselves disposed thereto. Representatives or commissioners of the two parties could assemble at such point as it should be deemed proper to designate, and which could for this purpose be declared neutral. Reciprocal complaints would be examined into at this meeting. In place of the accusations which North and South mutually cast upon each other at this time would be submitted an argumentative discussion of the interests which divide them. They would seek out, by means of well-ordered and profound deliberations, whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable—whether separation is an extreme which can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of common existence—whether the ties of any kind which have made of the North and of the South one sole and whole Federative State, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity—are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations. A negotiation, the object of which would be thus determinative, would not involve any of the objections raised against the diplomatic intervention of Europe, and without giving birth to the same hopes as the immediate conclusion of an armistice would exercise a happy influence on the march of events. Why, therefore, should not a combination which respects all the relations of the United States obtain the approbation of the Federal Government? Persuaded on our part that it is in conformity with their true interests, we do not hesitate to recommend it to their attention, and not having sought in the project of a mediation of the maritime Powers of Europe any vain display of influence, we would applaud, with entire freedom from all susceptibilities of self-esteem, the opening of a negotiation which would invite the two populations to discuss, without the co-operation of Europe, the solution of their differences.

I request you, sir, to give this assurance to the Cabinet of Washington, while commending to its wisdom counsels dictated by most sincere interest in the prosperity of the United States. You are, moreover, authorized, if Mr. Seward expresses the wish, to leave with him a copy of this despatch.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

M. Mercier, Minister of France at Washington.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. DAYTON.
(No. 297.)

Department of State, Washington, Feb. 6, 1863.

Sir,—The intimation given in your despatch of January 15 (No. 255), that I might expect a special visit from M. Mercier, has been realized. He called on the 3rd inst., and gave me a copy of a despatch which he had just received from M. Drouyn de Lhuys under the date of the 9th of January. I have taken the President's instructions, and I now proceed to give you his ideas upon the subject in question. It has been considered with seriousness, resulting from the reflection that the people of

France are known to be faultless sharers with the American nation in the misfortunes and calamities of our unhappy civil war. Nor do we on this any more than on other occasions forget the traditional friendship of the two countries, which we unhesitatingly believe has inspired the counsels that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has imparted. He says:—"The Federal Government does not despair, we know, of giving more active impulse to hostilities." And again he remarks:—"The protraction of the struggle, in a word, has not shaken the confidence of the Federal Government in the definitive success of its efforts."

These passages seem to me to do unintentional injustice to the language, whether confidential or public, in which this Government has constantly spoken on the subject of the war. It certainly has had and avowed only one purpose—a determination to preserve the integrity of the country. So far from admitting any laxity of effort or betraying any despondency, the Government has, on the contrary, borne itself cheerfully in all vicissitudes with unvarying confidence in an early and complete triumph of the national cause. Now, when we are in a manner invited by a friendly Power to review the twenty-one months' history of the conflict, we find no occasion to abate that confidence through which in an alternation of victories and defeats, as is the appointed incident of war, the land and naval forces of the United States have steadily advanced, reclaiming from the insurgents the ports, forts, and posts which they had treacherously seized before the strife actually began, and even before it was seriously apprehended. So many of the States and districts which the insurgents included in the field of their projected exclusive slaveholding dominion have already been re-established under the flag of the Union that they now retain only the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Texas, with half of Virginia, half of North Carolina two-thirds of South Carolina, half of Mississippi, and one-third respectively of Arkansas and Louisiana. The National forces hold even this small territory in close blockade and siege. This Government if required, does not hesitate to submit its achievements to the test of comparison, and it maintains that in no part of the world, and in no times, ancient or modern, has a nation, when rendered all unready for combat by the enjoyments of eighty years of almost unbroken peace, so quickly awakened at the alarm of sedition, put forth energies so vigorous and achieved successes so signal and effective as those which have marked the progress of this contest on the part of the Union.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I fear, has taken other light than the correspondence of this Government for his guidance in ascertaining its temper and finances. He has probably read of divisions of sentiment among those who hold themselves forth as organs of public opinion here, and has given to them an undue importance. It is to be remembered that this is a nation of 30,000,000, civilly divided into forty-one States and territories which cover an expanse hardly less than Europe; that the people are a peaceful democracy, exercising everywhere the utmost freedom of speech and suffrage; that a great crisis necessarily produces vehemence as well as profound debate, with sharp collisions of individual, local, and sectional interests, sentiments, and convictions, and that this heat of controversy is increased by the intervention of speculations, interests, prejudices, and passions from every other part of the civilized world. It is, however, through such debates that the agreement of the nation upon any subject is habitually attained, its resolutions formed, and its policy established. While there has been much difference of popular opinion and favour concerning the agents who shall carry on the war, the principles on which it shall be waged, and the means with which it shall be prosecuted, M. Drouyn de Lhuys has only to refer to the statute-book of Congress and the Executive ordinances, to learn that the national activity has hitherto been, and yet is, as efficient as that of any other nation, whatever its form of government, ever was under circumstances of equally grave import to its peace, safety, and welfare. Not one voice has been raised anywhere, out of the immediate field of the insurrection, in favour of foreign intervention, or mediation, or arbitration, or of compromise with the relinquishment of one acre of the national domain, or the surrender of even one constitutional franchise. At the same time it is manifest to the world that our resources are yet abundant, and our credit adequate to the existing emergency.

What M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggests is that this Government shall appoint Commissioners to meet on neutral ground Commissioners of the insurgents. He supposes that in the conferences to be thus held reciprocal complaints could be discussed, and, in place of the accusations which the North and the South now mutually cast upon each other, the conference would be engaged with discussions of the interests which divide them. He assumes further "that the Commissioners would seek, by means of well ordered and profound deliberations, whether these interests are definitely irreconcilable, whether separation is an extreme that can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of a common existence, the ties of every kind which have made of the North and the South one whole Federative State, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, and are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations." The suggestion is not an extraordinary one, and it may well have been thought by the Emperor of the French, in the earnestness of his benevolent desire for the restoration of peace, a feasible one. But when M. Drouyn de Lhuys shall come to review it in the light in which it must necessarily be examined in this country, I think he can hardly fail to perceive that it amounts to nothing less than a proposition that while this Government is engaged in suppressing an armed insurrection, with the purpose of maintaining the constitutional national authority and preserving the integrity of the country, it shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgents upon the questions whether that authority shall not be renounced, and whether the country shall not be delivered over to disunion, to be quickly followed by ever-increasing anarchy.

If it were possible for the Government of the United States to compromise the national authority so far as to enter into such debates, it is not easy to perceive what good results could be obtained by them. The commissioners must agree in recommending either that the Union shall stand or that it shall be voluntarily dissolved, or else they must leave the vital question unsettled to abide at least the fortunes of the war. The Government has not shut out knowledge of the present temper of any more than of the past purposes of the insurgents. There is not the least ground to suppose that the controlling actors would be persuaded at this moment, by any arguments which a National Commissioner could offer, to forego the ambition that has impelled them to the disloyal position they are occupying.

Any commissioner who should be appointed by those actors, or through their dictation or influence, must enter the conferences imbued with the spirit and pledged to personal fortunes of the insurgent chiefs. The loyal people in the insurrectionary States would be unheard, and any offer of peace by this Government

on the maintenance of the Union must necessarily be rejected. On the other hand, as I have already intimated, this Government has not the least thought of relinquishing the trust which has been confided to it by the nation, under the most solemn of all political sanctions; and if it had any such thought, it would have still abundant reason to know that peace, proposed at the cost of dissolution, would be immediately, universally and indignantly rejected by the American people. It is a great mistake that European statesmen make if they suppose this people are demoralized. Whatever, in the case of an insurrection, the people of France, or Great Britain, or Switzerland, or of the Netherlands, would do to save their national existence, no matter how the strife might be regarded by, or affect, foreign nations, just so much, and certainly no less, the people of the United States will do, if necessary, to save for the common benefit the region which is bounded by the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and by the shores of the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, together with the free and common navigation of the Rio Grande, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, St. Lawrence, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and other national highways, by which this land, which to them is at once a land of inheritance and a land of promise, is open and watered.

Even if the agents of the American people thus exercising their power should, through fear or faction, fall below the height of national virtue, they would be speedily, yet constitutionally, replaced by others of sterner character and patriotism. I must be allowed to say, also, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys errs in his description of the parties to the present conflict. We have an insurrectionary party, which is located upon and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and we have, on the other hand, a loyal people, who constitute not only Northern States, but Eastern, Middle, Western, and Southern States.

I have, on many occasions, heretofore, submitted to the French Government the President's views of the interests and ideas which are at the bottom of the determination of the American Government and people to maintain the Federal Union. The president has done the same thing in his Messages and other public declarations. I refrain, therefore, from reviewing that argument in connexion with the existing question. M. Drouyn de Lhuys draws to his aid the Conferences which took place between the colonies and Great Britain in our Revolutionary War. He will allow me to answer, that action, in the crisis of a nation, must accord to its necessities, and therefore can be seldom conformed to precedents. Great Britain, when entering on that negotiation, had manifestly come to entertain doubts of her ultimate success; and it is certain that the councils of the colonies could have failed to take new courage, if not to gain other advantage, when the parent State comprised so far as to treat of peace on the terms of conceding their independence.

It is true, indeed, that peace must come some time, and that conferences must attend, if they are not allowed to precede, the pacification. There is, however, a better form for such conferences than the one which M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because destitute of the sanction necessary to bind either to the loyal or disloyal portions of the People. On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional forum for debates between the alienated parties. Senators and representatives of the discontented party, who may be continually sent there from the States involved in the insurrection. Moreover, the conferences which can thus be held in Congress have this great advantage over any other that could be organized on the plan of M. Drouyn de Lhuys—viz.: that Congress, if it thought wise, could call a National Convention to adopt its recommendations, and give them all the solemnity and binding force of organic law. Such conference between the alienated parties may be said to have already begun. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, States which are claimed by the insurgents, are already represented in Congress, and are admitted with perfect freedom, and in a proper spirit, their advice upon the course best calculated to bring about in the shortest time a firm peace. Representatives have been sent also from Louisiana, and others are understood to be coming from Arkansas.

There is a preponderating argument in favour of the congressional form of conference over that which is suggested by M. Drouyn de Lhuys,—viz., that while accession to the latter would bring the Government into concurrence with the insurgents in disregarding and setting aside an important part of the Constitution of the United States, and so would be of pernicious example, the congressional conference, on the contrary, preserves and gives new strength to that sacred instrument, which must continue through future ages the sheet-anchor of the republic.

You will be at liberty to read this despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and give him a copy if he should desire it. To the end that you may be informed of the whole case, I transmit a copy of M. Drouyn de Lhuys' despatch.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

W. L. Dayton, Esq., &c.

THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE SOUTH.

The following is taken from the letter of the *Times* New York correspondent, which was published on Saturday last. Our readers will perceive that it fully endorses the facts and deductions of an article which appeared in *THE INDEX* of the 24th of July, 1862, entitled "The Distribution of Property, Schools, and Churches."

The following statements, based upon official documents, will show the real status of the white man and non-slaveholder in the Southern States, better than volumes of argument. In the first place it must be borne in mind that the Constitution of the Confederate States in respect to representation is precisely similar to that of the United States. But an interpretation has been given to the 3rd section of the 1st Article of the Constitution which is accountable for much of the error that prevails on the subject of the political value of the non-slaveholding unit. The section declares that "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years [apprentices], and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons [slaves]." The words in brackets are explanatory. Pointing to this clause in the Constitution, the believers in Southern feudalism assert that three-fifths of the slaves are counted in the representation, and, as the slaves do not vote, the master must vote for them. Thus, they add, the owner of a hundred slaves casts not only his own vote, but 60 votes for his slaves, to which he is entitled by the Constitution. If this were the correct interpreta-

tion the Abolitionist and English opinion would be to some extent correct, and with the addition of the law of primogeniture—long since abolished, however—an aristocracy might be created. But the whole calculation is a misconception. The number of representatives for the whole Union was fixed by the Act of 1850, and was limited to 233 (since altered to 241). At every decennial period, when the census is taken, the whole number of free persons, with three-fifths of the slaves together, are divided by 241, the quotient being the number of persons entitled to send one representative to Congress. By the census of 1850 the ratio was one representative for every 93,702; by that of 1860 it was one for every 127,000.

Assuming, for the sake of illustration, a community composed of 100,000 slaves (estimated in the representation as the equivalent of 60,000 persons) owned by 10,000 individuals, and 57,000 persons who are non-slaveholders, these 67,000 white men, each having one vote and no more, would be entitled to one representative in Congress. There is no plurality of votes. The master does not vote for his slaves, but the whole white male population votes for them collectively. Presuming a contest in such a community, it is evident that, man for man, the non-slaveholders would have it in their power to carry their candidate by a majority of 47,000. Thus, in point of fact, the non-slaveholder in the slaveholding States, so far from being a "mean white," is, as a political unit, a greater power in the State than the white Yankee, whether he be mean or the reverse.

By the census of 1850 the whole number of slaveholders in the United States was found to be 347,525. Of this number but two owned 1000 slaves and upwards; nine owned 500 and less than 1000; fifty-six owned 300 and less than 500; one hundred and eighty-seven owned 200 and less than 300; fourteen hundred and seventy-nine owned 100 and less than 200; six thousand one hundred and ninety-six owned 50 and less than 100; twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and thirty-three owned 20 and less than 50; fifty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-five owned 10 and less than 20; eighty thousand seven hundred and sixty-five owned five and less than 10; one hundred and five thousand six hundred and eighty-three owned two and less than five; while sixty-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty held one slave each. It will thus be seen that more than one half of the slaveholders own less than five slaves each, and that the cry of a slaveholding aristocracy oppressing the "mean whites" has no tangible foundation.

The phrases "poor white trash," "mean whites," and "poor white Buckras," originated with the negroes. For many years in the towns and villages of the slaveholding States, cooks, chambermaids, waiters, coachmen, footmen, &c., were exclusively negroes and mulattoes—a white coachman even now is a rarity. They also monopolized the positions of draymen, carters, barbers, porters, stevedores, marketmen, &c. Poor Yankees coming to the South or from European countries, who had been brought up to these several occupations, came into competition with the negroes if they sought employment in them. The competition prejudiced the negro against them. The negro ideal of a white man is like the Oriental ideal of a Sultan. It is associated with wealth, dominion, and power, and a white man possessing neither was "mean" in Sambo's estimation. Following the example of their brethren in the towns and villages, whom they consider their superiors, the country negroes applied the term in derision to any poor white man living in their neighbourhood who did not own slaves, and who happened to fall under their displeasure. In negro estimation Mr. Lincoln, when he honestly earned his bread by navigating a barge on the Mississippi, would have been a "mean white;" but no white man, rich or poor, slaveholding or non-slaveholding, would have applied such an epithet to him. The truth is that the white man in the slaveholding States, whatever his pecuniary condition, holds socially a high, and politically a higher, rank than one similarly situated in the free States. If there be an aristocracy in the South it is the aristocracy of colour, and the same aristocracy exists in the North and West, where the negro is free but a pariah. The idea that the mercantile and professional classes, the artificers, shopkeepers, merchants, and small traders, should be considered "mean whites" by men who had no other claim to superiority than their plantations is ludicrous to all who know the facts. Poverty is no greater bar to political advancement in the South than it is in the North. If Mr. Lincoln was a bargeman and a rail-splitter before he became a lawyer and a politician, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy was the son of parents too poor to give him an education, and the Secretary of the Confederate Treasury took his first honours in an orphan school.

In the yet unsettled, wild, and swampy regions of the South-West, in Arkansas, and in Mississippi, there is no doubt a large class of white people who deserve to be called "mean"—rude, rough rowdies of the worst possible kind; but many of them are Yankees, Germans, and Englishmen and Irishmen who have left New England because New England was too small for their predatory instincts, and Europe because they had made it too hot to hold them. The war has converted thousands of these into excellent soldiers, and such of them as happen to have been born in New England are distinguished above their fellows for their love of the Southern cause and their detestation of the "Yankees." Perhaps these are the "mean whites" of whom Professor Cairnes and others in England make such constant mention. If not, there are no others, except in the slang of the negroes, who associate dignity with a white skin, and think a white man must be mean indeed who consents to fill a menial position.

THE CONTRABANDS AT WASHINGTON.

The stolen and runaway negroes from Virginia, to the number of 3,000 and upwards, are encamped on the "Slashes," within the northern precincts of the city. They are badly clothed, worse fed, and their scanty tents furnish but a poor shelter from the warring elements at this inclement season. Many have died, and numbers are dying from pneumonia and typhoid diseases, induced by their exposed condition, and the emaciated condition of the survivors, and the squalor and filth pervading the encampment, beggar all description. The efforts to procure employment for those who are able and willing to work have been ineffectual, as the menial places about the Government Departments are filled by hungry Yankees, and housekeepers, who refuse to hire the "runaways," even when offered for their vituals and clothes. In view of Abraham Lincoln's recent emancipation proclamation, well may the blacks of the South inquire, "Is this the entertainment to which we are invited?"

The Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges, with thanks, the receipt of a Five Pound Bank of England Note, "contributed by an Englishman who has no connection with America, for the benefit of the brave men of the Confederate army who are prisoners at the North."

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The Index,

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LITERATURE, AND NEWS.**

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 5, 1863.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The Federal Congress that expired yesterday at noon was determined to go off with a noise. The Republican members who retire into private life must feel exceedingly disgusted that their time did not last the war out, for it is a position of profit to be a Republican member of Congress whilst Mr. Lincoln is engaged in crushing "the rebels." What excesses the Congress may have been guilty of between the 19th of February and the 4th of March we know not, but before that date it was sufficiently extravagant in its eccentricities to divide with Tom Thumb and Miss Warren the attention of New York; though, of course, the Lilliputian General and his wife had the lion's share.

Perhaps the best indication of the state of feeling in the Federal Congress is a discussion that took place in the House of Representatives upon the Illinois and New York Ship Canal. Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, observed that he was contented with the channels and canals "which Almighty God had given to the West;" that commerce could not be diverted from its natural courses, and that digging ditches was not the way to unite the West with New England. These seemingly innocent observations drew forth a sensational reply from Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts. He remarked that he should vote for the Bill, and that "New England would not ask the gentleman from Indiana on what terms she would remain in the Union." Mr. Voorhees had not said a word about the secession of Indiana, but New England already begins to shiver at the thought of being left out in the cold, and cannot conceal her fears. The "Saints" begin to dread that they will not only be deprived of the pleasure of plundering the South, but that the West likewise will be released from their avaricious grip. When the slave trade was in operation, the "Saints" turned it to their profit; when the slave trade was abolished by means of protective tariffs, they waxed rich on the slave labour of the South; latterly they resolved on domineering over the whole of the late United States, making the peoples of the South and West their toiling tributaries. But the self-elected "Saints" have been disappointed. The Confederate States have defeated this scheme so far as the South is concerned, and the hand-writing on the wall proclaims that sooner or later, and perhaps very soon, the West will also be quit of the Yankee. It is necessary to bear these things in mind to understand the tone and proceedings of the Federal Congress.

Some months since the *New York Caucasian* published a poem recounting the contest of a worthy citizen with an obstinate cow. The animal was in the garden, and would not go out. The citizen and his family advanced against it, and were driven back; they made loud noises upon tin kettles, and dug ditches at a respectful distance from the cow; but all in vain; the animal would not budge an inch. As a last resource the citizen determined to issue

some proclamations; and he forthwith announced that if the cow did not move she would be skinned alive, and that anybody who could might milk her. But the cow remained in the garden, and nobody essayed to milk her. This was a forcible, if not a refined, caricature of the proceedings of Mr. Lincoln, and we hope that the same satirist will try his practised hand on the late Congress—that is, *late*, if between the 19th of February and the 4th of March, it did not decree itself permanent and indissoluble.

Congress cannot issue proclamations selling the lion's skin before the lion is caught, or confiscating the tail of a comet; but it can pass Acts just as pretentious and abortive. We say nothing about voting fabulous sums of money to the Government, because if the war should go on, Mr. Lincoln retain office, and the greenbacks continue to be worth something, if only a cent per dollar, there is no reason why Mr. Chase should not erect a few hundred presses, and issue ever so many millions of billions of paper dollars. But what shall we say of Congress passing a Bill for the enlistment of 300,000 negroes, seeing that the United States has not under its control more than 50,000 free negroes capable of bearing arms, if it has so many? Is it supposed that an Act of Congress can cause a black army to spring from the earth? But the Negro Enlistment Bill is not more ridiculous than the Conscription Bill which the Federal Senate passed on the 16th of February.

Certainly, the Act is comprehensive. All citizens, and those who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 20 and 45 years, are liable to perform military duty when called out by the President. This is a *coup de grace* for emigrants. We do not suppose that the military officers in the United States are more scrupulous than our recruiting sergeants, and therefore will be ready to swear or to get up evidence, that any able-bodied emigrant they come across has declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the glorious Republic. There is, however, just one little difficulty in the way. The Federal Congress is not yet the ruler of the whole earth, and foreign nations are not bound by its acts; and we are inclined to think that until Irishmen have become *de facto* citizens of the United States, they remain citizens of the mother country, notwithstanding any announcement of a future intention to throw off their allegiance; and that by the aid of the British Consuls they will be able to defy the Act of the Federal Congress.

The exemptions are remarkably few, being limited to the Judges of State Courts, and the Governors of States. Even members of Congress are liable to serve, or find a substitute. Mr. Sumner proposed to exempt the clergy of Massachusetts, but the motion was rejected. Mr. Sumner need not be alarmed. His clerical friends will not fight. They are willing to preach wholesale slaughter and desolation, but they will not expose their tender skins to balls and bayonets. Like all other advocates of bloodshed and spoliation, they are skulking cowards.

We venture to say that this Act will be a dead letter. Mr. Lincoln cannot and dare not enforce a conscription. He tried it on when his power was at its highest, when the Democrats were gagged, and then he failed. Is he more likely to succeed now, when his power is crippled, when the Northern people are depressed by continued military failure, and when the Democratic party is revived? The Conscription Act just passed by the Federal Senate is "bunkum," sheer "bunkum," and its only use is to indicate the complete exhaustion of the North, and the savage despair of the war party. Congress may make paper money, but it cannot make armies. Even if Mr. Lincoln could enforce the draft, he knows, from bitter experience, that only a percentage of the drafted men can be kept from deserting whilst *en route* for the seat of war, and that in the battle-field it sometimes happens that drafted men will not fight. If, indeed, Mr. Lincoln could enforce the draft, he would be nearly as great a military despot as the Emperor of Russia. He could then, at ten days' notice, have an army of a million and a half at his command. According to the United States' census of 1860, the return of militia in the North and West was 2,429,636, but this must have been considerably thinned by the war, and it includes all citizens, whether able-bodied or not. But Mr. Lincoln, though not a statesman, is too shrewd not to perceive that the Conscription Act, like his proclamation, is like a lion painted on canvass which looks prodigiously terrible and menacing, but which cannot bite.

The fear of servile insurrection evidently does not sway the minds of the Southern people. On the 23rd of January, the Confederate House of Representatives repealed, apparently without debate, what was popularly known as the "Twenty Negroes Exemption Clause" of the Conscription Act passed last year. This clause exempted from military service, "one person, either as agent, owner, or overseer, on each plantation on which one white person is required to be kept by the laws or ordinances of any State; and on which there is no white male adult not liable to military service, and in States having no such law, one person as agent, owner, or overseer on each plantation of twenty negroes, and on which there is no white male adult not liable to military service." The House also repealed the clause in said Act exempting from military service "for every negro on two or more plantations within five miles of each other, and each having less than twenty negroes, and on which there is no white male adult not liable to military duty, one person being the oldest of the owners or overseers on each plantation." The persons so hitherto exempted by these clauses are now made subject to military duty in the same manner that they would be had said clauses never been embraced in said Act.

The Federal Senate wants to make Mr. Lincoln supreme by sea as well as by land. It has passed a Bill authorizing him in all domestic and foreign wars to issue letters of marque, and the authority is limited to three years. Against whose commerce are the Federal privateers to operate? Mr. Seward says the Confederate ports are effectually blockaded, and it is certainly true that at present the South has not a commercial marine. Is not the boasted navy of the North enough to watch Southern ports? Are privateers to assist in the blockade of the British port of Nassau? The idea of granting letters of marque against an enemy that has not a commercial marine would be an inexplicable proceeding; but Mr. McDougal, of California, explained the purport of the measure. A proposal to limit this Act to the suppression of the rebellion was rejected, and that gentleman took the opportunity of expressing his opinion that "before the meeting of another Congress the United States would be involved in a foreign war, and he wished the country to be prepared." Our impression is that the foreign war in which the United States is at present engaged is quite enough to satisfy the bulk of the Northern people; and, moreover, we think that the next Congress will meet sooner than the Republicans think. Mr. Lincoln may be obliged to convoke it. The Republicans and their puppets may wish for a foreign war as a political move against the Democrats, and may even speculate upon bringing it about during the long Congressional recess, but they will probably be disappointed. The Democrats are on the alert. The Democratic members of the next Congress have been invited to meet in New York on the 8th of this month. But after all, this Act for authorizing the President to issue letters of marque is, like the Conscription Bill, mere bunkum—furious barking, signifying nothing. The intention is to threaten, if not to frighten, England and France; but by this time Europe ought to know too well the value of Yankee bragadocio to care for it.

Mr. Seward is blamed, if not for refusing, at all events for the uncourteous manner in which he refused the proposition of the Emperor of the French. Altogether there is abundant evidence that a large party in the North desire peace. The Senate of the Illinois Legislature has rejected the resolution for calling a convention at Louisville, but this was in consequence of a dodge of the Republicans, who withdrew sufficient members to deprive that body of a constitutional quorum. The Kentucky House of Representatives has rescinded the peace resolutions previously passed.

The only war news is of an engagement near Port Hudson; no details are given, though it was reported in Wall-street that the Federal General Banks had been defeated. Everywhere else there is a lull in the war. General Hooker is endeavouring to infuse a little discipline in the fast-dissolving mob that once constituted the pet Army of the Potomac. Rosecrans is still binding up his wounds, and has not yet recovered from the dire effects of his victory at Murfreesboro. Charleston, so often condemned to utter destruction, boldly defies the Federals. Its walls have not fallen at the braying and cursing of the Northern

press and preachers, and it has not been captured by great preparations. And at length, when Wall-street is eagerly waiting for the news of Charleston being taken, it is whispered that the attack is postponed till a more convenient season—till, we suppose, the naughty rebels dismantle their fortresses and meekly promise not to hurt their gallant foe. We think the Northern commanders are prudent in not attacking Charleston; but after such loud boasting it would have been almost better to have attacked and been beaten than not to attack.

The Confederate flag still waves over Vicksburg, and the capture of that place is also postponed. The Mississippi, like the Confederates, is very obstinate, and will not change its course at the bidding of the Federals. Digging has, so far, proved a failure; why does not Mr. Lincoln try the effect of a proclamation ordering the Father of Waters to change its course under penalty of being dried up; or why did not the late Congress pass a Bill making it imperative on the river to change its course?

Now we are told that Savannah is to fall. Let us give the Federals their due, they certainly are very considerate in not taking their enemy by surprise. They always give the Confederates long notice that they are going to begin to make preparations to attack this or that place. In the present instance their considerate kindness is unnecessary, for Savannah is fully prepared to give them a warm reception.

Another Federal expedition has left New Orleans for Bayou Tesche. The Federal General Forster has returned to North Carolina. The Federal commander on Roanoke Island has telegraphed for reinforcements. The Federal turreted gunboat Indianola has run the Vicksburg blockade; and the truthful Federals report that General Hindman's army in Tennessee "is said to be demoralized." With all the great efforts of the North, with its large armies and fleets, and its numerous expeditions, nothing can be accomplished, or the budget of war news would not consist of such trifles.

A joint resolution has been introduced into the Confederate Congress, recognizing the right of all friendly peoples to the free navigation of the Mississippi, and declaring that this right shall at all times be maintained. We need hardly observe that it never was the intention of the Confederate States to exclude friendly peoples from the free navigation of the Mississippi, and that that river will be a highway for the carriage of the produce of the West, as it was before the disruption of the late Union. It is the interest of the Confederacy that the navigation of the river should be free, and this joint resolution may be useful in reminding the West of the absurdity of the Northern suggestion that the establishment of the Southern Confederacy would deprive them of the free use of the Mississippi.

There has been a pretty quarrel between the *New York Tribune* and the *New York World*. The former paper is not a favourite with the troops, whilst the latter has a large circulation in the army. Upon which the *Tribune* publishes an article, in which it says: "We understand that thousands of copies of the *World* are regularly distributed through the Army of the Rappahannock, gratis, or at a nominal price—opulent Democrats supplying the needful. We believe this distribution is calculated and intended to demoralize that army and aid the rebels." The *World* took the trouble of denying this charge; and assured its readers that every copy "distributed in the Army of the Rappahannock is bought and paid for by those who choose to buy and pay for it, and is not sold at a nominal price, but at a profit in every instance." This led to a report that the sale of newspapers was forbidden in the Army of the Potomac. We do not suppose that even Mr. Lincoln will venture to prevent the soldiers reading their favourite paper. Despotism are the servants of their troops.

The Rev. John H. Dashiell, of Baltimore, has been arrested for taking down a Federal flag which had been raised on his church by the Unionists; and on the same day a congregation in the same city refused to assemble at their usual place of worship, because the national flag had been placed on the building by the order of General Schenk. It is worthy of note that the puritanical North will not allow religion to be free, but hampers it with political conditions.

The Federal commanders of the vessels blockading Charleston declare "they never quitted the blockading line usually occupied by them," but they do not say how many miles from the port is the "usual line." They are not, perhaps, aware that vessels out of sight five miles beyond the port are not legally blockading. It would be wise of the Federals not to attempt to shuffle out of the defeat at Charleston. The Federal officers abuse the British Consul and the Commander of the Petrel. English officials will not be injured by Federal Billingsgate.

With regard to the port of Galveston, the fact of the blockade being raised is not denied. The following despatch from Lord Lyons has been published in the *London Gazette*:

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a note, which I received at 2 o'clock this afternoon, from Mr. Seward, stating that the blockade of Galveston was "resumed immediately, and will be continued until further notice."

Department of State, Washington, Feb. 5.

My Lord,—As opinions may be entertained by merchants interested in trade to the port of Galveston, in Texas, that the blockade of that port by a United States' naval force may, in consequence of recent events in that quarter, have been interrupted, I have the honour to acquaint you, with a view to obviate embarrassments to neutral commerce which might be occasioned by such opinions, that the blockade was resumed immediately, and will be continued until further notice. Although due notice of such resumption will probably have been given by the commander of the blockading squadron to vessels which may attempt to enter Galveston, it is deemed advisable to communicate a similar notice to your lordship.—I have, &c.,

The Lord Lyons. (Signed) W. H. SEWARD.

Will our Government notify to Mr. Seward that a blockade cannot be "resumed;" that being once broken or raised, a new blockade must be established, which involves the usual notice? On this point all authorities are agreed, but probably our Foreign Secretary may consider the Lincoln Government privileged to violate the law of nations.

We are not surprised to hear that "there is a rumour current in Richmond of a programme in the North-West for forming a North-Western Confederacy." It is so manifest that sooner or later the United States must split up, and so manifestly the interest of the North-West to secede now, that such a programme is discussed and expected by European politicians.

Amongst the items of news not the least important is the rise in the price of gold, which was, on the 20th of February, at 63½ premium. This was partly brought about by dearth of war intelligence; Mr. Seward's despatch in answer to the French proposal; and because the Federal House of Representatives, though rejecting most of the amendments of the Senate, have carried the amendment declaring the interest on the \$400,000,000 of interest-bearing notes should be payable in legal tender or green-backs, instead of coin. The prospect of all paper and no coin is certainly not encouraging.

The *Tribune* wants Butler to be sent back to New Orleans, but it is supposed Mr. Seward opposes the project. Since Butler is disappointed in the hope of plundering Charleston, he would, no doubt, be glad to have another turn at his well-squeezed lemon—New Orleans.

The Governor of Virginia has just reminded Mr. Lincoln that there is such a thing as State sovereignty in the South, by informing him he would unflinchingly retaliate for any improper treatment of citizens or soldiers of Virginia, and there is no doubt he will keep his word.

It is announced that, "Two members from Louisiana have been admitted to seats in the House of Representatives." Well, bringing the Federal Congress into contempt will do the Confederate States no harm, and it certainly will do the Northern States no good.

The Senate of the New York Legislature, for prudential reasons, no doubt, has rejected the resolution inviting General McClellan to be the guest of the State at Albany. To have passed the resolution would have been something like a declaration of war against the Lincoln Government, and the Democrats will not engage in the conflict upon a side issue.

The following refer to the proceedings of the Confederate Congress:—

Resolutions have been introduced into the Confederate Congress that President Davis shall, on the 1st of May next, withdraw the diplomatic agents from foreign capitals, the Governments of which shall not then have recognized the South.

Also, that, after May next, foreign consuls shall not be allowed to exercise any power in the Confederate states except upon an ex equatur asked from and granted by the Confederate Government.

A resolution has also been offered that the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon in offering the mediation of the European Powers was highly gratifying to the Government and the people of the Confederate States, and that the hope is indulged that the Emperor's wise and magnanimous movement may soon eventuate in the establishment of relations of close commercial amity and enduring concord between the French Government and the Confederate States.

The New York papers pretend that the danger of war with France is imminent. The *New York Times* roundly abuses M. Mercier.

The "irrepressible" conflict is going on in the North. It is reported that there has been a collision between a negro and a Maine regiment, and that the negroes killed six of the Federals. The North may fall into the pit which they have dug for others.

It is reported that soon after the adjournment of the Federal Congress Mr. Lincoln intends to endeavour to conciliate the Democrats by returning to a conservative policy and appointing General McClellan Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Lincoln is quite likely to trick the Republicans if it suits his purpose, but it is rather a dangerous game. Between two stools the Lincolnites are pretty sure to come to the ground rather sooner than they would do by dealing fairly with one party or the other.

Not the least of the arbitrary acts of the Lincoln Government is dissolving a State Convention at Frankfort, Kentucky, by the interposition of the military. This is a direct blow at the fundamental rights of State sovereignty.

In consequence of the cutting of the levees the Mississippi has overflowed its banks on the Louisiana side, submerging the town of De Soto, and giving some cause to fear that New Orleans will be inundated.

The following items are taken from the telegraphic summary of the news per Etina:—

Rumours were current of a sortie made by the Confederates against the Mobile blockading squadron.

The Federal frigate Brooklyn is reported aground off Galveston.

The Hartford (Connecticut) Democratic Convention has passed resolutions against Congressional and Federal usurpations of the rights of the States. They denounce Secession, but declare that the time has arrived to abandon the monstrous fallacy that the Union can be restored by armed bands, and they pledge themselves to co-operate with the Conservatives of the Middle and Western States to adopt all honourable measures for the cessation of hostilities and the reconstruction of the Union on terms thoroughly defining the State rights.

They further declare the Conscription Bill unconstitutional, and urge the authorities of each State to sternly resist its operation. They denounce the banking scheme, the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the interference with the press, and declare that

they will use all their influence to prevent the payment by the people of a single dollar for compensated emancipation.

Advices from St. Domingo city state that the Alabama captured and burnt the barque Golden Rule, belonging to the Panama Railroad Company, about 50 miles south of St. Domingo, on the 26th ult. Her entire cargo, a portion of which belonged to English, French, and Spanish consignees, was, in consequence of the absence of documentary proof of its being the property of neutrals, destroyed with the vessel. The bills of lading had been forwarded from Panama by steamer after the sailing of the Golden Rule. The Alabama also captured and burnt, off Altively Rock, on the 27th ult., the Boston brig Chastelain, from Guadaloupe, for Cienfuegos. The nautical instruments of the vessel, and \$800 in gold were taken possession of by Captain Semmes. The schooner Hanover, from Boston for Aux Cayes, was taken by a privateer, name unknown, off the Island of Hayti, on the 31st ult.

Accounts from Havannah to the 15th inst. report that one steamer and three sailing vessels, laden with cotton, had recently arrived at the West Indies from Confederate ports.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of the 19th February, publishes a proclamation by General Beauregard, announcing to the citizens of Charleston and Savannah the expectation of an early land and naval attack upon one or both of those cities. It invokes all able-bodied Carolinians and Georgians to arm themselves with any description of weapons they can procure, and aid in the defence of their homes. Non-combatants are urged to retire to a place of greater safety.

ENGLAND.

We can report no material abatement in the distress of Lancashire. The reduction of pauperism this week is under 2200; and there seems reason to fear that a good deal of this is owing only to the fact that the sufferers have sought hard, unsuitable, and unremunerative work as agricultural labourers in neighbouring counties. It is far better, of course, that they should do this than that they should remain at home in idleness, eating the bread of dependence. But it is not to be understood that the 50,000 persons who have ceased to be paupers during the last two or three months have ceased to be in distress. Their highly-skilled and very valuable labour has been degraded to the level of that of the rudest peasant; the whole worth of their hardy-acquired dexterity and mechanical education is lost to them and to the country; and they are but a little better off, as far as subsistence goes, than they were as paupers. Many of the warm friends of the operatives, and many of the *élite* of the operatives themselves, are beginning to look to emigration as affording the only effectual means of relief. Mr. Selfe, one of the ablest of the London Police Magistrates, who has entrusted to him a considerable sum intended for the relief of Lancashire distress, urges upon the Mansion-house Committee the desirability of employing some portion of the funds entrusted to them in promoting emigration, and they have taken his proposition into serious consideration. One recommendation we have heard which seems to us exceedingly wise—that co-operative societies of emigrants should be formed, to go out together and to apply to agriculture in the colonies the same principles and system which have been found to answer so well in trade and manufactures at home. It is a melancholy thought that English families, and chiefly, of course, the best and most hopeful portion of the working class, should be driven to leave their country by a war with which England has no direct concern, and in which the English Government has not the courage to interpose. But if we are not to have cotton from America soon, and in the former abundance, it is certain that Lancashire will not be able to support her present population, and emigration seems the only remedy.

Dr. Campbell is the editor of a certain paper of the class called religious, which probably none of our readers have ever seen, but which has by some means or other—we speak with the fear of Chief Justice Cockburn before our eyes—obtained an extensive, and we believe a profitable, circulation among the "unco' guid." It had been helped into notoriety by certain letters published therein, addressed to the Queen and Prince Consort, containing much insolent advice and a good many disloyal insinuations. The vulgar—and the lower sort of Dissenters belong to the most vulgar class in England—are apt to be pleased with rudeness towards those in high station, and especially when that rudeness is offered under the guise of pious rebuke and sanctimonious scolding. When the effect of this kind of literature had somewhat worn itself out, Dr. Campbell set to work to write and publish a series of articles on missions in China, finding fault with the Queen and the Government for not having converted the heathen of the Celestial Empire. He urged, or his "correspondents"—who have since been proved to be real persons—urged, that every one who took an interest in Chinese conversion—of which, apparently, the Taepings were to be the agents, and wholesale rapine and murder the instruments—should subscribe for hundreds or thousands of copies of Dr. Campbell's paper, which thus obtained a circulation wholly irrespective of any merits it may possess. The *Saturday Review*, which keeps a rigorous watch over the honour and dignity of the press, appears to have considered that conduct of this kind merited exposure and reproof; and accordingly wrote an article inflicting a most severe castigation on the offender. Of course the editor of a "religious" organ has no chance against the *Saturday Review*. First, as Mr. Sergeant Parry remarked, all men of education read the *Review*; and we may add, hardly any man of education ever dreams of reading a Dissenting newspaper. Secondly, some sort of ability is required from a *Saturday Reviewer*; nothing but unscrupulous insolence is necessary to the editor of a journal whose readers require from it nothing but Radical principles and a Pharisaic demeanour, and which can satisfy them easily by a rough mixture of the dialect of Billingsgate with that of Exeter Hall. Instead of answering the *Saturday Review*, Doctor Campbell brought an action for

EUROPE.

Rumours of disasters in Mexico have again been circulating in Paris. It was positively affirmed that General Forey had written home to say that unless he received very large reinforcements, not only would he be unable to advance on Mexico but must retreat to Vera Cruz. There does not seem to have been the slightest foundation for this mischievous gossip. The "old parties," unable to openly oppose the Government of the Emperor, try their utmost to discredit it, by circulating malicious reports.

The explanations which the Prussian Government has at last given with respect to the convention with Russia remove the danger, which a few days since seemed imminent, of a European war. It is probable that these explanations are positive untruths. The convention undoubtedly contained some stipulations for common action against the insurrection; but if the Prussian Government chooses to declare that it has made no such engagements, and acts scrupulously in accordance with its declaration, Europe will have no right or desire to interfere further.

England, France, and Austria are said to have determined upon a common representation at St. Petersburg, in favour of the Poles. They will ask, or have asked—the current rumour, a credible one enough, tells us—for those national institutions which were given Poland by the treaty of Vienna, together with an amnesty, and will propose, moreover, to take these institutions under their guarantee. The difficulties of the Russian Government are so great, that if these representations are made in a tone to which it can listen without any sense of humiliation, it will probably enough be glad to accede to them.

On the 3rd of February the twenty million serfs were emancipated. Great fears are justly entertained, lest the newly-freed men should disregard the conditions upon which their liberty has been given them, refuse to pay their lords the rents reserved, and create serious disturbances. This fear paralyzes the armies of Russia in Poland.

The reports from Poland are this week more contradictory than ever. Their antagonism is so complete that the attempt to reconcile them is almost hopeless. As the *Moniteur* says, and we have often before said, "almost every successive despatch presents events under a different aspect, according to the source from which the intelligence is derived." This battle of bulletins rages most over that south-western corner of Russian Poland in which the insurrection first established itself, and still numbers its largest bands. The question is, whether the Russians have defeated Langiewicz, dispersed his followers, and driven him, wounded, to flight, or whether he has annihilated the Russian columns sent in pursuit of him. According to the Russian version, Langiewicz was defeated near Malogosez, lost two brass guns, and was hotly pursued. According to the *Czas* of Cracow, a Polish organ, Langiewicz beat the Russians at Malogosez after an engagement lasting five hours, and Malogosez was reduced to ruins, a statement which may be believed, whichever side may have won. The official journal of Warsaw, of Sunday, says that the bands commanded by Langiewicz and Jezerranski were totally defeated at Woloszewoz with the loss of 70 baggage waggons and 152 horses. Langiewicz was wounded and fled; the peasants seized the fugitives and had already given up 200 to the Russian commander. A despatch from a Polish quarter declares that Langiewicz, with 6000 men, arrived at Zombkowitz on Sunday morning, and totally defeated the Russian troops, whilst a telegram from Breslau mentions a report that a column of Russian troops proceeding from Czenstochau, to reinforce the Russians at Zombkowitz, was defeated by 4000 Poles at Myskow.

It is quite evident that one side has lied most terribly, which a few days will show. A telegram from Lemberg in Galicia—a focus of pro-Polish sympathy—which says that it was reported there that Langiewicz, was wounded and his followers dispersed, gives some corroboration to the Russian accounts. On the other hand, the Polish versions are later in their date.

Perhaps the Russians have had several different encounters with Langiewicz, in the first of which they were successful, whilst in the subsequent ones fortune has been on the side of the Poles. Langiewicz, who has proved himself the ablest leader the insurgents have, is an old soldier of Polish independence. He fought in the insurrection of 1830.

Intelligence from Lemberg corroborates the Russian account of a victory on the Bug, which we admitted, under reserve, last week. The Russians do not appear to have, in the slightest degree, exaggerated the losses of the insurgents, whose leader, Bogdanowicz, is said to have been captured.

Mieroslawski has made his way across the frontier, according to one account, under the disguise of a traveller for a champagne house, and has issued an order of the day announcing that the Provisional National Government had appointed him Commander-in-chief of the insurrectionary forces. What success has attended him is involved in obscurity. According to one account, evidently unfounded, he had been defeated, and had fled across the frontier; according to another, from Warsaw, he had penetrated as far as Kolo on the Warta, and had there engaged the Russians on Monday and Tuesday. The result of the engagement has not been announced, and we may therefore assume that it was unfavourable to the Russians, who have taken care to announce that a body of 1000 insurgents advancing to join Mieroslawski were entirely dispersed. There is reason however to believe that Mieroslawski has subsequently sustained a repulse of some kind. A fight is also said to have taken place at Kutro between Kolo and Warsaw, in which the insurgents had the advantage, and the insurgents have taken Opatowich, a manufacturing town

near Kalisz, and just on the Prussian Posen frontier. Whatever may be the real character of these different engagements, they show that the insurrection is extending, and that in the province in which it first merely took the form of small guerilla bands the insurgents are now gathering in small armies. Some of the French liberal newspapers, deriving their intelligence from the Polish refugees in Paris, announce that the insurrection is extending very widely in Lithuania, and that the Government is at its wits' ends to make head against it. But this statement must be taken with reserve. The reports of the brutal conduct of the Russian troops have received the fullest confirmation. They seem to have been ordered to carry out the threat of Prince Gortschakoff to Count Zamoyski, "We will make Poland a heap of ashes and of corpses."

A Dantzig newspaper publishes a letter from Warsaw, stating that the Emperor had ordered the authorities to suppress the insurrection within ten days at any cost. It is needless to point out the improbability of the Emperor having transmitted any such absurd direction. A slight disturbance is reported from Warsaw. The police attacked and dispersed some eighty persons about to join the insurgents; but "perfect tranquillity," says the telegram, "now reigns in Warsaw." A new commander of the forces has arrived at Warsaw, whose appearance is ominous of rigorous measures. General Von Berg played an active part in Warsaw in 1831; he has since been Governor of Finland, being appointed to the province at the time of the Crimean war, when the Finns were thought likely to show their sympathies with Sweden—an able man, who will show the Poles no mercy.

The Prussian Chamber of Deputies has adopted, after three days' debate, and by 246 to 57 votes, a resolution to the effect that the interests of Prussia demand that the Government should give assistance neither to the Poles nor the Russian Government. The interest of the debate attaches to the declarations of the Minister. Herr von Bismarck Schonhausen asserted that the convention contained no stipulations to which the expressions of Earl Russell were applicable; that Count Bernstorff was not acquainted with its contents; and that the previous assent of the Government of Russia or Prussia was necessary for every passage of Prussian or Russian troops across the frontier. Nothing could be more arrogant or offensive than the tone Herr von Bismarck adopted towards the House. He told the Deputies that they sympathized with the insurrection, that they were indifferent to the honour of Prussia. He taunted Herr von Unruh, the President of the Prussian Constitutional Assembly, with having been one of those who refused the payment of taxes in 1848; and when the President of the House called him to order, positively refused to recognize his authority. He was no member of the House, he said; he had no part in making its laws, and owed it no obedience; he stood there in the name of the King, and should say what he pleased. The President threatened to adjourn the House if the phrase were repeated; but the Minister tauntingly said he had no occasion to repeat it. Herr von Bismarck is not the first Minister who has refused to recognize the power of the President to call him to order. The Prussian Ministers appear, in both Houses of Parliament, to defend and explain the measures of the Government, but they have no votes. They may, if elected, be members of the House and vote, and up to the time of the Von der Heydt Ministry were usually members. In the debates upon the army reorganization last year Herr von der Heydt advanced the same pretensions as Herr von Bismarck did in the recent debate. Herr von Bismarck also said that he was defied by the Opposition to dissolve the House, but he preferred that the country should first learn of what materials it was composed. The debate was, on the whole, a very vigorous one; language of the strongest kind was applied by the speakers to the Government, who, however, found, so far as their Polish policy was concerned, a very powerful supporter in Baron von Vincke, the leader of the old Liberals, who declared that the re-establishment of Poland would be dangerous to Prussia, approved of the precautions taken by the Government, but objected to allowing the Russians to pursue the insurgents on to Prussian territory.

The statement that Herr von Bismarck had resigned, made by the Berlin correspondent of a leading contemporary, seems to have had no other foundation than that gentleman's fervid imagination. On the contrary, the Minister seems to stand firmer than ever, and the very offensiveness with which he imputed to the House sympathies with the insurrection and hostility to the throne, will confirm him in the good opinion of his master.

Most of our contemporaries persist in styling the Prussian Minister, Count von Bismarck. He has no claim to that title. Plain Herr or [M. von Bismarck is his proper designation.

Despite the vigilant guard of the Prussian authorities, small parties of Poles, anxious to take part in the struggle for independence, make their way across the frontier; some are refugees from Paris, some students from that city or Berlin, most natives of Posen. Arms and other warlike stores are also smuggled into Russian Poland across the Prussian frontier in large quantities.

Marshal O'Donnell, having failed to obtain the assent of the Queen to the dissolution of the Cortes, has resigned. Why he wanted the dissolution remains a mystery. Upon all important questions he could command a majority of at least two to one. The Marquis Duero was charged by the Queen with the task of forming a Ministry, but after coming very near success, he failed, and Narvaez, whose appearance at Court we signalized two weeks ago, as danger to O'Donnell, was then charged with the task. He failed, and the Marquis Miraflores then

libel, declaring that his character as a man and a minister had been defamed. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn summed up strongly in his favour, rather against the opinion, we believe, of all men of sense and nearly all lawyers; and a special jury, apparently overpowered by the tone of the Judge, found a verdict for the plaintiff, estimating his character as a minister and a man at £50. They appended to their verdict a virtual exculpation of the Reviewer, on which an appeal will be founded. The press generally has taken a rather unworthy tone in the matter, instigated, probably, by a very natural envy and a not unprovoked dislike of the ablest and most influential paper in England, which has affronted each of its contemporaries. The *Times*, which has been unmercifully handled by the Review, behaves in a manner worthy of its old repute, and vindicates the liberty of the press in manful fashion against judicial misconstruction and Dissenting arrogance. It has done nothing so much to its honour for many years past.

By the command of the Queen, a Levee was held on her behalf by the Prince of Wales, on Wednesday week, at St. James's Palace. About a thousand gentlemen were presented, presentations on this occasion counting as presentations to her Majesty, entitling the debutant to be received at Court, and to be presented to foreign Sovereigns by the British Ambassador. The Princess Royal (Crown Princess of Prussia), held a Drawing Room, on behalf of the Queen, on Saturday, when 250 ladies were presented. The whole of the West End was gay that afternoon with carriages and powdered footmen, and occasional glimpses of the magnificent Court dresses, which scarcely find room, even in the ample carriages which fashion imposes on those who are entitled to attend a Drawing Room. The preparations for the reception of the future Princess of Wales on Saturday go on incessantly. The churches in the Strand have been made to support the tiers of seats rising nearly to the roof, and every window along the route is either "to let," or taken for the occasion.

Parliament has been singularly inactive this week, and the Parliamentary debates have been unusually dull. The House of Lords was enlivened on Monday evening by the presence of the Prince of Wales, who came down and sat for a few minutes on the cross benches, as if to compensate for the withdrawal of Lord Campbell's motion for the correspondence of the Government with Washington and with Mr. Mason, which reduced the evening's entertainment to more than usual dreariness. The House of Commons was amused on Friday by the spectacle of an unfortunate fellow-creature "brought to the bar"—a spectacle which attracted a very full House, and crowded yet more the almost always crowded galleries. The latter have, however, been once or twice almost half empty during the present session; a striking proof of the dulness of the debates; for in general even the dreariest discussion on a Railway Bill, or an item in Committee of Supply, is sufficient for the curiosity of the public, and attracts more strangers than can find room in the long pews assigned to them, facing the Speaker's chair, and the comfortable gallery occupied by the reporters.

The Court of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University has declared itself incompetent to deal with the case of Professor Jowett, which is accordingly dismissed. The feeling in the University seems to be hostile to Dr. Pusey; and in the Church at large a great majority of clergymen regard the latter as an unsound and dangerous guide on matters of theology. It is very probable, therefore, that the prosecution will be pressed no further; and we shall abstain from expressing an opinion upon its merits unless we hear of it again in a higher court.

The Bench of Bishops, or nearly all of them, have addressed a gently-worded but substantially-strong protest to the Bishop of Natal. They point out to him the inconsistency between his doctrines and those of the Church, and the impropriety of his longer retaining possession of his See. If this remonstrance do not induce Dr. Colenso to resign, we shall be compelled to form a low opinion of his sense of truth and duty. Whatever may be the value of his criticisms on the Pentateuch, there can be no doubt as to their incompatibility with his professed belief and official duty as a Bishop of the Church of England.

The National Rifle Association held its annual general meeting yesterday, the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-chief in the chair. His Royal Highness stated that the finances of the Association were in a flourishing condition, and urged on volunteer officers the expediency of becoming subscribers. Several suggestions were made with regard to prospective improvements in the details of the annual rifle competition at Wimbledon, particularly with a view to the encouragement of the use of the Enfield rifle, the established weapon of the regular army and the volunteer corps.

Mr. Sergeant Glover, late proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, came before Mr. Justice Blackburn in Chambers, to make an application in regard to his suit now pending against sundry Ministers of the French Government for various dirty work done by the defunct paper on their behalf. He repeated the story of his own shame, the shabby behaviour of his employers, and the ruin of his paper by the suspicions which came to attach to it. A Commission had been granted to take evidence in Paris; it had not completed its work, and an order had been made to extend the time allowed it. Mr. Sergeant Glover applied to have this order rescinded. He had been over in Paris to watch the proceedings of the Commission, and had been there grossly maltreated by the Parisian police. Mr. Justice Blackburn dismissed the application.

undertook it. We cannot congratulate Spain upon the change. O'Donnell has done more than any previous Spanish Premier to maintain the honour and develop the power of Spain, and if he has done nothing to redeem its financial discredit, it must be remembered that the recognition of a debt for which no legal obligation now exists would encounter an immense opposition in the Cortes. A Narvaez Ministry is not likely to consult the true interests of Spain so well as O'Donnell and his colleagues did, nor is Miraflores likely to do better. The Queen-mother Christina is said to have some part in the overthrow of O'Donnell, and the programme of the new Ministry may include her return to Madrid.

The new Ambassador to the French Court, Senor Isturitz, for a long time the representative of Spain in this country, has presented his credentials to the Emperor, and the usual complimentary speeches have been exchanged.

Cardinal Antonelli has tendered his resignation. Its acceptance would presage a complete revolution in the Papal policy. For many years Antonelli twisted the Pope round his little finger. His strong will and his thorough knowledge of the weaknesses and prejudices of the well-meaning but feeble Pontiff have made him the virtual ruler of the State. For the last three years, however, he has had to bear a rival near his throne, in Monsignor de Merode, the Papal Secretary of War. There has been much bickering between these two Ministers. Antonelli is shrewd and cautious. Merode is impetuous and indiscreet. It is an act of Merode which has provoked Antonelli's resignation. A certain Signor Fausti, the chamberlain and factotum of Antonelli, was arrested by the orders of Merode, in the most ostentatious manner, at mid-day, in the presence of the congregation issuing from a fashionable church, upon the charge of being connected with political offenders. Antonelli seems to have considered this arrest an insult to himself, to have remonstrated, and, his remonstrance failing, to have tendered his resignation. The Pope has not yet accepted it, and is not likely to do so. He cannot do without Antonelli, and Antonelli, knowing how necessary he is, has probably only resigned in order to return to office upon conditions which will protect him against all interference from Monsignor de Merode.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has passed, by 204 to 32 votes, the Bill introduced by Signor Minghetti to authorize the loan of 700 million lire. The Italian Government may therefore be expected to make an appeal to the money market for a portion of this sum in a very short time. The opposition to the Bill was based not on the ground that the Minister asked too much, but that he took too little. The speakers against the Bill denied that 700 million lire would suffice to cover the deficit already existing and the extraordinary and ordinary deficits for the ensuing years. Great complaints are made of the apathy of the Italian public. It seems disposed to leave these important questions of reorganization and finance to the Government. Such an indifference to the very questions in which the public is so materially interested is, no doubt, a serious evil; but it is the necessary reaction from the feverish excitement in which the different Italian Governments have kept the people by the promise of Rome and Venice.

Whilst the Committee appointed by the Italian Parliament to inquire into the "brigandage" in Naples is pursuing its investigations under a strong escort of military in one part of the kingdom, the brigands are making themselves very disagreeably manifest in other parts. A band of sixty brigands surrounded and destroyed a small party of soldiers at Benevento the other day, and from most of the provinces come complaints that the brigands wax bolder. General La Marmora, with his 90,000 men, can do nothing with them—for the simple reason that the whole population sympathizes with them, aids them, and recruits their bands.

The Moldo-Wallachian Assembly has adopted, by a small majority, an address to Prince Couza, in which it condemns strongly the conduct of his Government. It complains of violations of the Constitution, the dissolution of the Assembly five times in four years, the manipulation of the electoral law; that the budgets have been raised from 60 million to 120 million francs; and that, nevertheless, the army wants necessities, the public servants are not paid regularly, the Treasury orders not paid when due, and sell at 25 per cent. discount; that the budget has not been examined and voted since 1861; that the accounts are not presented to the Chamber; that individual liberty is not respected; and that public functionaries are dismissed and transferred at the caprice of the Government.

The indictment is a pretty strong one; the Government, on its part, contends that the Assembly does not represent the nation, and urges upon it the adoption of a new electoral law.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Taking an opportunity afforded by a question from the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Russell explained the position held at Rome by Mr. Odo Russell. That gentleman had gone there first as an *attache* of our Legation at Florence, and afterwards as an *attache* of the Legation at Naples. Now, those Legations had ceased to exist; and Cardinal Antonelli had objected to receive Mr. Russell as an *attache* to the Embassy at Turin, accredited to an excommunicated sovereign. Accordingly, he was now at Rome simply as a servant of the Foreign Office.—Lord Derby inquired into truth of a rumour that Cardinal Antonelli had charged Mr. Russell with misrepresentation and misstatement, and declared that he could only receive him in a private capacity.—Lord Russell replied that he had heard nothing of the kind.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sir F. Smith (member for Chatham) called attention to a breach of privilege. He had taken occasion, in debate, on the Naval Estimates, to question the fitness of Mr. Reed, selected by the Admiralty, for the post of Chief Constructor of the Navy. He had received a letter from Mr. Reed, accusing him of making false and libellous statements. [The hon. gentleman read the letter, and repeated his actual remarks, which happened to be indisputably true, and were in no sense libellous.] If Mr. Reed had, as he understood from the Secretary to the Admiralty, written an apology, he was willing to accept it, and press the matter no further. The House, however, would not allow Sir F. Smith to let the question drop. The letter excited great displeasure; and after repeated cries of "move," Sir F. Smith moved that the offender should be called to the bar.—Lord C. Paget (Secretary to the Admiralty) asked for delay, in order that he might induce Mr. Reed to make a private apology; but he was met with cries of "No, no."—Sir G. Grey suggested that the first thing to be done was to move that the letter was a breach of privilege.—Sir F. Smith did so.—Mr. Roebuck insisted on an apology at the bar.—The motion that the letter was a breach of privilege was agreed to amid loud cheers, and Sir F. Smith moved that Mr. Reed should be called to the bar of the House on Friday, which was agreed to.

The Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill was passed.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. H. Baillie moved the following resolution: "That whereas by a Royal Proclamation addressed to the native Princes and peoples of India, published the 1st of November, 1858, it is stated 'That we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment in those of others;' and again, 'We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon. East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained;' so, in the opinion of this House, where differences of opinion have arisen with respect to the interpretation of such treaties, the questions at issue ought to be referred for decision to her Majesty's Privy Council." In justification of his motion, he entered upon a long and minute exposition of the case of the Nawab of the Carnatic, supported by documentary evidence, observing that this was not a solitary instance of violation of treaties and spoliation of territory in India.—The motion was seconded by Mr. Smollet, who cited as additional instances of alleged violation of treaty obligation by the British Government in India, the cases of Sattara, Nagpore, Oude, and Tanjore.—Sir C. Wood observed that he was not prepared, by the terms of this motion, nor was the House, he thought, called upon, to go into all the cases which had been referred to; but as to the general question, the Government did accept all the treaties and engagements made by the East India Company, and would scrupulously maintain them; and, in the interpretation of those engagements, they acted upon their own responsibility, subject to the opinion of Parliament. He reviewed the main features of the cases cited, remarking that, in his opinion, the proclamation was a very wise and politic measure, and that he did not think he was called upon to undo what had been done by the Government of the day years and years ago. He thought the House would not take so strange a view of the subject as to refer these questions to the Privy Council. After a few words from Colonel Sykes, in defence of the East India Company, the motion was negatived, upon a division, by 104 to 24.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, resumed the consideration of the Navy Estimates. On the vote of £165,322 for the Admiralty-office, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Bentinck, and Sir M. Peto strongly condemned the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, the former suggesting a different constitution and a different distribution of the business of the office. The vote was ultimately agreed to with several others.—On the vote for £1,334,051 for naval stores for the building, repair, and machinery of ships, in the department of the Store-keeper-General of the Navy, Lord C. Paget explained that it was intended to use the large stock of seasoned timber in store in constructing frames of vessels of wood to be covered with iron. This explanation gave rise to a warm debate, it being argued on one hand, that iron-covered vessels might thereby be built quicker and cheaper, and that the timber was already paid for; on the other, that it was no reason for using an inferior material for the frames of vessels because there happened to be a large excess of timber in store, and that if we were to have an iron fleet it should be an effective one, that would not be a burden on the country for repairs.—Mr. Lindsay moved to reduce the vote by £134,000, the computed cost of the iron plates of the vessels proposed so to be built.—Other members urged that, as there was some obscurity in the matter, the vote should be postponed. Lord Palmerston having proposed that the Government should lay before the House a statement of the comparative time and cost of constructing vessels with iron frames and with wooden frames, no steps being taken meanwhile with the five ships now in the course of construction, the amendment was withdrawn, and the vote agreed to.

The Post-office Savings Banks Bill was read a second time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer insisting, somewhat discourteously, on pressing it in the absence of Mr. Disraeli, who was desirous to speak upon it. The Bill to make a holiday on the 7th of March, by postponing bills of exchange falling due that day, was read a second time.

Mr. Monsell moved for leave to bring in a Bill to provide for the registration of marriages in Ireland, which was founded, he said, *mutatis mutandis*, upon the Scotch Act, employing the same machinery as that contained in the Bill for registering births and deaths. After some remarks by Sir R. Peel (who did not oppose the motion), and other members, leave was given to introduce the Bill. Leave was given to bring in other Bills, and the House adjourned at 40 minutes past 12 o'clock.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Ellenborough remarked that a Prussian Minister had contradicted Lord Russell with regard to the recent convention with Russia on the affairs of Poland. He should not ask for any explanation. He hoped that if any serious complications arose between England and Russia her Majesty's Government would not hesitate to come to Parliament for support.—Lord Russell said that the contradiction had no reference to the essential part of his statement. In answer to Lord Shaftesbury, the noble earl stated that some Polish students had been sent across the frontier by the Prussian authorities, but he did not know whether they had been surrendered to the Russians.

The Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill was read a second time without observation.

Lord Stanhope (formerly a member of the Government of Sir Robert Peel, and the author of a very able history of

England in the reigns of the three first Georges) asked some questions regarding transportation to Western Australia. He pointed out the great difficulties which lay in the path of convicts desirous to earn an honest livelihood in this country, especially of women, and urged the necessity of selection in order to prevent the colony of Western Australia from refusing to receive any more transported criminals. He complained that, though convicts for that colony had at first been carefully selected, the Government had now sent thither the whole convict establishment of Bermuda.—The Duke of Newcastle (Secretary of State for the Colonies) said that he had sent out murderers and other ruffians to Western Australia in considerable numbers, and that, after this, the sending thither a single shipload of similar offenders from Bermuda was not of much consequence.

A debate followed on the affairs of the University of Durham. It had been enacted, some time ago, that a Royal Commission should report a scheme for the future government of that University; that its report should be submitted to Parliament; and that if neither House interposed by an address to the Crown within forty days, the Crown might proceed to carry out the report of the Commissioners. This report was laid on the table, but apparently not printed (nor was the attention of the House called to it), sixteen days before the close of last session. This was the twenty-fourth day of the present session, and the Government insisted that it was the last on which an address could be moved to prevent the scheme of the Commissioners from becoming law. The Bishop of Exeter had given notice of an address, but as the only member of the Commission who had a seat in the House of Lords was not present, he felt obliged to postpone it. This looks like very sharp practice on the part of the Government.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Layard promised that the Italo-French Treaty of Commerce should be laid on the table as soon as it was ratified.

Sir George Grey explained the arrangements made for the reception of the Princess Alexandra of Denmark on the 7th inst. She is to be escorted through Southwark by the High Bailiff of the borough; through the City by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and through Westminster by the Duke of Buccleuch, High Steward of that city. The Corporation of the City of London are, after passing Temple Bar, to fall into the rear of the procession.

Mr. Reed was called before the House to account for his letter referred to in the debate of Thursday. The ceremony was a curious one. The Sergeant-at-Arms (Lord C. J. F. Russell) rose from his chair, walked to the middle of the space in front of the door, and bowed to the House. He was asked by the Speaker if Mr. Reed were in attendance; and on answering that he was, was directed to introduce him. From each of the two desks that close the lower end of the front bench below the gangway on either side a brass rod was drawn out, making a bar across the house. To this Mr. Reed advanced, in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, bowing three times to the Speaker.—The Speaker: Mr. Reed, did you write a letter to Sir F. Smith, a member of this House?—Mr. Reed: I did, Sir.—The Speaker: Is that the letter?—Mr. Reed (after examining the letter, which was handed to him for that purpose by the Clerk of the House): It is, Sir.—The Speaker: I have to acquaint you that that letter has been adjudged to be a breach of the privileges of this House. Have you anything to say in respect of that letter?—Mr. Reed: Sir, I was not aware that I was committing a breach of the privileges of this House when I wrote that letter, or I certainly should never have written it. Finding now that I have committed an offence, I beg to tender to the House the most ample apology that I can offer, and I beg the pardon of the House for having offended against its rules. To the hon. and gallant member for Chatham I beg to tender a double apology—in the first place, for having written any letter at all to him concerning remarks made by him in this House; and, secondly, for having employed in the letter I did write phrases, I confess, of great impropriety. (Hear, hear.) I am quite confident now that I wrote that letter under great irritation, that the hon. and gallant gentleman was entirely misunderstood by me on Monday evening, and that he did not intend to do me any injustice. I hope, Sir, that this apology will be deemed satisfactory by the hon. and gallant gentleman, and the more so as I have a very deep sense of the estimation in which the hon. and gallant gentleman is held by the public, by this House, and by his honourable profession. (Hear, hear.)—The Speaker: You may withdraw. Mr. Reed, accompanied by the Sergeant, having retired with the usual obeisances, Sir F. Smith moved that Mr. Reed, having made an ample apology, be discharged from further attendance; which was agreed to.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Hennessy rose to move an address to the Crown on the subject of Poland, enumerating the wrongs of that country, pointing out the fact that those wrongs constitute a breach of the Treaty of Vienna, and calling on her Majesty to assert the rights conferred by that treaty. He spoke with great effect, though with a somewhat hesitating manner and bad delivery, and was complimented by all subsequent speakers on his success. He gave a history of the recent treatment of the Poles; of the arrest of the twelve Marshals of the nobility of Podolia for presenting a respectful address to the Czar; and of the banishment of Count Zamoyiski for a similar offence. He detailed the history of the infamous measure of conscription which had driven the Poles into insurrection; and showed conclusively that the conduct of Russia was a gross breach of her treaty engagements, and had been so from the first, and argued that those treaty engagements, to which England is a party, bound her to interpose.—Mr. Newdegate abused the Poles for their bigoted Catholicism, and thought Lord Palmerston might be trusted to do at least all that he ought to do for them.—Every subsequent speaker expressed the strongest sympathy with the Poles, and the deepest abhorrence of the recent measures of Russia, while the present course of the Prussian Government was treated with merciless and most contemptuous censure. Great difference of opinion prevailed as to whether the language of the proposed address would or would not compel the Crown to enforce its demands by war.—After Mr. Buxton, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Mr. Walter (chief proprietor of the *Times*), Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Mr. Stansfeld, and many other gentlemen on either side, had spoken, Mr. Walpole advised the withdrawal of the resolution, as it had served its purpose by eliciting from the House an unanimous expression of sympathy for Poland, and condemnation of the conduct of Russia and Prussia.—Lord Palmerston said he did not stand there to unsay anything he had formerly said. In the matter of Poland he repeated that the Treaty of Vienna had been systematically violated. It was impossible not to feel the deepest sympathy for the Polish nation. He believed that the present Emperor of Russia did mean and meant to improve the condition of his Polish subjects; but no doubt the late act of conscription was entirely discordant with such a disposition, and accounted for the outbreak.

It was a most barbarous act, a cruel political piece of tyranny under the pretence of a military measure. He could not but conceive that to a Sovereign gifted with the feelings of the Emperor of Russia military success would be a great and signal calamity. If the insurrection was put down, he would have a country in which the plains would be bathed in blood, and the towns be smoking ruins. A Sovereign with his enlightened views would be disposed to grant an amnesty and give the Poles the institutions promised to them. He hoped Mr. Hennessy would be satisfied with the unanimous expression of opinion in the House and would not press his motion, the objections to which were really very great. It assumed that by the Treaty of Vienna we were under an obligation to interfere. We had a right to interfere, but were not under an obligation to do so. In the interests of a cause which the House and the country had at heart the course best adapted to accomplish the purpose in view was to leave it, as proposed by Mr. Walpole, to the responsibility of the Government to advise the Crown in the matter.—Mr. Disraeli said that the object of England in the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, had been to obtain the reconstitution of the independent Kingdom of Poland. In that we had failed, owing to the weakness of France and Austria, and the vast strength of Russia. Now circumstances were changed, and our former policy might be resumed with more hope of success. He was surprised that the Government had given no intimation of their policy, but recommended the withdrawal of the resolution. This advice was ultimately adopted.

The Tobacco Duties Bill was again debated. By persistent motions, its opponents compelled the adjournment of the debate. The House rose at 1 a.m.

MONDAY, MARCH 2.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Cambell's motion in reference to America, was postponed in consequence of his lordship's indisposition. It will be brought forward at an early date.

The Prince and Princess of Wales' Annuities Bill passed through Committee.

The Drainage of Land (Ireland) Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee.

The Duke of Somerset, in moving for the second reading of the Naval Coast Volunteers Act Amendment Bill, briefly explained the object of the Bill, which was to abolish the restriction as to service of 300 miles from the coast in respect to future volunteers.—Lord Hardwicke considered that the enormous number of 76,000 seamen and marines was uncalled for in time of peace.—The Duke of Somerset said it was inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to reduce the naval forces of the country.

MONDAY, MARCH 2.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Caird, Mr. Layard said that the attention of the Government had been called to more than one vessel which was supposed to be fitted out for the service of the Confederate States as the Alabama was fitted out. (Hear.) Up to this moment, however, no evidence had been furnished which would enable the Government to act according to law. (Hear.) He could assure his hon. friend that orders had been given that any vessels suspected of being fitted out in that manner were to be closely watched. (Hear.)

The House went into Committee on the Bill to continue the Act of last session for the relief of the Unions in the cotton districts.—Mr. Villiers inserted a clause limiting the duration of the Act to Midsummer next, and another including in the expenditure of a Union on the poor (the rate of which determines its right to take the benefit of this Act) its contributions under the Act in aid of other Unions. A clause apportioning the contributions in aid of a Union situate in two or more counties was also agreed to.—Mr. Hibbert, (M.P. for Oldham,) moved the insertion of a clause giving the Public Works' Loan Commissioners power to advance money to Boards of Guardians; pointing out the difficulties now experienced in borrowing of private capitalists on security of parish rates.—The Chairman of Committees ruled that the motion was out of order. To give power to public servants to employ public funds in any new way, an Act of Parliament was required, which must originate with a Minister of the Crown.—Some further discussion took place, and the Bill passed through Committee, and the Speaker resumed the chair.

The debate on the second reading of the Tobacco Duties Bill was resumed by Colonel Dunne. He pointed out that the Irish snuffmaker paid for his stalks 1s. per lb., and the foreign snuffmaker nothing; and therefore it was not fair to allow foreign snuff to come in at a duty soarsely higher than that on unmanufactured tobacco.—Sir Stafford Northcote (the ablest financier, except Mr. Baring, on the Conservative side) recommended that, as the subject was a very complicated one, involving the discussion of a mass of disputed facts, it ought to be referred to a Select Committee. He thought that unless the manufacture of cigars in bond were allowed, an undue advantage would be given to the foreign manufacturer.—Mr. Crawford supported the Government.—Sir E. Grogan urged that a Select Committee alone could properly sift the evidence as to the effects of the measure.—Mr. Childers said that the very limited use of cigars, as compared with tobacco, in this country, was a strong proof of the wisdom of the proposed change.—Mr. Horsfall (Liverpool) said that all the communications he had received urged the necessity of inquiry by a Select Committee.—Mr. Cardwell said there did not seem to be much doubt of the expediency of a change in the law. The present question was simply one between free-trade and protection, and he saw no reason why tobacco should be an exception to our general financial policy.—Sir Hugh Cairns insisted on the importance to manufacturers, if foreign tobacco were to be admitted at a reduced rate of permission, to manufacture in bond.—Mr. Newdegate remarked that, as the growth of tobacco in this country was prohibited, it was absurd to bring "free trade" into the discussion.—Mr. Gladstone said that it was his object to make whatever arrangements were necessary to hold the balance fairly between foreign and home manufacturers. The Bill was then read a second time.

The Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill underwent a long discussion in Committee. The House rose at 1 a.m.

TUESDAY, MARCH 3.—HOUSE OF LORDS

The Lords sat for a short time, but nothing worth recording was said or done.

TUESDAY, MARCH 3.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A Bill for the extension of the Great Northern Railway as far as Regent Circus came before the House for the second reading. The usual practice is to read all such Bills a second time without debate, and to refer them to a Select Committee. On the present occasion, however, a strong opposition was offered to the second reading, principally by members connected with the metropolis,

and by two who belong to the Metropolitan Board of Works. It was shown that the proposed extension would interfere with more than one main thoroughfare and intercept several important sewers, and that no more extensions ought to be allowed in London until some proper authority had inquired into and reported upon such schemes in general. On the other side it was contended that there was no occasion to depart from the usual practice of the House. The Speaker put the question, "Those who are of this opinion say 'Aye': those who are of the contrary say 'No'—The Noes have it." His decision was questioned by a single voice; he put the question again, and again said, "I think the Noes have it." A second time his opinion was disputed, but when he finally said, "I think the Noes have it" it was not resisted, and the Bill was thrown out without a division.—At this stage the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms announced a message from the Lords; and Mr. Justice Williams and Mr. Justice Blackburn, advancing to the table, announced that the Lords had agreed to the Prince and Princess of Wales' Annuities Bill, without amendment. This intimation was received with cheers. In approaching the table the learned Justices seemed somewhat disinclined to perform the usual obeisances to the House, and when in deference to the cries of "Bow, bow," they condescended to make the customary reverences, they did so in the most discordant manner—one up and the other down. There were some titters during this part of this proceeding, but the House could no longer preserve its gravity when, as their lordships were retiring backwards, first one and afterwards the other, looked askance, and then both almost faced about in their anxiety not to compromise the dignity of their office by a collision or a tumble.

Mr. Torrens called attention to the reports of the Commissioners of Woods of the sale of rights of the Crown, in Waltham, Epping, and other forests in Essex, and to the fact that in consequence of those sales numerous enclosures have been made in the forests by the purchasers of Crown rights: and moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the legality of those and other recent enclosures; also to ascertain what steps ought to be taken to preserve the rights of the public, of the poorer foresters, and the inhabitants of the metropolis, within the forests.—The motion was seconded by Mr. Cox, who argued that the public had been ousted of their rights by these enclosures.—Mr. Watlington contended that this was a question to be determined by a court of law, not to be examined by a committee of that House. The right of the soil was not in the Crown, but in the lord of the manor.—The Attorney-General said the motion, according to the terms of it, would erect a committee of that House into a Court of Judicature to try the rights of individuals as opposed to rights of the Crown, which would be a dangerous precedent. The proper forum was a court of law, which could enforce its judgment. He, however, thought the subject deserved inquiry, and proposed the appointment of a committee with more limited instructions.—Mr. Torrens accepted the proposal, and withdrew his motion. The motion of the Attorney-General was then agreed to.

Mr. G. Hardy moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Acts relating to the turnpike roads in the neighbourhood of the metropolis north of the river Thames. After a few words by Sir G. Grey and Lord Enfield, the motion was agreed to.

On the second reading of the Bill to take votes at municipal elections by ballot, Lord Palmerston said that as it was avowed by the supporters of the Bill that this was a step to the introduction of the ballot into Parliamentary elections, and as every objection to the employment of the ballot in those elections applied to those for municipal bodies, considering that responsibility ought to go hand in hand with political action, he should vote for the amendment.—Moved by Mr. Hardy that the Bill be read a second time this day six months. The amendment was carried by 93 to 58.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Hadfield moved the third reading of a Bill to abolish the oath required of Dissenters elected to certain municipal offices, that they will not use their power to injure the Church of England. The Bill was supported by Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. W. E. Forster, and opposed by Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Walpole. The third reading was carried—Ayes, 175; Noes, 172. Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned at 10 minutes before 6.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, March 4.

Our last report closed on a depressed market, with Fair Dhollerah at 16½d. The past week has presented no new feature of interest, but like many of its predecessors has witnessed a succession of dull and heavy markets, with a small enquiry from the trade and exporters, who from the largeness of the supply offering, have almost daily got in at lower prices.

On Thursday and Friday the sales were 4000 and 3000 bales, with little quotable change.

On Saturday, owing to the desire on the part of some holders to effect sales, considerably lower prices were taken, and Fair Egyptian was sold at 19d., whilst Fair Dhollerah touched 16d., the business reaching 5000 bales.

On Monday the market was again very slow with sales of 3000 bales.

On Tuesday Calcutta telegrams were to hand, reporting an advance in goods of 1s. per piece, and in some classes of yarns 3d. per lb., this news, however, produced no effect in Manchester, which closed very dull and depressed, and though imparting here for a moment a little more tone, the improvement has passed away.

To day there has been a general enquiry from the trade, which has, however, been very freely met by holders, and though the sales reach 5000 bales, the market closes flat and irregular at 16d. for Fair Dhollerah, and 21d. for Middling Orleans.

The main cause of depression here exists in our present large stock resulting from an inadequate demand from our own spinners and exporters. Since the 1st of January these have only taken out of this port about 20,000 bales per week, and our stock in consequence has actually increased during this—the stock season of import. A very serious decline has accordingly been established, ranging from 3d. to 6d. per lb.: in long-staples, and 3d. per lb. in the medium qualities of Surats, and prices are now in the former fully as low, and in the latter within 1d. of the extreme point of depression in November last. A considerable export demand for India and other countries seems the only hope for an increased consumption and a healthier state of things here, and till this comes we are likely to droop here; but when this is brought about, and a further decline would facilitate the movement, a healthy tone will once more pervade our market, and a solid basis be laid for a higher range of prices in the future.

The present aspect of American affairs has, moreover, an influence in restricting operations and curtailing shipments to distant countries. By the "Europa" no important fighting

has occurred; at all points the Federals appeared to be checked and unable to press forward. The time of service of a large portion of their army is almost up, and the Conscription Bill, which has passed the Senate, is thought by some to be impracticable and likely to be resisted on its attempted enforcement. The dissatisfaction in the Western States is also thought by many to be reaching such a pitch that a break up in the North is probable. By many, however, it is thought that the great majority of the Northern people are determined to carry on the unhappy war at all hazards, and that if they still possess the will, the means will be obtained for its prosecution.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, March 3.

Our yarn and cloth market continues in a most unsatisfactory state, very few sales taking place, and where they have been effected, rather lower prices have been submitted to by sellers.

The Liverpool cotton market being in such a depressed state, with prices giving way from day to day, is causing many spinners and manufacturers, who reopened their establishments a short time back, to close them again, as the material in process becomes worked up.

The German buyers still continue loth to place their orders for yarns, as they are of a discretionary kind, until they see something like steadiness in the market.

Home trade yarns are in limited demand, and in Nos. 32's and 40's twist and pincops, there has been a reduction in price to the extent of ½d. to 1d. per lb. on the quotations of the week before. In Bolton spinnings the reduction has been much greater, in consequence of the heavy stocks in spinners' hands, and the heavy fall in the value of Egyptian cotton, from which this kind of yarn is spun.

Cloths of all kinds are much neglected, but there is not much weakness shown by holders.

On Saturday and Monday there were some considerable purchases made of Nos. 40s., 50s., and 60s., mule yarns in breadth, for shipment to India, caused by later telegrams from Calcutta, dated the 12th of February, reporting sales having been made there, in these qualities, at prices showing a profit of about 4d. per pound, on their value here.

To-day, our market is in a very dull state, partly in sympathy with Liverpool, and partly through the arrival of the "Europa," now two days overdue.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

(Continued from our issue of Feb. 9.)

Richmond, January 14.—Message of President Davis read.

January 15.—In the Senate the death of Hon. William Ballard Preston was announced. Senators Hunter, Henry, Clay, Semmes, and Wigfall delivered fitting eulogies, and resolutions of lament and condolence were adopted. The Senate then adjourned.

Similar proceedings took place in the House.

January 16.—No proceedings of importance.

January 17.—The House of Representatives refused to adopt a resolution either to buy or rent the Exchange Hotel for the use of Congress. Mr. Foote introduced a bill to provide for the enrolment of foreigners in the army. Referred Also, resolutions to set on foot an investigation into the Government ice contracts and the abuses in the Commissary and Quartermaster's Departments. Adopted. Mr. Perkins introduced a resolution calling upon the States to provide for the speedy trial of such Federal officers as may be turned over to them. Referred. Mr. Jones, a delegate from the Choctaw country, qualified and took his seat.

Mr. Hill gave notice that he would on Monday call up the bill to organize the Supreme Court.

January 19.—In the Senate Mr. Hill presented the credentials of Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia. Mr. Johnson appeared and took the usual oath.

Mr. Hill introduced a bill to organize a Supreme Court.

Mr. Semmes, of Kentucky, submitted resolutions denouncing the impressment of private property by the military authorities. It was laid upon the table for the present. The Senate then went into secret session.

In the House of Representatives, the Speaker laid before the House a message from the President, transmitting a communication from the Secretary of War, enclosing Colonel Imboden's report of outrages perpetrated upon the people of Western Virginia by the Federal General, B. H. Milroy. The report states that persons had placed in the hands of General Imboden papers which had been served on them, assessing them to certain amounts for damages done by the guerrillas to the Union men. As a penalty for not paying the amounts assessed immediately, their houses were to be burnt and the men shot. The report was ordered to lie on the table. The Speaker also communicated to the House a telegraphic despatch from Governor Bonham, of South Carolina, resigning his seat in Congress.

Mr. Dargan, of Alabama, introduced a bill prohibiting quartermasters and others from speculating with public money, in necessities, upon the Government and people. Referred. Also a bill to relieve collectors and all receiving Government agents from default in consequence of receiving Yankee counterfeits of Confederate notes.

A letter was read from J. P. Johnson, contesting the seat as a member from the 3rd district of Arkansas, waiving further contest.

Mr. Clopton, of Alabama, introduced a joint resolution approving that portion of the President's Message which relates to retaliation on Yankee officers. Mr. Foote opposed retaliation until all of her measures were exhausted, and advocated the sending of a commission to the Government of the United States, setting forth the terms on which the South would be willing to negotiate for peace. He intended to offer resolutions to that effect, and throw on the Lincoln Government the responsibility of further carnage.

The House went into secret session on business connected with finance.

January 20.—In the Senate, Mr. Yancey introduced a bill providing that the Secretary of the Navy, when approving and announcing a decision of Naval Court Martial, shall do so without injurious reflections upon the Court, and in terms of respect for that body. After a long debate the bill was referred to the Committee on Naval affairs.

In the House, Mr. Miles, from the Military Committee, reported a bill requiring the enrolment of all persons between 18 and 45, and repealing the present exemption laws, and leaving exemptions and details to the Secretary of War, with the approval of the President, and suspending the enrolment of such persons until the President shall call them into military service. It was made the order of the day for the 21st.

The House then went into secret session on that portion of

the President's Message relating to the delivery of captured officers to the State authorities for punishment.

January 21.—In the Senate nothing of importance took place in open session. The House debated the Exemption Bill most of the day, and many amendments were offered. Pending the motion to recommit the bill, the House went into secret session to receive a message from the President.

January 23.—In the Senate Mr. Hunter introduced a bill to regulate the currency, the provisions of which correspond with the recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury. Several other propositions and bills, of no special importance, were introduced.

In the House, Mr. Foote offered a resolution of thanks to Wheeler's cavalry. Laid over. The House unanimously passed Mr. Hilton's bill repealing certain clauses in the Exemption Act, exempting the agent, owner, or overseer on plantations, and one person in addition to the police for every twenty negroes on two or more plantations, within five miles of each other. Mr. Crockett offered joint resolutions, declaring that no peace proposition is to be entertained, except upon the basis of the entire independence of the Confederacy of thirteen States and the preservation of the territorial integrity of each. Pending the consideration of these resolutions, the House took up the Exemption Bill reported by the Military Committee, but no final action was taken.—Mr. Perkins offered resolutions looking to the liberation of persons taken prisoners in civil life.

Both Houses adjourned until Monday.

ITEMS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

Charleston papers of the 23rd of January announce the arrival on the day previous of the British screw steamer Calypso, Captain Hudson, from Bristol, whence she sailed on the 10th of December with a most valuable cargo; also of the schooner Swift.

After many fruitless ballots the Legislature of Virginia has at last, effected an election of Senator. On the 17th of January the Hon. Allan T. Caperton was elected by the following joint vote: Caperton, 78; Russell, 23; Tucker, 38; Marshall, 8; Mr. Reeves, who on the day before had received 41 votes, and General Floyd, who had reached 38, appear to have been withdrawn. Judge Allan Caperton is of Mercer county, Virginia. In the party divisions previous to the war he was an "Old Line Whig."

The United States' steamer which went ashore at Masonboro' Inlet, Wilmington Harbour, on the 16th of January, was the Columbia, Commander Southney, 12 officers, and 128 men. She surrendered to the Confederate forces under Colonel Lamb, who succeeded in keeping off four blockading vessels that attempted to come to the aid of the Columbia. The Columbia is an iron steamer, built in England to run the blockade, was captured by the Tuscarora on her first trip to Charleston, and immediately converted by the Federal Government into a war vessel.

A proposition has been introduced in the Virginia House of Delegates that no planter shall raise over 5000 hills of tobacco to the hand. It excites considerable discussion, and some regard it as playing into the hands of speculators.

The Legislature of Mississippi has passed a bill providing that not over three acres of cotton shall be planted to a hand, under a penalty of \$500 per acre, half to go to the informer.

The Louisiana Legislature adjourned on the 3rd of January. Among other business, a resolution was passed changing the seat of Government from Opelousas to Shreveport, on Red River. The militia bill, which was passed, takes in all men (foreign included) between 17 and 50, and makes very few exceptions. The Governor is to call out the whole militia immediately.

Sir Bulwer Lytton's last novel, "A Strange Story," has just been republished, in what the Southern papers call a very creditable style, by Messrs. Goetzel and Co., of Mobile.

At Richmond, on the 23rd of January, the selling rates of gold were \$2 10c. to \$2 30c. Sales of sterling Exchange had taken place at \$2 20c.

Coast salt was sold at auction in Columbus on the 8th of January at 28 cents to 30 cents per lb., by the sack—a decline of nearly 100 per cent. in three weeks.

At the annual orphans' fair in Mobile, on the 1st of January last, the astonishing sum of \$17,223 was raised for the benefit of the orphan asylum of that city.

Messrs. Rodenberg, Orr, and Co., tanners, at Gadsden, Alabama, are selling, and have sold, up to this time, to all soldiers' families of their district, shoe leather complete at \$1 per pair.

The *Charleston Mercury*, a bitter enemy of President Davis, speaks of his last annual Message to Congress as decidedly the ablest and most satisfactory that has yet been issued by him. The Message, it says, is written in admirable style, and "the exposition of the course of foreign nations, in their professed neutrality and one-sided observance of the law of nations, is eminently correct and well put. The expression of determination to hand over to the State authorities all officers henceforth taken, to be tried under the laws against insurrection, will, we feel sure, meet with hearty approval."

Ice is selling in Richmond at 8 cents a lb., or \$4 a bushel.

A refugee lately from New Orleans states that the Federal land force now in Louisiana is estimated at 26,000—18,000 at Baton Rouge, and 8000 at New Orleans. It was also reported that Farragut said he would not attack our batteries at Port Hudson, until he was furnished with ironclad vessels—that it was folly to fight them with the vessels he now has.

The forces of Port Hudson are commanded by Major-General Francis Gardner—a meritorious officer of the old United States' army. He married a daughter of Governor Morton, of Louisiana, and since his marriage has been a resident of that State.

Ex-Governor William D. Mosely, of Florida, died at Palatka, on the 2nd of January.

Colonel Preston D. Cunningham of the 28th Tennessee Regiment, was killed in the Battle of Murfreesboro.

Major-General D. R. Jones, of the Confederate army, died at Richmond on 17th of January.

Alexander Galt, the gifted young sculptor, died in Richmond, on Tuesday, the 20th of January, of small pox.

The widow and children of the late ex-President John Tyler, who went North, were returned on the last flag of truce boat, and landed in Charles City county. They are now at their home.

Bradley T. Johnson, of Maryland, has been elected colonel of the 1st Maryland Regiment, just re-organized at Richmond. Colonel J. was colonel of the 1st Maryland, which was mustered out of service some time ago.

The Hon. John Bell, who has been driven from his home and his estates in Tennessee, is now living with his family in a modest little village near Rome, Ga. Mr. Bell is quite advanced in years, and yet looks ruddy and hale. He has two sons in the army.

The *Macon Telegraph* says that the "Empire State Iron Works" have started with an unexampled rush. Five thousand shares of stock were offered in Macon last Monday morning, and all taken in a few minutes by twenty-six substantial men. The company has already secured a sixty-horse power steam-engine to drive their works, and is in the hands of thorough business men. Several companies are now preparing to prosecute the same business in Willis' Valley, and that region will soon be black with the smoke of furnaces.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, March 3.

The excitement occasioned in Paris by the Prussian Convention has subsided, the fear (or hope) of a war being removed. The unanimous reprobation excited by that measure, has however, had one beneficial result. Prussia has been shamed into backing out of the Convention, and the conduct of the Cabinet at Berlin has been censured by the Prussian Chambers quite as strongly as by public opinion, throughout Europe.

M. de Montalembert has issued a pamphlet on the subject which has produced considerable impression. He calls on the French Government in the most glowing and impassioned language, to go to war on behalf of Poland. He appears to attach but little importance to the efforts of diplomacy, and does not seem to think that the joint action of England, France, and Austria, would produce any beneficial result for the future of Poland. It is remarkable that so far M. de Montalembert entirely coincides with the revolutionary ultras, who claim the restoration of Poland as an independent kingdom, and treat any concession short of that on the part of Russia, as nugatory. Those who do not belong to extreme parties, confine themselves to regretting that the insurrection should not have taken place at the time of the Crimean war, or should not have been deferred until a more convenient season, but they found great hopes on the liberal disposition which Czar Alexander is in some quarters given credit for, and still more on the "moral effect" of a joint representation on the part of the Western Powers and Austria.

The Czar has no small difficulties to contend with, supposing him to be disposed to a merciful and humane policy towards the Poles—difficulties very much akin to those which brought about the failure of the conciliatory mission of Archduke Max in Lombardy in 1858. If I am rightly informed, the Czar will lose no time in proclaiming a general amnesty, and in promising reforms, but without knowing anything precise as to their nature and extent. I believe I am not far wrong in stating that they will not be of that broad and thoroughly liberal character which Western Europe recommends, though the cruelty and tyranny which have ruled of Russia, in Poland, during the last two years, will not probably be resorted to for some time to come. We are promised a debate on the subject in the Senate for Sunday next, and M. Billault will probably be instructed to state what the public are to consider as the official views on the subject. Prince Napoleon is also expected to deliver a speech which many people will consider as more important, as the disclosures of the minister *sans portefeuille*.

All the attention that the public could spare from the contemplation of the unequal struggle in Poland, has been engrossed by the state of affairs in America. It is stated that M. Drouyn de Lhuys, has addressed to the representative of the United States here a very stiff note on the inconceivable report of Mr. Seward to the Federal Congress, relative to M. Mercier's trip to Richmond, and it is believed that the last mail from Liverpool has taken out instructions to M. Mercier to return to Europe *en congé* unless an immediate and suitable apology is not offered by the "United States" Government.

The despatch of Mr. Seward in answer to the proposal of M. Drouyn de Lhuys has taken no one by surprise. The Federal Secretary of State has accustomed the public on this side of the Atlantic at least, not to expect in any despatches from his pen anything

like a fair, honest, or candid exposition of any subject on which he volunteers to enlighten the world. So much perverseness, ignorance, and so much offensive misrepresentation is characteristic of a falling cause.

As an illustration of the drooping hopes of the Northerners, I may mention that the Northern colony here, who but a very few months ago were confidently relying on "whipping" all their opponents before the year was over, now consider it a great feather in their cap that "Lincoln is not turned out yet." It is satisfactory to find that they can be thankful for small mercies, and it is to be hoped they will bear with becoming resignation the announcement which is daily expected to appear in the *Moniteur*.

The *Revue Contemporaine* contains in its new number, a paper on the raising of Charleston and Galveston blockades, from the pen of M. Hautefeuille. He lays down as utterly illegal the seizure so frequently practised, of ships twelve miles off shore, four miles being the utmost limit to which the right of blockade can be extended. He states, in short, that the Federal Government might as well maintain the legality of seizing ships at the mouth of the Seine or the Mersey, as hold up as lawful the blockade of the Southern ports, such as it has existed since the commencement of the war.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

The *Jackson Mississippian* gives, from an officer of high position, an interesting account of the second siege of Vicksburg. The following is extracted from it:—

Our commander acted vigorously on the information he brought, and expecting the landing of the combined forces of the enemy on the Yazoo, every effort possible to be made with our resources was resorted to. As was foretold, in a few days the Yankee fleet of some thirty-four gunboats and rams, and about eighty transports, appeared near the mouth of the Yazoo, in sight of the "City of the Hills." The following day at 1 o'clock, the gunboats of the enemy had cautiously felt their way to the raft at Snyder's Bluff, about ten miles from the mouth of the Yazoo. There they found a battery, which opened fire, admonishing them that their future progress would be contested with vigour. The enemy threw a few shells and retired. In the meantime the transports had landed about 8000 troops on the Louisiana shore, who proceeded down to the railroad, opposite the city and destroyed the bridges and otherwise rendered the road unavailable, cutting off our communication in that channel with the salt mines of Lake Bienville, which were at that time supplying about 5000 bushels of salt daily to the Confederacy.

Failing to reach any considerable force in their operations, they landed a large body of troops, estimated at 50,000, on the Yazoo, at the plantations of Mrs. Lake, Captain Johnson, and Colonel Blake. These forces proceeded through the forest to the hills which extend along the southern border of the swamp from the point at Snyder's to a distance of two or three miles below Vicksburg, varying in distance from the Yazoo River from two to five miles, as the meandering of the stream may direct its course. The bluffs are generally quite regular, running from north-east to south-west, affording a beautiful view of the bottom, which is interspersed with lakes, and the smoke ascending through the tree tops from the Yankee camp fires.

Four days in succession the enemy, having advanced to the outskirts of the woods, kept up a continued fire on our lines under the bluffs, embracing most of the distance from Snyder's to the Indian Mound, only four and a half miles above Vicksburg, and at last it was evident they had thrown a large force near the centre, with a view of breaking it and coming in the rear of Vicksburg.

When General Lee discovered their supposed intention, he ordered the light artillery to be in readiness, and withdrew the infantry from the advance line of rifle pits to others at the foot of the bluffs. This had the desired effect of drawing out the enemy from the cover of the woods. Most admirably did the Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Kentucky troops (300 strong) advance upon our small force. Our brave troops were admonished to hold their fire until the enemy was in short musket range, but their ardour was such, remembering the insults and sufferings endured in their prisons, that patience seemed no longer a virtue, and when within 175 yards the 3rd and 30th Tennessee directed a deadly fire on the foe. The artillery then shared in the engagement on both sides. The enemy advanced gallantly to within fifty yards of our rifle pits, when the well-directed fire of our artillery became so rapid, in connection with our infantry, that the lines were broken and the enemy began a precipitate retreat for the woods. The pits could contain our infantry no longer, and they rushed upon the enemy, killing and capturing as they advanced, until they were lost in the woods, where the fight ended, our men bringing out prisoners even there. Thus closed the fight at Chickasaw Bayou, at Smith's Bluff, on Monday last, the enemy being completely routed, many prisoners captured, and some 1200 killed, wounded, and missing.

An informal flag of truce was sent by the enemy, and our sharpshooters fired upon the troops, who were ostensibly upon the field to take off the dead and wounded, but who undertook first to obey an order to secure their artillery and small arms previous to caring for their own sufferers. It was while they were thus engaged in pillaging the field of our rightful inheritance, the spoils of war, that we fired on the vanquished foe. Our humane force then advanced to take care of their wounded, and they were in turn fired upon by their sharpshooters, when they withdrew with the few wounded they had collected. The wounded Yankees brought off by us express the belief that we were justified in firing on them, as they had no right to interfere with anything on the field.

The prisoners captured are good specimens of Western troops, and will compare favourably with our own in soldierly qualities. The greater portion are youthful in appearance, and it is to be regretted that those misguided Western men should be sacrificed on the altar of Abolitionism, at the base of the hills on the Agazoo, in a vain endeavour to take Vicksburg.

Should the present rains continue, the attack on our lines will be indefinitely postponed.

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG,

13th December, 1862.

LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

(Continued from No. 42.)

1ST SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Company A.—Killed: Corporal Reilly, J. W. Reilly. Mortally wounded: Corporal Woodward, M. C. Dunn, W. R. Smith, C. Wethersber, P. Moody. Wounded: Sergeant Crossland, Sergeant Sprawls, W. A. Chatman, H. H. Hart, S. Owens, A. F. Tyler, A. Youngblood.

Company B.—Killed: Lieut. Thomas B. Lyles. Wounded: Sergeant Hood, Sergeant Hill, Eli Franklin, S. Suber, James Wilson.

Company C.—Mortally Wounded: C. P. Donnel. Wounded: Sergeant Cordero, Corporal Hamilton, Burke, Pottock, Riggs.

Company E.—Killed: W. H. Rinbring. Wounded: D. Baxly, G. T. Cribbs, J. D. Hodges, James Norton, James Rodgers, H. Rushing.

Company F.—Wounded: Captain T. P. Alston; Bellamy, Elliot, Floyd, Fowler.

Company G.—Killed: Sergeant Tompkins, B. Lamb, J. Lamb. Wounded: L. P. Bogue, J. E. Harter, H. Holloway, Klegg, T. Reilly, J. R. Tate, T. M. Walker.

Company H.—Wounded: Corporal Giles, Corporal Rourke, R. Williams.

Company I.—Wounded: Lieut. Delph; Sergeant W. E. Champlain, John Utes.

Company K.—Killed: M. Knowles, J. O'Donnelly, S. O'Connell. Wounded: Lieut. Armstrong, Lieut. McCrady, M. Conway, E. Dillow, M. Farnel, J. Kelley, P. Kelley, M. Kane, M. Mahoney, F. Manion, M. Sullivan.

Company L.—Killed: G. C. Pinckney, Sergeant Alston. Mortally wounded: Corporal Boag. Wounded: W. E. Chambers, P. H. Force, James Parker.

Killed, 12; Mortally wounded, 7; Wounded, 55.—Total, 74.

12TH SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Company B.—Wounded: W. M. Finley, J. A. Cobb.

Company C.—Killed: J. J. Dunlop. Wounded: J. F. Robinson, S. W. Brown.

Company E.—Wounded: J. R. Roberts, J. B. Hunnicutt, A. W. Robins.

Company G.—Wounded: Silas Hinkle.

Company K.—Wounded: F. Mullen, W. G. Hobbs, B. F. Blekwell, James Wilbanks. Killed, 1; Wounded, 12.—Total, 13.

13TH SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Company B.—Wounded: Captain J. K. Brockman, Lieut. J. A. Snoddy, L. Morgan, J. A. Griffin.

Company C.—Wounded: J. W. Wingo, A. J. Wingo, W. Boman, E. A. B. Lockman.

Company D.—Wounded: W. M. Richard, W. J. Kinard, T. P. Boyd, John P. Senn, James B. Pitts.

Company E.—Wounded: Captain J. L. Wofford, M. Johnson, W. Ezell, R. Bryant, E. Elder.

Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. J. P. Peace, D. Rudicels, W. Ervi, J. Johnston, J. W. McMillan, J. P. Bullington, W. Boman, C. C. Lancaster, Thomas G. Hall, G. Morson, H. B. Hall, E. L. Pope, A. Turner, T. Miller, C. B. Bowling. Killed: J. H. McDowell, J. Campbell, N. Roddy, W. King. Mortally wounded: W. M. Bowling.

Company G.—Wounded: Captain W. Lester, J. W. M. Duncan, J. H. McCullough, L. S. Bowers, G. S. Legrone, G. A. Connelly.

Company H.—Wounded: Sergeant J. P. Lindler, S. A. Epting, I. Pyo, E. S. Frisby, L. O. George.

Company I.—Wounded: W. M. Thomas, L. H. Petro, D. M. Richards, J. C. Thompson. Killed: James Crocker. Field and Staff.—Wounded: Lieut.-Colonel T. S. Farrow, Captain J. T. Hunt (Acting Major.) Killed, 3; Mortally wounded, 1; Wounded, 53.—Total, 57.

1ST REGIMENT RIFLES, SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Company A.—Killed: L. Snider. Wounded: Lieut. W. A. Miles, Sergeant W. N. Craig, T. W. Alexander, C. H. Anderson, A. Anderson, J. D. Albertson, J. A. Barton, J. R. Brickheister, J. O. Beard, W. F. Corban, B. Dillard, D. W. Finly, J. Hoffman, J. P. Martin, B. Nicholson, C. F. Smith, R. A. Wiggington. Mortally wounded: Jas. D. Corban, W. H. Thrift.

Company B.—Killed: John C. Erwin. Wounded: Capt. J. F. Robertson, Sergeant L. A. Wardlaw, Sergeant W. A. McCrackin, R. M. Burhart, G. D. Buckhanan, John Darleny, W. W. Douglas, C. V. Hammond, J. T. Jordan, J. C. Lites, J. T. Littles, W. R. McKinnis, Thos. E. Riley, R. H. Wardlaw, A. H. Watson, W. H. Watson, T. C. White.

Company C.—Mortally wounded: Lieut. W. J. Dickson, Corporal J. R. Dickson, Charles Mealy. Killed: L. J. Garrett. Wounded: Frederick Hadden, N. A. Dickson, Jasper Fricks, W. B. Hudgins, James Chambers, C. H. Neibens, Wm. Hyde, H. K. Crenshaw.

Company D.—Killed: Corporal L. A. Carlile, Private J. B. Chikseales. Mortally wounded: Lieut. Jos. B. Slean, Privates James W. Watt, L. W. Grant, J. W. Strickland. Wounded: Lieut. Robt. Junkin, Privates John L. Brown, E. Z. Brown, A. M. Guyton, J. A. Harris, J. P. Harris, M. P. Lewis, J. M. Mitchell, Newton McConnell, G. R. McMurtry, W. P. Robinson, W. B. Tate.

Company E.—Killed: Privates James M. Stribbling, James F. Brown, R. C. King. Wounded: Lieut. James F. Reid, Privates J. N. Alexander, Jephtha Head, E. C. Butler, J. H. Russell, W. H. Gribson, J. J. Woodall, G. W. Fincher.

Company F.—Killed: Private H. F. McDonald. Wounded: Captain G. W. Fulbertson, Privates G. W. Terrill, A. C. Chikseales, J. M. McCall, L. W. Kelley, Daniel Holley, J. B. Meyers, T. A. J. James, Thomas F. Kennedy, Thomas A. McElroy, W. J. Harbin, J. M. Fountain, W. M. Bolling, Lieut. S. K. Dunday, H. M. Hardin, W. S. F. Petty.

Company G.—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant G. P. Chiles, Privates F. M. Calvert, John M. Print, John H. Chiles, W. R. Monday, L. M. Langston, J. M. Hallingsworth, T. S. Gordon.

Company H.—Killed: Lieut. W. G. Mace, Private W. W. Rogers. Wounded: G. W. Whaley, Corporal Levi Goddy, Privates W. B. List, N. M. Jince, J. M. Salmon, Thomas Cox, N. McCormic, W. B. Walton, Charles Hodge, E. Jones, R. N. Oakley.

Company K.—Killed: Privates J. T. Walters, J. T. Shaw, J. E. Gambell. Wounded: Sergeants G. B. Robinson, D. R. Greer, Privates N. P. Wright, J. T. Green, A. N. Collins, R. Robinson, S. W. Gambell, D. R. Armstrong, A. N. Canille, Frost Snow, J. B. Driver, G. M. Darby, R. W. Kay.

Company L.—Killed: Private W. B. Johnson. Wounded: Lieuts. J. A. Pagett, J. B. Moore; Sergeant H. B. Arnold; Privates J. B. O. Barkley, H. S. Milford, R. F. Brown, C. C. Boat, R. M. Casey, G. N. Evans, P. C. Fant, H. H. Gray, E. B. Hayes, P. A. Jones, J. J. Lawless, W. M. Leville, T. M. Merritt, S. McClellan, J. B. Osborn, C. H. Simmons, S. B. Pearson, J. N. Vandiver, J. A. White, C. B. White, P. T. Yan, W. L. Shearn, J. W. Dalrimple, A. C. Brown, E. K. Major. Missing: Charles Bryant. Field and Staff.—Killed: W. W. Higgins, Acting Adjutant. Wounded: Major J. J. Norton.

Killed, 15; Mortally wounded, 9; Wounded, 143; Missing, 1. Total, 168.

RECAPITULATION.

General and Staff.—Mortally wounded, 1; Wounded, 1.—Total, 2.

1st South Carolina Volunteers.—Killed, 12; Mortally wounded, 7; Wounded, 55.—Total, 74.

12th Ditto ditto.—Killed, 1; Wounded, 12.—Total, 13.

13th Ditto ditto.—Killed, 3; Mortally wounded, 1; Wounded, 53.—Total, 57.

14th Ditto ditto.—Killed, 2; Wounded, 47.—Total, 49.

1st Rifle South Carolina Volunteers.—Killed, 15; Mortally wounded, 9; Wounded, 143; Missing, 1.—Total, 168.

D. H. HAMILTON,

Col. Commanding Gregg's Brigade.

Light Division.

L. C. HASKILL, A. A. A. G.

List of Killed and Wounded in Artillery Corps, Commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. Lindsay Walker.

Fedee Artillery, S. C., Captain D. G. McIntosh.—Killed: Privates J. A. Harrison, P. H. Harrison, W. J. Jordan, Jesse McLinden—4. Wounded: Corporal J. Lanhon, Privates W. H. Miller, J. D. Wins, H. Pickney, W. S. Rodgers, severely; Corporal W. S. Hall, Privates, H. C. Byrd, W. J. Byrd, J. C. Brunson, E. Jordan, R. C. Wetters, J. Reddin, C. Smith, slightly.—13.

Crenshaw Battery, 1st Lieut. A. C. Johnson.—Killed: 1st Lieut. James Elliott, Private J. H. Payne.—2. Wounded: Privates B. F. Burgess, J. L. Douglas, J. M. Hart, severely; Corporals R. H. Mallory, and J. N. Ruffin, Privates R. S. Seely, J. J. Wheeler, R. F. Pleasants, slightly.—8.

Fredericksburg Artillery, 1st Lieut. E. A. Marye, commanding.—Killed: Private C. O. Knight.—1. Wounded: Privates E. Gwathney, W. McGuire, A. R. Wallace, J. S. Perry, B. R. Wingfield, severely; Privates J. F. Wellford, Chas. Robinson, James Donahoe, Duff Green, W. F. Gordon, Joe Childs, J. E. Berry, L. Timberlake, J. Bowler, slightly.—14.

Branch Artillery, Captain A. C. Latham commanding.—Wounded—Privates James W. Wade, David Powers, G. R. Johnson, severely; Corporals J. W. Hill, and Barney Sleight, Privates Thomas Goodwin, Howell Morse, Wallace Fulcher, James W. Smith, slightly.—11.

Purell Battery, Captain W. J. Pegram commanding.—Killed—Lieut. Z. C. McGruder, Corporal Peter Foster, Private J. C. Newcomer.—3. Wounded: Private R. Sale, Corporals A. Dougherty and W. E. Partington, Privates W. M. Cavanagh, F. J. Campbell, T. C. Fowler, E. P. Jones, J. C. Legwood, William Mullin, A. W. Otey, James Kingsley, Plum, John Squires, John William, P. Waldron, T. H. Thompson, J. Ball, — McCook, Thomas Finnell.—19.

Johnson's Battery, Lieut. V. J. Clutter commanding.—Wounded—Lieut. V. J. Clutter, Privates Edward Hayes, Birch, B. B. Watts, Edward Earl, — Ison, — Hammond, Charles Burley, — Stingle, — Mussey, — McCann, — Garrett, — Owen, — Moffeld.—14.

Letcher Artillery, Captain Greenlee Davidson commanding.—Wounded: Lieut. Thomas C. Brander, Corporal — Winston, Privates J. Shea, James Wilson, S. W. Coles, T. S. With, — Heiseyer, Opia Staitte, F. Bernard, J. A. Estis, Frank Delaney, M. Douglas, J. Morrissey, M. Manning.—14.

Killed, 10; Wounded, 93.

AT KINGSTON, NORTH CAROLINA,

December 14.

23rd South Carolina Volunteers—Captain Denham, Commanding.

Company A.—Lieut. Ingraham, commanding—Private N. Bowman, missing.

Company B.—Captain J. W. Duffas, commanding—Private C. R. Parker, missing.

Company E.—Captain Finklea, commanding—Private J. Braswell, wounded slightly in back.

Company F.—Captain Atkinson, commanding—Private R. G. Douglass, slightly in ankle, and prisoner; Private H. Walker, slightly in leg; Private Philip Panuell, prisoner.

Company H.—Lieut. Hale, commanding—Privates J. R. Rogers, R. W. Rogers, G. Tubbeville, John Coates, Corporal J. Smith, prisoners; Private R. Hodges, missing.

Company I.—Captain Lesesne, commanding—Sergeant A. J. Richberg, slightly in finger; Corporal Thomas Bradham, severely in knee; Private T. P. Cuttino, slightly in leg; Private J. L. Davis, prisoner.

Company K.—Lieut. Swinton, commanding—Sergeant J. G. White, slightly in thigh; Private A. J. Chandler, severely in thigh; Privates J. P. Budden, B. R. Weeks, W. D. Brown, prisoners; L. D. Smith, missing.

NEAR GOLDSBORO', NORTH CAROLINA,

December 17.

Captain S. A. Durham, severely in thigh.

Company A.—Sergeant Calder, commanding—Private J. N. Bunch, severely in thigh.

Company E.—Captain Atkinson, commanding.—Lieut. J. T. Weir, killed; Privates J. Hamilton, slightly in arms; P. H. Halse, slightly in hand; John Lewis, slightly in hand; J. Waltrip, slightly in shoulder; R. Barnadore, slightly in hand.

Company G.—Lieut. Covington, commanding.—Private W. E. Cox, severely in foot.

Company H.—Lieutenant Hale, commanding.—Killed: Privates William Kersey, G. Dozier, T. Rogers, S. W. Dew Wounded: Sergeant Page, severely in groin; Privates P. Minsay, severely in ankle; J. W. Lee, severely in breast; J. Locklier, slightly.

Company K.—Lieut. Swinton, commanding.—Privates W. J. Andrews, slightly in breast; A. C. Guerry, slightly in hand.

Only a part of the regiment was engaged in this battle.

J. A. TENNENT,

Adjutant 23rd Regiment South Carolina Volunteers.

DISTILLATION OF SPIRITS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following order shows the determination of the Southern people to submit to any resolution for the better carrying on of the war:—

Headquarters, Commissary-General's Department, South Carolina, Columbia, January 8, 1863.

THE ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ENTITLED

"An Act to suppress the undue distillation of Spirituous Liquors from the serial grains of this State," contains the following proviso, namely:

"That the Governor, if satisfactorily informed that a supply of spirits, which cannot be otherwise obtained, is absolutely necessary for medicinal purposes in this State, may contract with a proper number of responsible and skilled agents, in any one or more of the districts, to manufacture a limited quantity of pure spirits, at a limited and reasonable price, strictly for medicinal purposes, taking care that such proper disposition of the product is made as to secure its application alone to the purpose intended."

To enable the Governor to ascertain the quantity required for the above purpose, the physicians of the different districts in this State are requested to furnish to this department as early as practicable, a statement as to what supply of "pure spirits, which cannot be otherwise obtained, is absolutely necessary for medicinal purposes" in their respective districts for the present year.

It is requested that such steps be taken as that the statement shall represent the views of a majority of the practising physicians in each district.

By order of the Governor.

JOSEPH WALKER,

Commissary-General of South Carolina.

January 10.

GENERAL STUART IN THE TELEGRAPH BUSINESS.

The Richmond Whig.

We saw yesterday, at the office of the Southern Telegraph Company, in this city, the superior telegraphic operating instrument which General Stuart used in his late expedition to communicate with Quartermaster-General Meigs, at Washington. Since the Yankee papers have had a good deal to say about this achievement of our Virginia Cavalry, we append his letter to Dr. Morris, giving a correct statement of the capture.

Headquarters, January 6, 1863.

Dr. W. S. Morris, President Southern Telegraph Company, Richmond.

Sir—I have the honour to send, through the courtesy of Major John Pelham, my chief of artillery, an instrument captured at Burke's Station, Ohio and Alexandria Railroad, during my late expedition. I beg that you will accept it as a token of regard appropriate to your position. We surprised the operator, and my operator, Sheppard, took his place. I sat in the office some time while Sheppard read the wild alarms flashing over the wires about our operations, and ascertained the steps taken and the means at hand of resisting me, and then shaped my course accordingly.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. E. B. STUART,

Major General of Cavalry.

NÉGRÓ SPIES.—I have spoken of the knowledge among the rebels of our movements. It seems impossible to prevent their constant acquisition of contraband information. They are always forewarned and forearmed. A more speedy and correct channel of information is found in the persons of the dusky natives whom we have so affectionately taken to our bosoms. Their dug-outs and canoes ply between the hostile shores with the utmost regularity; and though we do sometimes by this means obtain a late secession paper or an important rebel item, the account in the long run has generally footed up more to their profit than to ours. General Hunter, I believe, is convinced of this, for he has ordered the seizure of all the dug-outs and flat-boats to be found, and is further arranging the details of a plan whereby the negroes may be isolated and rendered as harmless as possible to our cause.—*Port Royal Correspondent of the New York Herald.*

THE CONFEDERATE STATES' STEAMER FLORIDA.—The following is a correct list of the officers of the Confederate war steamer Florida:—

J. N. Maffitt, commanding, Georgia.

S. W. Averett, Lieutenant and Executive Officer, Virginia.

J. L. Hoole, Lieutenant, Alabama.

C. W. Read, Lieutenant, Mississippi.

S. G. Stone, Lieutenant, Alabama.

Garrington and Gratton, Surgeons.

— Lynch, Paymaster.

Midshipmen—R. S. Floyd, Georgia; George D. Bryan, Charleston, S. C.; G. T. Sinclair, Virginia; J. Dyke.

Engineers—J. Spidell, — Jackson, C. Quinn, E. H. Browne.

L. Vogel, Captain's Clerk.

William Wilson, Purser's Clerk.

C. Wyman, Master's Mate.—*Charleston Mercury*, Jan 24.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZK, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 279, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1863.

A Lull in the War.

The military news from America contains very little that is interesting or important. So far from there being any progress to record in the various expeditions which the North has now on hand, things seem to be rather going backward. The great crisis is again postponed, probably for some weeks. Charleston and Savannah are still safe; Vicksburg and Port Hudson as they were; and the only show of activity amongst the Federals is exhibited at New Orleans, where a new raid has been planned up the Bayou Tesche. This river, running out into the Gulf to the west of the Mississippi, winds its way through a series of lakes, impenetrable marshes, and sluggish bayous, and affords a refuge to a few small river steamers. The destruction of these, and of the towns on the banks, and the wholesale devastation of the adjacent country, are probably the only objects of the expedition; and it is marvellously illustrative of the mismanagement of the Federal armaments, that at a moment when General Banks needs all his strength for the passage of the Mississippi at Port Hudson, and when Farragut's flotilla is notoriously insufficient to blockade the mouths of the Mississippi, a considerable force has been detached upon an enterprise which can by no possibility effect the issue of the struggle, and is very likely to end in disaster. The last raid up the Bayou Tesche, under the command of General Weitzel, was signally unfortunate. The Federals were met everywhere with a deadly fire of rifles from the banks, to which they could make no response; they lost the two officers who led the attack; they found the passage barred by river obstructions, and were ultimately driven back with heavy losses. Of course the usual reports were put in circulation about the enemy being "flanked," and on the point of surrender; but the end was the return of the expedition to New Orleans. The new attack may succeed. Possibly General Banks may have determined to reap an easy victory on the Bayou Tesche, and as the Confederate force in the neighbourhood does not exceed some two or three thousand men, he may be able to announce a great triumph. But if the Federals ascend the Bayou Tesche to its source, they will have accomplished nothing; whilst the strength they will waste, the lives they will sacrifice in this isolated movement, might have decided a doubtful battle on the Mississippi, where the fate of the Union has to be fought out. It is rumoured, indeed, that a portion of Banks's army has already been defeated near Port Hudson, and we shall not be surprised to find the rumour confirmed. Banks is no soldier. He is, perhaps, as incompetent a commander as any in the Federal service; but he has a certain amount of dash, and it is by no means unlikely that, tired of waiting for Farragut's flotilla, he has ventured upon a forward movement by land. If he has done so, defeat is next to certain. An experienced commander, with the best troops in the world, might hesitate before committing his army to the interminable swamps that fringe Port Hudson, in the presence of an active and vigilant enemy fully

aware of the advantages of his position. But when it is considered that Banks's qualifications for Major-General are such as might have obtained for him a Deputy Lieutenantcy in this country, but would certainly not have procured for him a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of militia, the danger of the army which he commands becomes obvious enough. If the Federals were as superior in every other respect as they are in numbers to the Confederates, what hope would there be for them, with Banks pitted against Johnstone?

In the meantime the Father of Rivers remains obstinate. He will not yield to M'Clermand's 5000 spades. His current rising and swelling every day, flows on to the ocean in its old course, and there is nothing left to the Federals but to risk another assault. The assault, however, is postponed, for weeks it is supposed. A great army of 65,000 men is to lie huddled up in close camps on the saturated soil of the Mississippi banks, preparing for an assault which will come too late for hundreds of them. There is no possibility of victualling them but from Memphis, and within a few miles of Memphis there is a large Confederate force. If Generals Van Dorn and Price are in strength sufficient to make a dash on Memphis and hold it for a few days M'Clermand's army will be in great straits. The North has throughout this war been so prodigal of treasure and of life, that the prospect of keeping this immense force idle for four or five weeks, a prey to the diseases incidental to the massing of great bodies of men in swampy camps, does not seem to cause any great alarm. But every day's delay adds to the strength of the South, and increases the difficulties of its opponents; and if the present inactivity amongst the Federals prevails much longer, the question will be, not how soon will Vicksburg fall, but what portion of M'Clermand's army will escape the Southern rifle and the swamp fever.

On the Atlantic coast the operations of the Federals are equally at a standstill. General Foster has gone back to Beaufort, leaving General Hunter in command of the army that is to act against Charleston, and the army of 65,000 men whose transports darkened the waters of Port Royal, is quietly reposing at Hilton Head after its fatiguing marches and countermarches in North Carolina. For the time the interest of the campaign in this quarter is centred on Roanoke Island. There the Confederates, in their turn, threaten to become the assailants, and the commander of the Federal troops stationed there has telegraphed for reinforcements. It will be remembered that Roanoke Island was the scene of one of the earliest Federal successes, and that some 3000 Confederates were captured there by a combined naval and military force. The folly of leaving troops in that isolated position was so apparent, that it might have been expected the Federals would have avoided it. But they seem to have learnt nothing from the experience of the war, and the next mail may bring us the information that the Federal garrison has been caught in a trap. Beyond the capture of the Federal troops, however, no advantage will accrue to the South. Roanoke Island can only be held by the power that has the command of the sea. But the danger of the Federal garrison is significant of the weakness of the Federal plan of campaign. Operating on very extended lines, and at many distant points, they are constantly exposing their communications to the enemy's attack. No sooner is an advantage gained at one spot than it is lost at another; and, at a critical moment, the most promising movements are paralyzed by the fact that, some hundred miles away its very basis of operations may be in peril, and its communications cut off. Thus whilst Northern armaments are preparing for a blow at Charleston or Savannah, the Federal hold upon North Carolina is jeopardized. Thus whilst Generals M'Clermand and Grant have united their forces before Vicksburg, Memphis is in danger, and whilst Rosecrans is massing his forces for an advance upon Eastern Tennessee, the Confederates are moving on his river communications, capturing his transports, and well-nigh recovering Fort Donelson. When General Grant left Memphis,

striking southward to effect a junction with M'Clermand previously to the latest assault of Vicksburg, all was quiet in his rear. But the Confederates have an excellent cavalry and know how to use it. Scarcely had General Grant left Holly Springs than Forrest was at his heels, at the head of 2700 horse. Holly Springs was Grant's head-quarters and central depôt, guarded by 2000 troops, but a dashing charge of Confederate cavalry decided the affair. After a few shots the action was over, and Holly Springs, with its immense supplies of *materiel*, surrendered. Here is a list of the spoil: 1,800,000 cartridges, with other ordnance stores, including 5000 rifles, and 2000 revolvers, valued at \$1,500,000; 100,000 suits of clothing and other quarter-masters' stores; 5000 barrels of flour returned at another million; \$1,000,000 worth of medical stores and other indispensable articles to a marching army. With the exception of what could be made immediately available, all this *materiel* was delivered to the flame. This dashing exploit of Forrest has been rivalled by half-a-dozen equally brilliant raids by Morgan in Kentucky, and Stuart in Virginia and Maryland; and it is not impossible that to the frightful destruction of stores by Forrest's guerillas, the Confederates owe the inactivity of the Federal army in the South-West.

The present is evidently a breathing-time for both combatants; to use a pure sporting phraseology "they are sparring for wind." The North is not yet in a position to deliver its blow. The South will not take the initiative. But the crash of battle must come soon. The North cannot, without the risk of breaking up what remains of the Union, defer its final attempt to force the Mississippi. The South will hold it to the death; and when M'Clermand returns again from Vicksburg, the North-Western Confederacy, now a dim shadow, will be rapidly becoming a vigorous reality. There is no safety for the Lincoln Administration but in a great success in the South-West. We may be sure the South knows the crisis is at hand and will meet it with stern and bitter resolve. In the meantime the months most favourable to Northern enterprise are gliding by, and nothing is done. Within six weeks the nine months' men in the Federal ranks will be entitled to, and will assuredly claim, their discharge. How they are to be replaced we cannot see. Probably the Conscription Bill that has just passed is intended as a means to this end. It may be, like the letters of marque, a hint to Foreign Governments. We have no faith, however, in a conscription in the North. The men who resist drafting, and lay down their arms on the field of battle, may be made conscripts, but they will never be reliable soldiers.

The Motion of Lord Campbell.

It is believed that the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Commissioner of the Confederate Government will shortly be laid before Parliament. It is probably for this reason that Mr. S. Fitzgerald has apparently withdrawn his notice of a motion for this correspondence, and that the projected motion of Lord Campbell has been so extended as to bring the whole subject of recognition under debate.

This motion, adjourned, owing to the indisposition of the noble lord, from Monday last to Thursday the 12th inst., has been very differently received and commented upon by the two principal Ministerial journals. The *Times*, which during the last session consistently sneered at every attempt, by whomsoever made, to bring the subject under Parliamentary attention, is consistent in this policy, and repeats the worn-out argument, or rather assertion, that any action on the part of this country would only embitter the American contest, and that all Parliamentary discussion of American affairs is therefore embarrassing and vexatious. The *Post*, on the other hand, not only declares such discussion proper and well-timed, but in an article, decidedly the best considered and best reasoned we have seen on this subject, lays down

the true conditions of national independence, and the common sense principles of international recognition. Exposing, with much conciseness and lucidity, the fallacy of the "singular positions" occupied by the Minister of War, it says of the Confederate States: "They are ruled by a Government of their own choice, which makes laws, levies taxes, contracts loans, and wages war utterly unhampered by any foreign jurisdiction. The exercise of these several functions constitutes by international law what is considered sovereignty or independence."

The *Post* further says: "By national independence is meant the power of vindicating a nation's authority within its own confines, and not the power of enforcing respect beyond the limits of its territory;" and therefore justly argues that the blockade of their coasts, or the invasion of their frontiers, does not invalidate the title of the Confederate States to recognition. The *Post* is equally correct in stating the principles of international recognition, which it declares to be based upon usage and mutual convenience. Yet while we admit that international, like social recognition, may not in the abstract be demanded as a right, we would remind the *Post* that in the case of international, as of social recognition, refusal without good reason is usually and justly resented.

In treating of the obligation to recognize, our contemporary is not equally accurate when it remarks that the Confederacy had never before appeared in the eyes of the world as a sovereign State. Of the Confederacy, as such, this is doubtless true, but the Confederacy is nothing more than a compact of States, five of which had been before officially and by name recognized as sovereignties, viz., Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Texas, and of the remaining States not so recognized by name, four,—viz., Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi—were at the time constituent parts of the others.

Passing this inaccuracy of language, the article of the *Post* is the most complete answer to the stereotyped objections of the advocates of delay. The *Times* and the *Post* concur that the minds of all intelligent classes in Europe are made up on the hopelessness of the Northern attempt to subjugate the unrecognized, but nevertheless independent nationality. The *Times*, from this, draws the lame and impotent conclusion that discussion is useless, and yet deprecates action. The *Post*, on the contrary, does not shrink from the irresistible logic of its own reasoning. It advises both full discussion and speedy action: "If," it asks, "European statesmen candidly believe that the Southern Confederacy has established its independence, then why should they not give practical effect to their convictions?" The *Post* shares our own often expressed belief, that the solemn protest of the principal maritime Powers against the further prosecution of the war, which recognition would imply, would carry with it a moral weight which could not be resisted by the North; and it concludes: "We have now witnessed a war of two years' duration, and it is really worth while to consider whether, by boldly giving effect to our opinions, we may not prevent the American nation continuing, during another twelvemonth, to sacrifice thousands of lives, and expend countless treasures, in the pursuit of an object which we know can never be attained."

We congratulate Lord Campbell upon having, in support of his motion, so emphatic an expression of Ministerial opinion, for as a reflex of such opinion the *Post* must be regarded as at least as reliable as the *Times*. We hope, though we will not permit ourselves to be sanguine, that this expression is but the forerunner of more direct and authoritative declarations in Parliament, and the announcement, at last, of a decided and decisive policy on the part of the Government. Lord Campbell, in his unsparing efforts to elicit such declaration, and impress upon the Government and the country the necessity of an early decision, has the cordial support and earnest good wishes of all who see in the recognition of the Confederate States the only practicable road to the much-desired peace.

The Marriage of the Prince.

Almost everything that can be said about the Royal wedding has been said, and in every form of words the hearty wishes of England for the welfare of the Prince of Wales and his affianced bride have already been expressed. Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of the interest taken in the event to be celebrated next Tuesday is the present aspect of the streets of London. We are not usually a demonstrative people, and we know not how to get up a pageant; but for all that, we are preparing a welcome for the Princess Alexandra that is worthy of the occasion and our greatness. The procession itself will not be much grander than a Lord Mayor's Show, and far less effective than an election procession in New York. The decorations are neither artistic nor imposing, and we expect that the illuminations will do more credit to the resources of the gas companies than to our taste. Yet the Princess will have a right royal welcome. The innumerable multitude that will throng the streets, the windows, and the balconies that are being erected in every available spot, not excluding our graveyards, will be a spectacle that needs not the adjuncts of art or organization to make it telling and impressive. And what makes the display intrinsically valuable, is that it is spontaneous. The crowds will not assemble or cheer to order. Men of all degrees and opinions will gather together to manifest the common sentiment of loyalty to the Throne and Constitution. Newly-crowned kings and young princes are always popular, because it is the generous habit of the masses to believe in the virtues of their rulers; but the popularity of the Prince of Wales and his bride is not without foundation and a steadfast hope of endurance. The heir to the throne owes much of the hearty goodwill of his countrymen to the constitutional and private virtues of the Queen; and from his excellent education, it is expected that he will follow the example of his parents, and merit the free love of a free people. His early marriage gives promise of the first gentleman in England emulating the domestic goodness of the Sovereign, and it will be of some immediate and practical benefit if it make early marriages fashionable.

The Prince of Wales occupies a unique position. Without being King, he will, owing to the widowhood of the Queen, be called upon to discharge not only many of the social functions of royalty, but also will assume many of the offices so ably discharged by the late Prince Consort. The time has long passed when it was necessary for the heir apparent to be in opposition to the Sovereign, so that both the great parties might be attached to the throne; for Queen Victoria is not the Sovereign of a party or a faction. By this means the Prince will learn the art of constitutional kingship, and be saved from that enforced idleness which with princes, as well as with other people, is sure to degenerate into vice. It is not unnatural that at this moment a comparison should be instituted between the last and present Princes of Wales, and that there should be great rejoicing that the eldest son of Queen Victoria is so much better than the eldest son of George III.; but whilst we cordially sympathize with this feeling, it is but fair and reasonable to remember that George IV. had none of the advantages enjoyed by his great-nephew. George III. was neither a wise king nor a judicious father. The tutors of his son were selected for political considerations, and provided that son learnt a little Latin and less Greek, his Majesty did not trouble himself about moral culture and discipline. When George IV. came to man's estate, and, indeed, before that, he was his own master, with nothing to guide him but the corrupt counsels of corrupt flatterers. He may be said to have started in life with a heavy load of debt, for he became involved before he could learn the folly of such a course; and when he married it was not from affection, or even a desire to be married, but in order to relieve himself of pecuniary embarrassments. The father was a partisan, and the son could not but follow the paternal example, and so,

when he became Prince Regent he was, to all intents and purposes, the titular leader of a party. Above all, the manners of the people were different. Whether we are so much better than our fathers we will not discuss, but certain it is that they were tolerant of open drunkenness, gambling, and profligacy; whereas such conduct would now be utterly repudiated. George IV., Fox, and Sheridan, would be impossible in this day. At present, if men are rakes at heart, they must, at least, assume the guise of virtue. Princes, though exercising a considerable influence, reflect rather than foster the virtue and vice of their generation. We are glad that the Prince of Wales has had such excellent opportunities and that he has profited by them. It is a matter of congratulation that he starts in life free from the taint of debt, and with means ample to maintain his royal state, but not so ample as to encourage extravagant display—sufficient to prevent parsimony, but not sufficient to render judicious economy unnecessary. Beyond all, the Prince of Wales is fortunate in forming an alliance with a lady who brings to her high position the habits engendered by a careful, domestic, and even secluded education, and whom he weds for affection's sake, and not merely as a state necessity. He, at least, has suffered no inconvenience from the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act.

The national prayer, "God bless the Prince of Wales and his bride," is unfeigned, and notwithstanding the uncertainty of the future, which teaches us to call no man happy until he is dead, it is reasonable and right to anticipate that the fair prospect is not delusive, and that the Royal couple will be blessed and a blessing.

Mr. Seward's Despatch.

The reply of Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State to the French proposal is a phenomenon in diplomacy, which has surprised even those who had long ceased to wonder at anything emanating from Northern American politicians. In the wildest arrogance of hierarchical presumption, no incumbent of the See of Rome ever more recklessly issued his commands over, and disposed of, realms and their populations, than this modern high-priest of a moribund Democracy. It would be ridiculous to enter on a serious refutation of the preposterous assertions of this extraordinary document. As well might one apply the rules of logic to the chatter of the harmless lunatic who fancies his cell a palace and himself the arbiter of nations. But the contrast between Mr. Seward's official fictions and the actual facts is so suggestive and instructive that we are tempted to institute the comparison in at least one or two points.

We will first notice Mr. Seward's remarks on the progress of the Federal arms, and the present area of Confederate States. We do not dispute the assertion that the Lincoln Government is still confident of an early and complete triumph, because some men are so constituted that they always believe what they wish. And we do not dispute the announcement that Mr. Lincoln and his advisers are contented with their military achievements, for it may be that there are persons who have the idiosyncrasy that appertains to a certain species of dogs, who rather like to be beaten and kicked. We propose to deal only with the extravagant fictions which Mr. Seward sets forth as facts. He says that the Confederacy now retains "only the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Texas, with half of Virginia, half of North Carolina, two-thirds of South Carolina, half of Mississippi, and one-third respectively of Arkansas and Louisiana;" and further, that the United States' forces "hold even this in close blockade and siege." One fact will be sufficient to dispose of the last allegation. Mr. Seward talks of a small territory, held in close blockade and siege, yet the Southerner can travel on a continuous line of railroad from Richmond to Mobile, a distance of 1000 miles, without molestation, and without seeing the face of the enemy. With regard to his assertions about the States, it will be sufficient to remark that the only part of Virginia in possession of the Federal

is the Western district; that they now hold no more of North Carolina than is covered by their forces on the coast; that their only footing in South Carolina is the military possession of certain points occupied for the purpose of making their long-threatened and still postponed attack on Charleston; that in Mississippi the only foothold of the Federals is the ground occupied by part of the army of Rosecrans, and that they have not even military possession of one-third of Louisiana, or of Arkansas. The Northern invader has not in any degree penetrated into the interior of the Confederacy; all his gains are on the borders of the States, where gunboats could co-operate with land forces; and beyond the range of safe and expeditious retreat to the shelter of their gunboats, in case of need, the Federal forces have not advanced. The most costly and persistent effort of the North has been to effect the capture of Richmond, which is only 180 miles distant from Washington. What has been the result? The invader has been beaten over and over again, and hurled back, crushed and bleeding, on the Federal frontier. It is wonderful, considering the resources of the North, and their lavish expenditure of men and money, that they should not have been able to have penetrated at one or more points into the Confederate States; but that they have not done so is as certain and palpable as that Queen Victoria is not the ruler of France. Let Chinese statesmen confess that, in the conception and enunciation of a concrete lie, the Minister of Mr. Lincoln is infinitely their superior. The imagination of the Minister of the Son of the Moon is dull and prosy compared to the imagination of Mr. Seward.

Let us now glance at Mr. Seward's description of the Confederates, and of what he is pleased to call the rebellion. He says: "We have an insurrectionary party, which is located and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and we have, on the other hand, a loyal people who constitute not only Northern States, but Eastern, Middle, Western, and Southern States." And he adds that Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri "are already represented in Congress," and that "representatives have been sent from Louisiana, and others are understood to be coming from Arkansas." He likewise refers to the "loyal people in the insurrectionary States." We had supposed that we had heard the last of the well-worn pretence of Union sentiment in the South. Where is the evidence of it? Did the brutal pro-consul of Mr. Lincoln find it in New Orleans? Is it discoverable in the sacrifices that the Southerners have made, the hardships they have endured, and the heroism they have manifested to save their country from the yoke of the North? Is it discernible in the loathing which the women and children of the South have evinced whenever the fortune of war has brought them into contact with the Federal soldiery? Is it a proof of Union sentiment that when Mr. Lincoln threatened them with a servile insurrection if they did not return to the Union before the first day of the present year, that not one man in the whole South was terrified by the threat, or, if believing Mr. Lincoln could execute his fell purpose, was so base as to purchase the security of his slave property at the cost of his nation's independence? Mr. Seward boasts of the Border States being represented in the Federal Congress. What are the facts? The Legislature of Maryland—elected under military control, for it will be remembered that Mr. Lincoln arrested the members that were elected freely—has sent Senators to Washington. By Virginia, Mr. Seward means the counties comprised in the Western district, now in military occupation. And with regard to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—especially with the two last-named States—Senators have been elected by bogus Legislatures—the creatures of military power. So far as Louisiana and Arkansas are concerned, in the districts occupied by Federal troops, candidates for the Federal House of Representatives may have been found, but who no more represent those districts than do the generals of the invading armies; but in neither of those States have the Federals been

able to organize sham Legislatures for the purpose of electing sham Senators. On the other hand, all the States composing the Southern Confederacy are fully represented in the Confederate Senate. During the war the functions of the State Governments and the electoral rights of the people have been duly exercised, and the Confederate Congress is the representative of the will of the people of the Confederate States.

In short, what Mr. Seward calls an insurrectionary party is the whole people of the South, differing widely on many political questions, freely expressing their differences, unrestrainedly canvassing the acts of the Confederate Government, but with unparalleled unanimity upholding the independence of the Confederate States. It would be as reasonable and quite as true to say that the millions of Englishmen who are loyal to their Queen and Constitution are an insurrectionary party, and that the leader of the Cabbage Garden Revolt truly represented the national sentiment.

Mr. Seward pretends that secession was instigated by the personal ambition of the leading men of the South. He says: "Any commissioner who should be appointed by those actors, or through their dictation or influence, must enter the conferences imbued with the spirit, and pledged to the personal fortunes of the insurgent chiefs." The chiefs were not in the foremost rank of the Secessionists. They clung to the Union as long as it was honourable or possible for them to do so. At the outset of secession they obeyed the voice of the people. If they had loved power more than honour, and had forgotten the call of patriotism for the sake of ambition, the leaders of the South would have opposed secession to the end. Would not these men, if the Union had been preserved, have exercised governmental influence in thirty-three States; and is it a proof of personal ambition that they have elected to serve thirteen States? When the officers of the army and navy threw up their commissions in the United States' forces was it an evidence of personal ambition they elected to serve thirteen instead of thirty-three States? If it were true that secession was a mere conspiracy of the Southern leaders, and that they were personally ambitious, the Lincolnites would have been ousted long ere this, for if President Davis and his Government would accept the Presidency and control of the whole of the late Union, there is no doubt about their being received gladly by the Northern people.

Mr. Seward says that the United States is contending for "the free and common navigation of the Rio Grande, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, St. Lawrence, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and other national highways." Does Mr. Seward forget that the St. Lawrence is at least as much British as it is American, and that the Rio Grande is as much Mexican as American? And if a diversity of nationalities is not incompatible with the free and common navigation of those rivers, why should it be incompatible with the free and common navigation of the Mississippi? So far from threatening the free navigation of the Mississippi, the establishment of the Confederate States is a guarantee of its inviolability.

We have now done with Mr. Seward's ultra-Chinese despatch. The Governments of Europe have too long believed the report of this unscrupulous romancer. After this last specimen of what we must call his impertinent mendacity, it will surely be culpable folly if they pay any regard to his representations.

The Law of Libel.

We confess we are not able to define the law of libel, and that, like our brethren of the press, we trust for our protection more to the general good sense of juries than to the law itself. True, in actions for libel, the verdict is generally given against a newspaper; but, considering the avocation of the journal, that it is a kind of personal impersonality, ready to detect and expose every little rent in men's coats, it is no wonder that jurymen should be a little prejudiced, and sometimes give a verdict that appears to the members of the press somewhat opposed to the evidence. Besides, an action for libel never harms a journal, and though costs and damages come rather heavy, it is but fair that the

press should now and then pay a fine for the liberty it enjoys. It does no commercial good to a paper which, like the *Saturday Review*, has an enormous circulation, and is a leading representative of the Fourth Estate, but a journal languishing in obscurity may be at least temporarily galvanized to the paying point by a good action for libel.

Our contemporary, the *Saturday Review*, like most independent censors, has plenty of enemies. A reputation is often enhanced by newspaper attacks, but no one was ever benefitted by an attack in the *Saturday Review*. Its weapons are highly polished, and it has an unkind habit of making its thrusts at vulnerable places. It would not so much matter if it would now and then hit at random, but it is obstinately determined never to draw a bow at a venture. Its fools' caps are so skilfully adjusted that all the world can see how admirably they fit the persons for whom they are intended. No doubt the antipathy of the *Saturday Review* to humbug is almost a morbid passion, and that sometimes it applies the lash unmercifully; but, on the whole, its censoriousness is so independent of persons and of parties that no one can complain of its partiality. We cannot recall the name of a single eminent public man who has not at one time or other been punished by our contemporary.

We do not propose to trouble our readers with an account of the cause of Campbell v. Spottiswoode. As far as we can glean, it seems that assuming "Thomas Thompson" and "an Old Soldier" to be myths, was an error; but we submit not a very unnatural one. If Dr. Campbell published letters flattering to himself or his scheme, it did look a little suspicious. We teach the children in our national schools to lip "self-praise is no recommendation;" but the *Saturday Review* was wrong, for "Thomas Thompson" and "an Old Soldier" are actualities, and put in an appearance at Guildhall. This, as the Lord Chief Justice said, is the least part of the libel complained of. The important matter was that Dr. Campbell wrote a series of what he was pleased to call "Chinese Letters," one of which was addressed to her Majesty, and which appeared in a newspaper with which he was connected, and, as we understand, the Rev. Doctor wished, for the purpose of aiding in the conversion of 400 millions of Chinese, the papers containing the letters to be widely circulated. Commenting on the facts, the *Saturday Review* observed: "To spread the knowledge of the Gospel in China would be a good and an excellent thing, and worthy of all praise and encouragement; but to make such a work a mere pretext for puffing an obscure newspaper into circulation, is a most scandalous and flagitious act, and it is this act, we fear, we must charge against Dr. Campbell. Buy the letters, and save the heathen." The jury returned a verdict of £50 for the plaintiff, at the same time finding specially "that the writer in the *Saturday Review* believed his imputations to be well founded."

This special finding gives a wide interest to the case. Why did the jury think the *Saturday Reviewer* believed his imputation? They did not know the writer, and therefore it could not be from any faith in his character. We presume they arrived at this conclusion because, whilst crediting the uprightness of Dr. Campbell's motives, they thought his conduct was calculated to induce a public writer to put an unfavourable construction on them. If this view is correct, we contend the verdict ought to be set aside, for if a writer may not draw such inferences from admitted facts that even a jury thinks he may conscientiously, though erroneously, deduce, then the liberty of the press is fearfully contracted. It is very unimportant whether the *Saturday Review* pays the £50 and costs, but it is all-important that freedom of discussion should not be stifled by such a construction of the law of libel. If we must not impute what we believe, there is an end of criticism. The Rev. Dr. Campbell would not, if this had been the rule, have been permitted to publish his "Letters to the Prince Consort."

We have succeeded in turning up these letters, which were published in a volume in 1861. The title of this volume—which Dr. Campbell says "embodies an idea of astounding magnitude and incalculable importance"—is "The Conquest of England: Letters to the Prince Consort on Popery, Puseyism, Neology, Infidelity, and the Aggressive Policy of the Church of Rome;" and even this does not embrace the entire contents of the book, for in Letter 46, Doctor Campbell falls foul of the proprietors of the Crystal Palace.

These gentlemen, it seems, did not deem it enough that the Palace had been filled with figures of naked human beings, eminently calculated to endanger moral purity—an act by which many of "the excellent of the earth" were filled with disgust and indignation.

And further on, the Rev. Doctor adds:—

The wonder is that the heads of Christian households can reconcile it to their consciences to conduct their families within

the precincts of a place so eminently fitted to debase, degrade and destroy! Such is the place which the proprietors of the Crystal Palace, in 1858, were resolutely bent on throwing open on the Sabbaths of God to three millions of human beings.

From these extracts our readers will understand that the perusal of the work of one "of the excellent of the earth" has afforded us much amusement. It is not witty, nor humorous, nor even funny, but it is intensely grotesque. We have never before met with such a hash of fanatical twaddle, brazen-faced impudence, and wordy balderdash. In the preface we are told that the editor of the *British Ensign*

proposed to raise a fund for the gratuitous circulation of 100,000 copies of the numbers of the paper containing these letters. The proposal met with a prompt and a noble response. It is to both editor and publisher a source of supreme gratification to find that these epistles, including the copies sold, have been put into the hands of some 350,000 persons, of every grade in society, situated mainly in benighted localities, and perused by probably upwards of one million people.

Is it allowable for us to assume that the publisher was commercially glad? Our own experience of publishers would lead us to suppose so; but, perhaps, we have not met with any of "the excellent of the earth," and we admit that so benighted is our locality that until the trial of "Campbell v. Spottiswoode" we had not read "The Conquest of England."

The Rev. Doctor does not inform the benighted world whether he sent the letters to the Prince before he published them. We presume not, yet there is an air of reality about the details. In the first letter Dr. Campbell writes: "Certain political views of the subject must be reserved for another communication, which I hope to have the honour of addressing to your Royal Highness this day fortnight." Was this intended to allay the possible anxiety of the Prince for another communication, or as a dramatic aside to the readers of the *Ensign* that on such and such a day another letter would appear? We also notice in several of the letters an intimation of the subject of the next epistle. Were these hints intended as a whet to the appetites of the readers of the *Ensign*, or for the information of the Prince?

At page 165 Dr. Campbell, who is down on the University of Oxford, writes: "In the meantime I would apprise the British people, through your Royal Highness, &c." If the benighted British public were to be enlightened through the Prince Consort why did Dr. Campbell publish his letters in the *Ensign*? Besides, the Rev. Doctor evidently thought the Prince himself wanted a little enlightenment. In Letter 2 he suggests, with unwonted humility: "Your Royal Highness may have fallen upon the works of Lord Bolingbroke." At page 78 he is good enough to inform the Prince that, "The University of Oxford is not one, but a number of colleges. * * * The University is a corporate body, &c., &c." Yet the Doctor seems to have had a hazy idea that the Prince he was gratuitously instructing was responsible for everybody and everything. At page 233 he writes:—

Will your Royal Highness permit me to ask what Mr. Wilson's Diocesan is about? How that Prelate can reconcile it to his conscience to permit such things, is to me incomprehensible.

We will conclude with one or two extracts from this heavy, nondescript, yet racy volume, which, in our humble opinion, would be libels, if they were not impotent impudence, and supremely ridiculous.

Page 23. The conversion of the heir apparent is the point on which the Vatican has set its heart. Page 52: The alarming fact stated some time ago by Cardinal Wiseman without contradiction, and now again circulated, that, when in Switzerland, the Prince of Wales expressed himself in favour of the Church of Rome. Page 59: The conduct of the Prince since his return (from Rome) I regret to say, has been such as to aggravate the fears of judicious Protestants. It was not without concern that they read in the public prints that the Prince of Wales had presented to the "Holy Father" a present, value £50,000. They were quite at a loss to comprehend the reasons of it; many of them ventured to think and say that so large a portion of the hard-earned money of England might have been expended on a far worthier object.

We will not reproduce any of the impertinent comments on the Prince's residence at Oxford, or his visit to Canada, but we contend that there is an unwarrantable imputation of motives in the above clerical demagogism, and whatever may have been the motive of Dr. Campbell, and however much he and his publisher may rejoice, most persons will think, and some public writers might say, that ignorantly, vulgarly, and impudently to malign the Protestantism of the heir to the throne, was a scandalous and flagitious act.

THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH.—The number of white males in the Confederate States between 18 and 45 years of age, liable to conscription, exclusive of Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Delaware, is 1,118,000. Between the ages of 18 and 40, now called for, there are over 900,000 men, exclusive of the Border States. Deducting 200,000 sick and disabled from this number, we still have 700,000 men in and preparing for the field. The slaves of the South will supply us with food if every man capable of bearing arms should be called to the field.—*Southern Paper*.

PORT HUDSON is a small village on the east bank of the Mississippi, 15 miles above Baton Rouge, about 40 miles below the mouth of the Red River, and is about 250 below Vicksburg.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE ASCENDENCY OF THE FEDERALISTS.

The accession of the Republican—or as they were more generally called the Democratic—party to power altered, and, indeed, seemed in many cases almost to reverse, the attitude of the contending parties in regard to a considerable number of important political questions. The Federalists had always, as aforesaid, been the upholders of the rights of the central Government, which they were disposed to carry beyond the strict limits imposed by the Constitution. But now that they saw a Democrat, and a Democrat for whom they entertained a profound and perhaps well-grounded distrust, in the Presidential chair, they began to take a somewhat different view; they were inevitably in opposition, and, accordingly, were not likely to assert strongly the rights of an authority with which they were in conflict. Again, they were not only in opposition, but they were also in a decided minority in both Houses; and therefore were fain to cling to every doctrine that gave them a chance of making a successful resistance to their opponents. On the other hand, the extreme jealousy with which the Democrats had always regarded the encroachments, real or supposed, of the Federal authority naturally abated when that authority came into their own hands. They did not think it necessary to watch cautiously for any undue stretch of power, any infringement of the sovereign prerogatives of the States, by Jefferson, the extreme upholder of State rights. Accordingly, we sometimes find the Federalists and the Democrats taking exactly the opposite course to that which would have accorded with their doctrines and their antecedents. The struggle of parties for the next twenty years—that is, until the Federalists ceased to exist as a party—was rather a war for persons than for principles. This tendency was aggravated by the conduct of the President—conduct which suggests a suspicion that his previous advocacy of extreme anti-Federalist views was rather the policy of an ambitious man than the sincere advice of a political philosopher. He required for the Union the territory of Louisiana, and acquired it under circumstances, and on conditions that were afterwards alleged to impose obligations which neither Congress nor the President had any right to undertake. He, moreover, began that system of removals from office without cause which was afterwards carried to such a pitch of extravagance by Jackson and his successors; alleging in excuse that his predecessors had only appointed Federalists, and that he did but restore the balance of power. As only twelve years had elapsed since the formation of the Constitution, and as the great majority of offices were filled before the organization of parties, this excuse can hardly be accepted. It would be difficult to deny that Jefferson did that which he believed to be for the interest of the country; it would be unjust to doubt that his administration was on the whole just, prudent, and successful; but it would be absurd to attribute to it any consistency with his previous Democratic professions.

During his first term of office arose one of the first difficulties on any question distinctly connected with slavery. The territory north of the Ohio had been ceded to the Union by the State of Virginia, on the express condition that slavery should not be legalized there. Several citizens of the territory which afterwards became the State of Indiana, attempted to induce Congress to repeal the ordinance which carried this treaty into effect. In 1803 a Committee of the House reported against the repeal. In 1804 another Committee reported in favour of a partial and temporary toleration of slavery in Indiana. In 1806 a third Committee reported in

similar terms; and in 1807 a fourth reached the same conclusion. In the same year a Committee of the Senate reported "That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth article of compact"—the article inhibiting slavery—"for the Government of the territory of the United States, north-west of the River Ohio." And here the subject dropped. By this time all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line, had taken measures to abolish slavery within their frontiers. Since that time no State has followed the example.

Jefferson's re-election was almost unanimous, so far as the Electoral Colleges were concerned; a fact which shows the comparative insignificance into which the Federal party had sunk in the eight years which had elapsed since the election of Adams. They had only seven senators, and twenty-five members of the House of Representatives; and though they continued for some time longer regularly to nominate candidates for the Presidency, and to hold together as a party, they never again became formidable.

The boldest exercise of the Federal power that history records occurred during the Presidency of Jefferson, and was made the subject of a long and obstinate party contest. Napoleon's famous decrees excluding the English from every Continental port, and confiscating English merchandise, provoked the retaliation which the British Government inflicted by the Orders in Council of 1807, forbidding all trade with the parts from which British shipping was excluded. Of course the right of issuing such orders was exceedingly questionable. As a retaliation upon France, they were perfectly justified; but inasmuch as they struck at all neutral Powers in order to strike at France, it can hardly be wondered that the neutrals, and the United States as the most important of neutral nations, were exceedingly indignant at such an invasion of their right of trade with ports not actually blockaded. There was a general feeling in favour of resenting by arms the pretensions of England. Mr. Jefferson, however, like both his predecessors, was honestly and wisely anxious to avoid war. The leaders of the Revolution knew much better than did the people how great was the power of England, and how very small a fraction of her strength had been put forth against the revolted colonies. They remembered, too, if the people did not, that even that fraction of her strength might have proved too great for them, but for the aid of France. England was now stronger than ever, and France was powerless except on the Continent of Europe. War would therefore be imprudent; more, it would be of doubtful justice. Admitting, as we must now admit, that England was quite wrong in point of law, still it could hardly be contended that she was bound to submit quietly to the illegal conduct of her enemy; and American statesmen saw and made allowance for her embarrassments, which the American people could not be expected to do. We must allow that the conduct of the immediate successors of Washington towards foreign countries generally, and towards England in particular, was eminently wise and fair, when compared with that of the successors of Andrew Jackson. But we are concerned with the party rather than with the national aspects of that policy. Determined, if possible, to avoid a collision, and knowing that if American vessels were illegally made prizes by British cruisers in pursuance of the Orders in Council it would be almost impossible to restrain the people from war, Jefferson recommended to Congress a measure intended to prevent all possibility of such untoward event, though at a heavy cost to American commerce. He recommended an embargo precluding all American vessels from leaving port. It might have been expected that the Federalists would be the only supporters of so extreme an exercise of the authority of Congress. It might have been expected that every Democrat would have given his vote against it. But the case was exactly the reverse. Quoting from a reliable authority, the author of "Parties and their Principles," says:—

The Bill for laying an embargo passed the Senate 22 yeas and 6 nays, and was carried in the House 82 to 44. On looking at the yeas and nays, I notice the name of one gentleman, at that time holding his seat as a Federalist, who voted for the embargo—and one also, so regarded as a "Democrat," who voted against it.

Perhaps there never was a more strict drawing of the lines between parties than on this occasion. It was the great point or "landmark" of Mr. Jefferson's Administration, involving in its practice the whole of his theory in favour of peace, and in opposition to war. But it rekindled the old fire of party. He that was for the embargo, was a Democrat, he that was against it a Federalist. It was a wall between the parties, to be seen, and almost felt [with the hand (so strong was it)], in every State, city, county, town, village, or hamlet of the United States, and in every class and condition of the people, "high or low, rich or poor." It was the touchstone of principle.

As Jefferson, following Washington's example, declined to be put in nomination for a third term of office, the choice of a majority of the Democratic party fell on James Madison, of Virginia, Jefferson's Secretary of State. The

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.)

The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopædia. Edited by M. W. Clusky. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benton, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1836; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist, or the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

other Democratic candidate was James Monroe, also of Virginia. The Federalists made a nomination, but their candidate only received forty-seven electoral votes, to 122 for Madison. Congress had substituted what was called a "Non-intercourse Act," for the embargo; and this policy of commercial self-sacrifice in order to avoid war, was the ground on which the battle for the Presidency was fought. Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, attempted a compromise, but was disavowed by his own Government, and the hostile feeling towards England was thereby increased.

In 1811 the Bank, established by Hamilton, expired; Congress having refused to renew its charter. The two Houses were very nearly divided, and the probability is that, but that for the fact that the Bank was chiefly under the direction of Federalists, and that the President had opposed its original foundation, the renewal would have been granted. As it was, the Bill was lost by one vote in the House, and by the casting vote of Vice-President Clinton in the Senate. Henry Clay was one of the chief speakers against the Bill. In the next Congress he was elected Speaker of the House; a choice which marked the ascendancy of that section of the Democratic party which was urgent for war with England. Yielding, it is said, to the temptation held out by the prospect of re-election, and against the better judgment of himself and his confidential advisers, Mr. Madison consented to declare war with England; a course in which Mr. Monroe, his successor, and now his Secretary of State, seems to have fully concurred. Nor are we sure that Mr. Madison was wrong. A war with England was not prudent, and would probably have been disastrous, had England acted with vigour and good sense. But it must not be forgotten that England had very sorely tried the temper of the American people. Acting on her own municipal law of impressment, she had asserted the right of seizing English seamen on board American vessels; and, as was natural, her officers sometimes made a mistake, and seized American-born citizens. It was hardly to be expected that the United States should endure this, especially from the Power to which, of all in the world, they were least kindly disposed; nor do we think that it was their duty to endure it. Unless redress could have been obtained without war, we do not know that peace was any longer possible. However, there was a strong opposition in both branches of Congress to the declaration of war.

The measure was adopted in the House by a vote of 79 to 48, but was delayed in the Senate for fourteen days after it was submitted to that body, when it finally passed 19 to 13. At first it was evident that the majority was against the war; and a proposition was made, on which the Senate was equally divided on the first vote, for granting reprisals against the commerce of Great Britain, by public or private ships of the United States; but after several days of disciplining and urging, a majority voted in favour of it. Of the seventy-nine members of the House who voted for the war, sixty-two resided south, seventeen north of the Delaware; of the nineteen senators who voted on the same side, fourteen resided south, and five north of the Delaware. Thus the war may be said to have been a measure of the South and West to take care of the interest of the North, much against the will of the latter. The whole number of members residing north of the Delaware was sixty-eight, of whom only twenty-one voted for the war.

The Act declaring war was approved on the 18th of June, 1812.

The Federalists, who had been strongly opposed to the war, supported Dr. W. H. Clinton, the nominee of the New York Democrats, as their candidate for the Presidency; but he received only eighty-nine votes to 128 for Madison. In the 13th Congress, which assembled in December, 1813, the Federalists had sixty-eight representatives out of 182, and nine Senators out of thirty-six.

In 1814 occurred what has been called the first secession movement—the Convention of Delegates from the New England States at Hartford. The actual steps taken by that Assembly do not seem to have involved any infringement of the Constitution. It proposed an application to the Federal Government for permission to New England to provide for her own defence,—that is, virtually, to stand aloof from the war—and recommended the Legislatures of the States to take measures for separate defence; a scheme which almost implied secession, but abstained, with great cunning, from expressing any illegal intention by the saving clause requiring an application to the Federal Government. The Convention also recommended several amendments to the Constitution, limiting the powers of Congress in reference to measures of hostility, and requiring the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses in an interdiction of trade or a declaration of war; abolishing the representation of slaves, prohibiting the reelection of a President. The sting of the resolutions, however, lay in the threat implied in the last of the string.

Resolved, That if the application of these States to the Government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded and the defence of these States should be neglected, as it has

been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this Convention, be expedient for the Legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to another Convention to meet at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

(To be continued.)

THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN THE DISRUPTION.*

We are glad to see this able essay reprinted from the *Christian Remembrancer*, for it gives some valuable information upon a subject but little understood and considered in this country—the condition of the Transatlantic "Church of England." Not the least of the benefits conferred on the New World by the mother country is her ecclesiastical system, which exercises a large influence on the most important classes of the community. In 1859, according to the returns of the Triennial General Convention held in Richmond in that year, there were in the North 97,388 communicants, and in the South 38,561. Of course the number of communicants is only a percentage of the number of worshippers, though probably a larger percentage than in this country. In general religious statistics the South "can show larger relative figures than the North. The number of 'Churches,' so called, in the South was 16,671, and in the North 21,295, in 1850—i.e., the South is as 115 to 150 to the North in point of number of places of worship, while it is as 100 to 150 in respect of population." The negroes are to a great extent Methodists, and the number of communicants among them is very large. Our author reminds his readers of the freedom of the South from "isms." He says: "We have evidence to show that such forms of devil-worship as Spiritualism, Mormonism, Free-love, &c., are very abhorrent to the general Southern mind."

Before the South seceded from the Union, there had been a disruption of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches. Long ere the election of Mr. Lincoln, Mason's and Dixon's line cut their connection in two: and shrewd men, seeing this, had a presentiment of the coming political disruption. If religious sects could not hold together, it was impossible the political bond could endure. The Episcopal Church remained united to the last—until the political separation had been accomplished. Such a proceeding was natural to a conservative Church. When the new Government was formed, the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States was constituted. We elsewhere give the pastoral of the bishops issued at the close of the Session of the First General Council, the text of which we take from this pamphlet. English Churchmen will be gratified to learn how their brethren in the South hold fast to the laws and forms of the mother Church. The canon law "is the same moderate, just, and equal body of ecclesiastical law, by which the Church has been governed on this continent since her reception from the Church of England of the treasures of an Apostolic ministry and a Liturgical form of worship."

For an interesting summary of the proceedings of the Northern Church Convention we must refer our readers to the pamphlet; and we will conclude this notice with a passage which testifies the religious character of the South:—

All authorities agree that the secession has remarkably evoked a general feeling of religious earnestness in the people, which is thus staking its all on one heroic venture. Of this earnestness the living embodiment is found in General Thomas Jefferson Jackson, of Virginia, better known as "Stonewall" Jackson—a young man under forty, who had for some years past been quietly serving his State as head of its military academy—whose earnestness in prayer and constant reliance on the blessing of God has extorted the admiration even of the enemy. McClellan, to his credit, ordered the observance of Sunday in his army, an order which Lincoln has repeated; but such a man as "Stonewall" Jackson the North has not yet produced. We shall not be suspected of any predilection for Presbyterianism, or any great confidence in revivalism, because we pay a hearty tribute to his merits. His religion is at least terribly real; the congregations whom he assembles at his prayer-meetings are men whose lives, like those of their leader, are pledged to their country. At bye-times between his revivals he is found reviving Marathon and Sempach. Yet not one calumniator has been found to whisper that the religion of "Stonewall" Jackson is either a pretence or a political stratagem. His real greatness will, we have no doubt, make itself seen, if his life is prolonged into the years of peace which will follow the consolidation of the Southern States into a nation which owes its existence to its own unaided and heroic sufferings.

But the conflict in Virginia is not without its special features of peculiar interest to Churchmen. When the good old Squire-Bishop Meade, who went so steadfastly with Virginia, was on his deathbed—a deathbed, by the way, hurried by the exertions which the aged prelate made to preside at the consecration of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama, the first fruits of the separated Church of the Confederacy—he sent for General Lee, whom he had known from a child, to give him his blessing and enjoin him to persevere in the contest. The cause was just, said the Bishop, and he would succeed at last. How Lee fulfilled this behest history testifies.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

RICHMOND, January 3.

SIR,—“God has granted us a happy new year,” says General Bragg, in his latest official telegram announcing the result of the recent battle near Murfreesboro, in Tennessee, and surely the people of the Confederate States have abundant cause for gratitude to the only Giver of all victory in the glorious success which has so recently crowned their arms. The second year of the War of Southern Independence could hardly have been brought to a more triumphant close. Two immense and well-appointed Federal armies, upon whose operations in the winter campaign the most confident hopes of the subjugation of the South had been built, have been rendered powerless for a time—the armies of Burnside and Rosecrans; while a third, the army intended for the reduction of Vicksburg, despairing of a successful land attack upon that obstinate little city, has re-embarked on its transports and gone up the Mississippi. Victorious throughout their borders and defiant of the foe, patient under all the sufferings and privations incident to a state of blockade, and the invasion of their territory by innumerable hosts, and hopeful of the future, the Southern people await the events of the current year with a firm reliance on their own unaided efforts, under Divine Providence, to work out their national salvation.

The repulse of Burnside at Fredericksburg, though productive of no immediate benefit other than the demoralization of his troops, was felt and acknowledged by the Yankees as a staggering blow. We captured no colours, no guns, no camp equipage, and but few prisoners. Our generals were not themselves aware of the extent of the injury they had inflicted on the enemy, until the latter had recrossed the Rappahannock. Indeed, it was supposed by Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and all their brother commanders, that the serious advance of the enemy upon their lines would be made on Sunday, the 14th of December, the movement the day previous being regarded by them as only a reconnoissance in force. But though Burnside had ordered the whole army under his command to dash itself against the “rebel” entrenchments with the morning light, and had telegraphed his Government that the next day he would “carry the crest,” when the day came, generals and army were mutinous, and thought only of getting safely across the river again, behind their heavy guns in position on Stafford Heights. For miles the open plateau, between the wooded high grounds, where lay the army of General Lee, and the river behind them, was strewn with the dead of Franklin's and Sumner's divisions, while, on the extreme Yankee left, the streets of the dismantled little town of Fredericksburg were cumbered with “unhandsome corpses.” In view of this terrible decimation of their ranks, the Yankee troops cried out that they had been forced into a “slaughter-pen,” and positively refused to renew the attack. Burnside himself, when he dictated to the operator the telegraphic message about “carrying the crest” on the morrow, and estimated his loss at 5000 men, little knew the fearful sacrifice that had attended the attempt of the day. Up to that moment he had not been on the field in person, his point of survey having been fixed in an observatory on the top of Phillip's House, on the northern bank of the Rappahannock, from which place he regarded the scene through a powerful glass, and issued his orders for the disposition of his troops as the fight went on. When he came to know the whole truth of the sorrowful business, he at once saw the necessity of withdrawing his shattered and disaffected army; and on the morning of the third day, before dawn, profiting by a thick rain, the discomfited legions that should have marched joyfully into Richmond were glad to make their escape from “the rebels” across their pontoons. Some unfavourable criticism has been indulged in by the Richmond press on the conduct of General Lee, in permitting this vast force to regain the opposite bank of the river in safety. It has been said, too, that had he shelled Fredericksburg the night succeeding the battle, he might have destroyed half the Yankee survivors of the fray that were huddled together in the streets and houses of the town. It is always easy to say, by the light of facts which have subsequently transpired, what ought to have been done upon any particular occasion, and the fame of these “prophets of the past” is cheap enough. Voltaire, in his life of Charles XII., tells us of a Council of War held the day after a battle had been lost, which satisfactorily demonstrated how it might have been won; but the Q.E.D. is not so conclusive as to the destruction of Burnside's army in its retreat across the Rappahannock. The entire open space from the river to the position of the Confederates was commanded by the heavy guns of the Yankees posted on the hills of Stafford, and to have pursued the retiring columns to their pontoons, would have been to subject our brave troops to a murderous

* The American Church in the Disruption. By the Author of “The Church Cause and the Church Party,” &c. (London: John Murray.)

fire that we had no power to silence, and thus to make a sacrifice greater even than the enemy had just sustained. General Lee is not so bad an economist of his forces as to have hazarded this. With regard to the midnight bombardment of Fredericksburg, the propriety of such a measure may well be doubted, when we consider that it must have imperilled many of our own citizens, and brought total ruin upon the habitations of more than 5000 persons, whose sufferings had already been severe and whose unswerving loyalty to Virginia and the Confederacy, in this cruel extreme of fortune, will adorn one of the brightest pages in the history of the war.

The disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg has been generally attributed by the press of the North to what they are pleased to call the impregnable positions chosen by General Lee, and the frightful havoc made in their ranks by the plunging fire of our artillery. A word or two on each of these points. That General Lee's positions were chosen with consummate military skill is undeniable, nay, he had an immense reserve of resources in his lines of entrenchment of which the enemy knew nothing. But it is worthy of remark that the Yankees undertook at Fredericksburg for the first time, the dangerous work of carrying batteries by assault, and found it, to their surprise, a very different thing from defending batteries assailed from the front. Hitherto they have waited, behind "impregnable positions," for the Confederate attack, and, in the great majority of instances, have been compelled to abandon them before the impetuous onset of men whom they speak of as an undisciplined, bare-footed, shirtless rabble. In the memorable days of June and July, 1862, the gallant boys of Gregg, Featherstone, Pryor, Rickett, and others among our brigadiers then in command, carried battery after battery, and field-work after field-work, along a distance of thirty miles, in all respects as formidable as the "impregnable positions," that "fighting Joe Hooker" could not take at Fredericksburg; indeed, the pursuit of McClellan from Mechanicsville to Malvern Hill was one continuous assault of heavy fortifications and strongly-posted batteries. At Malvern Hill alone they made a successful resistance, and even there it is admitted by the Yankees themselves we should have carried their positions had the storming party consisted of a division, or even a brigade, instead of two or three thin regiments thrown out in every instance. As for the withering fire of our artillery at Fredericksburg, the report of the Committee of the Federal Congress, appointed to inquire into the causes of the defeat of Burnside, furnishes a striking commentary upon the assumption that no body of men could have stood against such a *feu d'enfer*. That our guns were well served there can be no question; but, as is usually the case, the destruction in the ranks of the enemy was caused mostly by the infantry. Upon a careful examination of the field, and the dead bodies found upon it, as well as of a large number of wounded men in the hospitals, the committee found that 83 per cent of the casualties must be attributed to Minié balls fired from the regulation rifled musket; 14 per cent they attributed to the explosion of shells, while only 3 per cent. was supposed to be the damage caused by round shot, grape, and canister combined.

The enemy's entire loss on the 13th of December will probably be never accurately ascertained, but it did not fall short of 20,000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

The number of slain left upon the field was not less than 4000, and the *New York World* declares that 20,000 cripples for life were made by that fatal day's fighting; but as the latter statement occurs in the midst of an article bitterly rebuking the Administration, it may be considered extravagant. All the decencies of life, all the promptings of humanity, were disregarded by the enemy in the burial of their dead. Hundreds of bodies were thrown together in a *fosse commune* dug upon the very edge of the town, and so thin a layer of dirt was laid above them that the first heavy rain will expose the festering mass of corruption to the sight. In other instances, the ice-houses, the sinks, the sewers, were made the receptacles of the carcasses. It may well be believed that an army so reckless of its duties to its fallen comrades was under no restraint in its conduct towards the people whose territory it invaded. Accordingly the "abomination of desolation" marks its footsteps upon the soil of Virginia. The wanton cannonade opened upon a town of non-combatants, after barely twelve hours' notice, was a direct encouragement given by the commanding general to his brutal soldiery to commit any barbarity that pleased them towards the people of Fredericksburg, but such encouragement was not needed. The place was sacked. The furniture and plate of the very houses of God were carried off or destroyed. Private dwellings were pillaged of their contents, and defaced by insulting inscriptions scribbled upon the walls. The Masonic Lodge of

Fredericksburg has long boasted among its treasures the regalia that was worn by George Washington as a member of the ancient and honourable fraternity of free and accepted Masons. This regalia was stolen, it is said, by an officer of the United States. Upon the main street of the town there still stands a quaint and venerable structure, well known to all who have visited the place, as the dwelling, in former days, of Mary the mother of George Washington. The structure enjoyed no immunity from the general defacement and defilement. All that it contained was seized as booty, and ribald sentences were scrawled upon the wainscots and ceilings of its antiquated apartments. If anything could be more touching than the cheerful fortitude and uncomplaining spirit of the noble citizens of Fredericksburg, in their shelterless and impoverished condition, it would be recognized in the spontaneous efforts of the Southern people to alleviate their sufferings, and the warm sympathies of the "undisciplined, barefooted, shirtless rabble" that drove the enemy from the town. In Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Charlottesville, private houses were opened to receive the unhappy fugitives. A fund of \$50,000, the voluntary contributions of kind hearts in all parts of the Confederacy, has already been collected in this city, while the Mayor of Fredericksburg has received half as much more from the soldiers in the field.

While the Confederate loss in the battle was not numerically severe in comparison with the loss of the enemy, it was large enough in figures, and bitter enough in contemplation of the character of many of the slain, to repress any feeling of exultation on our part. The gallant gentleman and accomplished scholar, General Thomas R. R. Cobb, of Georgia, who fell dead upon the soil he was defending, will be lamented all over the land. South Carolina does not weep alone over the honoured dust of her heroic son, General Maxey Gregg. The lives of such men make a fearful item in that sorrowful sum total which must be paid in the price of our liberties. Our advices from Murfreesboro are not sufficiently full to enable us to estimate the entire value of the victory gained over Rosecrans by the forces of General Bragg. We only know that the day was ours, that 7000 prisoners (including three brigadier-generals), thirty-one pieces of artillery, 200 waggons and teams, and a considerable quantity of commissary stores, have fallen into our hands, and that the great Army of the North-West, made up of the best fighting material of the United States, has been badly beaten. It may be that General Bragg will yet be compelled to fall back from Murfreesboro before heavy reinforcements supplied from Nashville, the Yankee base of operations in that quarter, in which event the decisive conflict for the redemption of the Mississippi Valley must yet be fought on another field; but our troops will go into that conflict, wherever and whenever joined, with a *prestige* of victory from brilliant successes already achieved, and under the lead of a commander, Joe Johnston, who has never known a defeat.

Nonnew year's intelligence has been received here, at the present writing, from Albany, where Governor Seymour was inaugurated on the 1st of January, or from Washington, where Lincoln was expected to signalize the day by his final proclamation declaring slavery absolutely non-existent in the Confederate States. The latter document will prove a mere *brutum fulmen* in much the larger part of the Confederacy, everywhere, indeed, except in the immediate presence of the Federal armies. The 1st of January dawned here in cloudless glory, no thunder shook the sky, no earthquake stirred the ground, all the operations of nature went on in their accustomed order, not a thought of Lincoln's upheaval of all social institutions disturbed the ordinary routine of our domestic concerns, or interrupted the labours of the factory or the plantation. Governor Seymour is pledged to put the State of New York in antagonism to the Government of the United States upon this question of slavery, and upon the *lettres de cachet* by which citizens of that State are now thrown into Fort Lafayette at the pleasure of Mr. Seward, but we build small hopes of peace upon the triumph of the Northern Democracy. They would carry on the war strictly in accordance with the Constitution, forsooth, but they still would carry on the war. It matters little to us practically, therefore, who is in power, *Tros Tyrusæ*, we must fight it out. The Hon. James Brooks, who has spoken some noble words in rebuke of the Washington tyranny, is desirous of peace, but looks for reconstruction, and would invite the seceding States to meet their Northern friends (!) in convention, during an armistice of six months, to compose the unhappy differences that divide them. The conservative gentlemen of the North address us in the affectionate formula of the second column of the *Times*.

If the "Wayward Sisters," who, two years ago left their homes, will return to their disconsolate relatives, all will be forgiven.

Trop tard, Mr. Brooks—the sooner the honest recusants you represent, who have at last woke up to the fact that all constitutional liberty has been lost in Black Republican rule, can open their eyes to the inexorable necessity of a final separation, the better will it be for all parties. We want no reconstruction, and will hear of none; we ask no forgiveness, as we are wholly unconscious of offence; all we demand is to be let alone, and we will fight until you are willing to call off the dogs. It is patent now, that the war is only prosecuted as a question of boundary, a question which the unconstitutional admission into the Federal Union of the new State of "Western Virginia" greatly perplexes, and in the ultimate solution of which all Europe must see that the principle of the *uti possidetis* is wholly inapplicable. Not until every rightful foot of Southern territory has been relinquished, and the States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, shall have been left free to decide for themselves whether they will go with the United, or the Confederate States, will we hearken to overtures for a settlement. In the forty-five counties composing the pretended new State of "Western Virginia," a majority of voters endorsed at the polls the Ordinance of Secession, and this fact of itself should decide the future of that disloyal section, apart from the paramount question of indefeasible State sovereignty.

President Davis has been absent from Richmond for several weeks, on a visit to the South-West, accompanied by General Joseph E. Johnston, now commanding in the department. His presence has everywhere called forth the liveliest enthusiasm among our troops and our people at their homes. At Jackson he addressed the Legislature of Mississippi in a speech characterized by his accustomed simplicity and strength, which may be accepted as a formal exposition of his views upon the stirring questions of the hour.

You have not failed to observe the proclamation of President Davis concerning Butler, declaring him an enemy of the human race, the justice of which has been recognized by the antislavery verdict of Christendom, nor the general orders which preceded this proclamation, looking to retaliation for the butchery of innocent citizens of Missouri by the fiend McNeil. The Beast of Boston has escaped the just vengeance of an outraged people, by giving place to General Banks in the command at New Orleans, but the execrations of mankind will follow him through the remnant of his disgraceful life. In the State of Virginia the policy of retaliatory measures has been adopted by Governor Letcher, who has caused five prisoners, taken by General John B. Floyd, of the Virginia State Line, to be imprisoned in the penitentiary, where they will be kept in safe custody (two of them in solitary confinement) until Lincoln shall release Col. Zarvona, of St. Nicholas notoriety, who is now confined as a felon in Fort Lafayette.

The blessed season of Christmas, which has just passed, was celebrated with less of festive commemoration in Virginia than has been observed for half a century. Our hearts were lighter than they were at the last return of the anniversary, and under a becoming sense of gratitude to God for his signal mercies in our deliverance from the hands of our enemies, we might, perhaps, have indulged innocently enough in the merriment and good cheer of the holidays to the fullest extent. But the hilarity and hospitable rites of Christmas were restrained, in the recent instance, by many circumstances and considerations. A large number of the old mansions in Piedmont and Tidewater, Virginia, in which, a year ago, the yule fires blazed cheerily and happy groups were assembled, have been dismantled and despoiled by the ruthless foe—some of them, alas! are in ruins, and their former occupants fugitives and in poverty. As for the bounteous good-living that belongs to Christmas, it was given over in the late season upon sheer compulsion. The straits in which we have been placed by the blockade admit of no unnecessary profusion, and the cellar, in too many cases, did not furnish the requisites for the annual symposium. Wine there was not, nor even its more fiery substitutes. Jolly Dr. Maginn might well sing, in his abundance of "the rosy"—

Drink to me only in a jug, and I will pledge with mine;
Come fill my glass with whisky-punch, and I'll not ask for wine.

But a glass of whisky punch, without Irish whisky and without lemons, is an impossibility. Yet if the country districts had not been laid waste, and we had possessed for merry-making "all appliances and means to boot," it were enough to repress the disposition for mirth and revel, that so many bosoms were stricken with sorrow throughout the Confederacy. We could not but remember, too, that the war is not yet over; that the foe, though beaten back in disgrace, has yet great power, and the greatest desire, to do us further mischief, and we have universally deferred until a future holiday the

social enjoyment which the period of the year would otherwise have sanctioned.

Our winter has, so far, been mild, almost without a precedent within living recollection. One fall of snow in the month of November, and two sharp, brief spells of freezing weather since, have been all of the rigours of winter that we have experienced. Five days of every week have been like the dreamy, hazy, golden winter days of Rome; and the intense blue of our American sky has at times seemed deeper and more lovely than that which bends over the Campagna. Nature has appeared to mock the desolations of the war.

Richmond is uncomfortably full of strangers just now. Among them are Colonel Leslie, of the House of Commons, and the Marquis of Hartington, son of the Duke of Devonshire, the same gentleman whose name President Lincoln facetiously remarked upon as furnishing a rhyme to Mrs. Partington. They have just returned from a jaunt, with the correspondent of the *Times*, to the army near Fredericksburg, and go hence to Charleston.

Congress will meet in this city on the 12th inst.

A SOUTHERNER.

THE HISTORY OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—So much having of late been said about Mr. Mason's connection with the Fugitive Slave Law, I beg to send you the following brief sketch of the true history of that law, and its real authorship, as derived from the most authentic records.

The Constitution of the United States is the author of the so-called Fugitive Slave Law. It contains a clause stipulating between the States parties to it, for the surrender of fugitives escaping from one State into the jurisdiction of another State, and without which such fugitives could not be reclaimed; that is to say:—

1st. Felons, called fugitives from justice.

2nd. Apprentices or indentured servants, called persons "held to service."

3rd. Slaves, called persons "near to labour."

This stipulation is found in Article 4, Section 2, of the Constitution, in the following words:—

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

This provision, it is seen, makes it incumbent to "deliver up" a fugitive of either class to the jurisdiction from which he fled.

The Constitution went into operation in 1787, but no case arose calling for the aid of this stipulation until 1792-93, and it arose then in the case of a fugitive from justice. The Governor of one of the States desired to reclaim a person guilty of felony who was found in another State. The Governor of the State where the fugitive sought refuge decided that he had no power either to apprehend or to "deliver him up." An appeal was then made to the Executive of the United States, as a duty devolving on it under the Constitution, General Washington being then President. The question was referred by him to the Attorney-General of the United States, as its law adviser. The Attorney-General reported that, although the duty was imperative, the Constitution required legislation to give it effect, and that without such legislation the Government was without power in the premises.

President Washington laid this report before Congress, with a recommendation that proper legislation should be supplied to give effect to the Constitution in this regard. No difficulty had arisen at that day about the surrender of slaves escaping from their masters; "Runaways," as they were called in common parlance; they were retaken by their masters wherever found, without hindrance, and with the aid, if necessary, of the vicinage.

Congress, on the President's recommendation, took up the subject, and finding that three classes of fugitives were provided for in the same article of the Constitution, enacted a law embracing the three classes as in *pari materia*, by the Act entitled, "An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and Persons escaping from the Service of their Masters," approved by President Washington, February 12th, 1793. This Act, the first passed for the recovery of fugitive slaves, provided for their arrest by the owner, in whatsoever State such fugitive was found, and imposed penalties on any who should obstruct or hinder such arrest, or rescue the fugitive from the custody of his owner, or should harbour or conceal him.

If there be any prurient curiosity to establish the authorship of the so-called "Fugitive Slave Law," it is

thus historically traced. The Constitution of the United States is author of the principle of the reclamation of the slave, and General Washington, by his recommendation to Congress, was the author of the law to give effect to the principle, the Constitution being powerless *proprio vigore*.

Mr. Mason, thus, was not the author of this law, but he was the author of a subsequent law of Congress, passed in 1850, more effectually to carry into effect the provisions of the Act of 1793, which the title of the Act of 1850 fully discloses, it being entitled, "An Act to amend and supplementary to an Act entitled an Act respecting Fugitives from Labour and Justice," approved February 12th, 1793."

JUSTICE.

THE CONFEDERATE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

PASTORAL OF THE BISHOPS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES, 1862.

At your request, brethren of the Clergy and Laity, we conclude the session of our First General Council by presenting to you and reading in your presence a Pastoral Letter, addressed to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church scattered throughout the Confederate States. By the mighty power of the Holy Ghost we have been permitted to bring our deliberations to a close in a spirit of harmony and peace which augurs well for the future welfare of our branch of the Church Catholic; and our first duty is to thank Him who has promised to be with His Church to the end of the world, for His presence with us during our consultations, and for the happy conclusion to which He has brought our sacred labours.

Seldom has any council assembled in the Church of Christ under circumstances needing His presence more urgently than this which is now about to submit its conclusions to the judgment of the Universal Church. Forced by the providence of God to separate ourselves from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States—a Church with whose doctrine, discipline, and worship, we are in entire harmony, and with whose action, up to the time of that separation, we were abundantly satisfied—at a moment when civil strife had dipped its foot in blood, and cruel war was desolating our homes and firesides, we required a double measure of grace to preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of Canons, but, above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer. Cut off from all communication with our churches of the world, we have been compelled to act without any interchange of opinion even with our Mother Church, and alone and unaided to arrange for ourselves the organization under which we should do our part in carrying on to their consummation the purposes of God in Christ Jesus. We trust that the Spirit of Christ has indeed so directed, sanctified, and governed us in our work, that we shall be approved by all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth, and who are earnest in preparing the world for His coming in glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead.

The constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, under which we have been exercising our legislative functions, is the same as that of the church from which we have been providentially separated, save that we have introduced into it a germ of expansion which was wanting in the old constitution. This is found in the permission which is granted to existing dioceses to form themselves by subdivision into provinces, and by this process gradually to reduce our immense dioceses into Episcopal Sees, more like those which, in primitive times, covered the territories of the Roman Empire. It is at present but a germ, and may lie, for many years, without expansion, but being there, it gives promise, in the future, of a more close and constant Episcopal supervision than is possible under our present arrangement.

The Canon Law, which has been adopted during our present session, is altogether in its spirit, and almost in its letter, identical with that under which we have hitherto prospered. We have simplified it in some respects, and have made it more clear and plain in many of its requirements; but no changes have been introduced which have altered either its tone or character. It is the same moderate, just, and equal body of ecclesiastical law by which the Church has been governed on this continent since her reception from the Church of England of the treasures of an Apostolic Ministry and a Liturgical form of worship.

The Prayer-book we have left untouched in every particular, save where a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. Three words comprise all the amendment which has been deemed necessary in the present emergency, for we have felt unwilling, in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a book consecrated by the use of ages, and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience than the hasty action of a body convened almost upon the outskirts of a camp.

Besides this actual legislation which we now submit to you, our assembling together has given us a view of the condition of the Church throughout the Confederate States, which renders it our duty to speak to you as chief pastors over the flock of Christ, reminding you of the peculiar encouragements which surround us, specifying the points towards which our efforts, as a Christian Church, should be directed, and pointing out the deficiencies which require instant correction and amendment. No moment seems so propitious for the performance of this duty as that in which we are beginning a new life in the Church, and are preparing to stamp ourselves upon the world, for good or for evil.

Our highest encouragement is derived from the fact, that we hold the sacred trust of the faith once delivered to the Saints, and that we hold it in connexion with a ministry whose succession from Christ and His Apostles is undoubted, and with a form of worship simple and pure, yet sublime and Scriptural. These are not gifts to make a boast of, but to use for the glory of God, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom. Far from filling us with vainglory, their possession should humble us to the dust, unless we approve ourselves faithful stewards of such inestimable treasures. To whom much has been committed, from him will much be required, and it remains for us to prove whether we have deserved so spiritual an inheritance. But possessing it, we may rightfully feel that we enter upon our warfare with the world, the flesh, and the devil, having all the strength that Divine Truth and a Divine commission can give us. We can press on without any doubts resting upon our hearts as to the truth which we

are teaching, as to the validity of the Sacraments which we are administering, or as to the authority of the orders which we are transmitting. Upon all these points we are secure, and we can go forward offering to all men, with boldness and confidence, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the fellowship of the Saints. Whatever hindrances we may meet, or whatever contradiction of men we may encounter, we can rest assured that truth will finally prevail, and that God will set His Son upon His holy hill of Zion.

Our next source of encouragement is, that we enter upon our work with our dioceses fully organized, and with the means which Christ has instituted in His Church well distributed throughout the Confederate States. When we remember the very different auspices under which the venerated Fathers of the American Church began their work, and mark how it has grown and prospered, we should indeed take courage and feel no fear for the future. In their case all their ecclesiastical arrangements had to be organized; in our case we find these arrangements all ready to our hand, and with the seal of a happy experience stamped upon them. In their case every prejudice of the land was strong against them. In our case we go forward with the leading minds of our new Republic cheering us on by their communion with us, and with no prejudications to overcome, save those which arise from a lack of acquaintance with our doctrine and worship. In their case they were indeed few, and separated far from one another in their work upon the walls of Zion. In our case we are comparatively well compacted, extending in an unbroken chain of dioceses from the Potomac to the confines of the Republic. Despite all these disadvantages, "the little one became a thousand, and the small one a strong nation," and shall we despair? If we be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, our God will not forsake us, but will "lengthen our cords and stretch forth the curtains of our habitations." In visible token of this fact, we have already, since our organization, added to the House of Bishops, the Right Rev. Dr. Wilmer as Bishop of Alabama, and received into communion with the Church the Diocese of Arkansas.

Another source of encouragement is, that there has been no division in the Church in the Confederate States. Believing, with a wonderful unanimity, that the providence of God had guided our footsteps, and, for His own inscrutable purposes, had forced us into a separate organization, there has been nothing to embarrass us in the preliminary movements which have conducted us to our present position. With one mind and with one heart we have entered upon this blessed work, and we stand together this day a band of brothers, one in faith, one in charity. There may be among us, as there always must be, minute differences of opinion and feeling, but there is nothing to hinder our keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. We are all satisfied that we are walking in the path of duty, and that the light of God's countenance has been wonderfully lifted up upon us. He has comforted us in our darkest hours, and has not permitted our hearts to faint in the day of adversity.

These striking encouragements vouchsafed to us from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, should fill our hearts with earnest devotedness, and should lead us even now to inquire, "Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?" And the answer to this question will lead us, your chief pastors, to specify the points towards which our efforts, as a Christian Church, should be especially directed.

Christ has founded his church upon love—for God is love. It is the highest of all Christian graces. "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity." Charity! not mere alms-giving, which is only one of its manifestations, but love—Christian love! As Christ, our Lord, loved the world so divinely that He was satisfied to suffer all things for its redemption, so does He command us to love one another, and to be ready to do all things for each other's salvation. This was His especial commandment, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another." And this is truly not only the new commandment, but the summary of all the commandments. The whole Gospel is redolent with it, with a broad, comprehensive, all-embracing love, appointed, like Aaron's rod, to swallow up all the other Christian graces, and to manifest the spiritual glory of God in Christ. A church without love! What could you augur of a Church of God without faith, or a Church of Christ without hope? But love is a higher grace than either faith or hope, and its absence from a Church is just the absence of the very life blood from the body.

Our first duty, therefore, as the children of God, is to send forth from this Council our greetings of love to the Churches of God all the world over. We greet them in Christ, and rejoice that they are partakers with us of all the grace which is treasured up in Him. We lay down to-day before the altar of the Crucified all our burdens of sin, and offer our prayers for the Church militant upon earth. Whatever may be their aspect towards us politically, we cannot forget that they rejoice with us "in the one Lord, the one faith, the one baptism, the one God and Father of all," and we wish them Godspeed in all the sacred ministries of the Church. Nothing but love is consonant with the exhibition of Christ's love which is manifested in His Church, and any note of man's bitterness, except against sin, would be a sound of discord mingling with the sweet harmonies of earth and heaven. We rejoice in this golden chord which binds us together in Christ our Redeemer, and like the ladder which Jacob saw in vision, with the angels of God ascending and descending upon it, may it ever be the channel along which shall flash the Christian greetings of the children of God.

But while we send forth this love to the whole Church militant upon earth, let us not forget that special love is due by us towards those of our own household. To us have been committed the treasures of the Church, and those of our kindred and lineage, who have sprung from our loins both naturally and spiritually, who are now united with us in a sacred conflict for the dearest rights of man, ask us for the bread of life. They pray us for that which we are commanded to give, the Gospel of the grace of God. They put in no claim for anything worldly—from anything alien from the mission of the Church. Their petition is, that we will fulfil the very purpose of our institution, and give them the means of grace. Every claim which man can have upon his fellow-man they have upon us, and having these claims they ask only for the Church. They pray us not to let them perish in the wilderness; not to permit them to be cut off from the sweet communion of the Church. "If," says the Apostle, speaking of Christian professors, and alluding to mere earthly things, "any provide not for his own, and especially for them of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;" what shall we say of that church which shall not provide for its own children? How can it hope to be watered itself with gracious rain from Heaven, when it hoards up for itself the river of life, which is ordained to flow through its channels of grace?

Many of the States of this Confederacy are missionary ground. The population is sparse and scattered; the children of the

Church are few and far between; the priests of the Lord can reach them only after great labour and privation. Hitherto has their scanty subsistence been eked out from the common treasury of our united Church. Cut off from that resource by our political action, in which they have acquiesced, they turn to us and pray us to do at least as much for them as we have been accustomed to do for the Church from which they have been separated by a civil necessity. We can do what they ask, and we ought cheerfully to do it. Unless we take care that the Gospel is sent to these isolated children of the Church, who will heed their cry? They have no Church to cry to but the Church which we now represent, and they cast themselves upon us in full faith that we will do our whole duty towards them. They are one with us in faith, in care, in suffering; they are bearing like evils with those which disturb us, and they have no worship to cheer or support them, no Gospel to preach to them patience and long suffering. For Christ's sake they pray that they may be given at least a mother's bosom to die upon.

Voices of supplication come to us also from the distant shores of Africa and the East, but only their echo reaches us from the throne of grace. The policy of man has shut out those utterances from us. How can it help their cause to separate the children of God from one another? He only knows, but we can hear them when we kneel in prayer, and commune with their spirits through the spirit of Christ. But God is perchance intending, through these inscrutable measures, to shut us up to that great work which He has placed at our very doors, and which is, next to her own expansion, the Church's greatest work in these Confederate States. The religious instruction of the negroes has been thrust upon us in such a wonderful manner, that we must be blind not to perceive, that not only our spiritual but our national life is wrapped up in their welfare. With them we stand or fall, and God will not permit us to be separated in interest or in fortune.

The time has come when the Church should press more urgently than she has hitherto done upon her laity, the solemn fact that the slaves of the South are not merely so much property, but are a sacred trust committed to us, as a people, to be prepared for the work which God may have for them to do in the future. While under this tutelage, He freely gives to us their labour, but expects us to give back to them that religious and moral instruction which is to elevate them in the scale of being. And while inculcating this truth, the Church must offer more freely her ministrations for their benefit and improvement. Her laity must set the example of readiness to fulfil their duty towards these people, and her Clergy must strip themselves of pride, and fastidiousness, and indolence. The teachings of the Church are those which best suit a people passing from ignorance to civilization, because, while it represses all fanaticism, it fastens upon the memory the great facts of our religion, and through its objective worship attracts and enchains them. So far from relaxing, in their case, the forms of the Church, good will be permanently done to them in proportion as we teach them through their senses and their affections. If subjected to the teachings of a bald spiritualism, they will find food for their senses and their child-like fancies in superstitious observances of their own, leading too often to crime and licentiousness.

It is likewise the duty of the Church to press upon the masters of the country their obligation, as Christian men, so to arrange this Institution, as not to necessitate the violation of those sacred relations which God has created, and which man cannot, consistently with Christian duty, annul. The systems of labour which prevail in Europe, and which are, in many respects, more severe than ours, are so arranged as to prevent all necessity for the separation of parents and children and of husbands and wives, and a very little care upon our part would rid the system, upon which we are about to plant our national life, of these unchristian features. It belongs, especially, to the Episcopal Church to urge a proper teaching upon this subject, for in her fold and in her congregations are found a very large proportion of the great slaveholders of the country. We rejoice to be enabled to say that the public sentiment is rapidly becoming sound upon this subject, and that the Legislatures of several of the Confederate States have already taken steps towards their consummation. Hitherto have we been hindered by the pressure of abolitionism; now that we have thrown off from us that hateful and infidel pestilence, we should prove to the world that we are faithful to our trust, and that the Church should lead the hosts of the Lord in this work of justice and of mercy.

Another duty which, for the present, devolves upon the Church, is an oversight of the children of God, as they lie without religion and without Christian care in the camps and hospitals of our Government. Far be it from us to say that there has been no Christian supervision of our soldiers, and we cheerfully concede all praise and thanks to those who have done their duty through danger and privation; but we must affirm that there is still a great lack of service on the Church's part in this connexion. From whatever cause it has arisen, whether from the scarcity of clergymen, or from unwillingness to bear the hardships of the soldier's life, we are obliged to acknowledge that we have been unable to find men who were willing to answer this call and to take their places, not as soldiers fighting for their country, but as soldiers fighting for the victory of Christ over sin and death. In the opinion of the House of Bishops, no position is more suited, at this moment, to the true spirit of Christ and his Church, than that of a faithful minister of the grace of God and of the Sacraments of the Church to the soldiers in the field or in the hospital; and we would urge it upon those Ministers who have been exiled from their parishes, to enter upon this work as their present duty, trusting for support to Him who said, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

The most striking deficiency in the Church's work which we perceive in looking at the Church's life, is a lack of zeal in spreading the influences of the Church through her Services and Sacraments. Our ministry has become too local and sedentary, too well satisfied to sit down and do the work which it has undertaken to do, and overlooking the fields white for the harvest which are spread out all around them, and which cannot be cultivated save through their agency. Every well-established congregation should consider itself as a centre of missionary work, and should encourage its pastor to extend its usefulness beyond its own limits, and while he is a priest to them, to be, in some measure, a missionary to all about him. As long as the selfish idea is indulged, that a minister is tied down to a local congregation, and has no business to work around him, the Church must languish or increase but slowly. Missionaries cannot be furnished for every village and neighbourhood, and they must remain unengaged for by the Church, unless the settled clergy will make up their minds to extend the sphere of their operations beyond the narrow limits of their own immediate cures.

Another deficiency which requires amendment is the little spiritual intercourse which takes place among the clergy in their work for the Church. Each man works in his sphere, but for the most part he gives nothing to his brother clergyman, and

receives nothing from him in return. When our Lord sent forth his Apostles, He sent them two by two for the evident purpose that they should support, strengthen, and comfort each other. The spirit of this action is very much overlooked in the Church, and the clergy are weakened by it. While the House of Bishops would not specify any mode by which this defect should be remedied, it would recommend to the clergy a more free spiritual intercourse, a more frequent interchange of clerical services, greater communion in prayer and in counsel. Many a despondent heart would thus be cheered and many a weak brother would be comforted and strengthened.

Another deficiency which requires amendment is the little spiritual help which is given to the clergy by the laity. We have no reference now to the temporal support of the clergy, although we might well dwell upon that, but to the spiritual help which a Christian laity might give to the clergy. In reading the Acts of the Apostles, we find many illustrations of this truth, and we perceive how the greatest of the Apostles was not above the help of his yoke-fellows in the gospel. There are many ways in which spiritual and earnest laymen can help their clergy in the work of the Church, and, under their guidance and direction, can become valuable missionaries of Christ, even while unordained. It requires sacrifice and self-denial, but we must all remember that we are not our own, but are bought with a price, and belong to Christ, body, soul, and spirit.

But over and above all these special deficiencies looms up that greatest of all deficiencies, the lack of the Holy Spirit in and with our Churches. Because of the degree to which spiritual influences have been abused in our land, we have been tempted to run into the other extreme, and to forget that we are living under what the Apostle calls the dispensation of the Spirit, and that the Church's work must derive all its power from his presence. Our danger is to merge the Holy Ghost into the means of grace, and overlook the important fact that He is a personal agent, acting indeed through those means, but not necessarily tied to them. Our Saviour said: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth, so is every one that is born of the Spirit." And as with the individual, so with the Church. The Holy Spirit will be in the Church, if His presence is kept there by an acknowledgment of His power, by a sense of His necessity, by a constant prayer for His presence; but the addresses to the Churches in Asia Minor instruct us to be watchful over ourselves, and to hold by him who is the representative of Christ upon earth, while he is interceding and advocating for us in heaven. Let the Church and her ministers always bear in mind, that the growth of the Church, and the vitality of the Church, are "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit," saith the Lord.

And now it only remains for us to bid you, one and all, an affectionate farewell. We cannot but remember that when we last separated from you, there stood among us two venerated brethren, dearly beloved in the Lord, who have since entered into their rest. When we parted we knew it must be, but we could not foresee where the hand of death would fall. And, now again we know, that separating once more for the like space of time, we shall not all meet again. Whose shall be the summons? Well for us that the curtain of God's providence hides this knowledge from us, teaching us the lesson of Christian truth, that we must all watch and be sober, because we know neither the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh. May God's gracious Providence guide you in safety to your homes, and preserve them from the desolations of war. And should we not be permitted to battle together any more for Christ in the Church militant, may we be deemed worthy to be members of the Church triumphant, where with prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, and angels, we may ascribe honour and glory, dominion and praise, to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever.

THE URGENCY OF RECOGNITION.

(From the *Morning Post* of March 3.)

It is not surprising that the advisability of recognizing the Southern Confederacy should be discussed in Parliament. The time may not have come for according to the infant republic that acknowledgment of its independence which it demands, but it would be simply puerile to say that the position of affairs in America is not such as to make the topic a fair one for discussion. By those who adopt the rather singular views propounded some time since by Sir George Lewis on the subject of recognition, of course the question would be postponed until, in American parlance, the North had "caved in." So long as the Federal Government are willing and able to protract the war in which they are engaged, so long, according to the opinion of the Secretary for War, neutral Powers would not be justified in recognizing the independence of the South. Against the soundness of this theory we protested at the time, and pointed out what appeared to us the true principles which governed the law of international recognition. The independence of a State, it is perfectly evident, must be a question not of opinion, but of fact; whilst the recognition of that independence by other Powers is entirely a matter of political expediency. Recognition, under any circumstances, is not prescribed by international law. It is accorded in conformity with usage, and for purposes of mutual convenience. When the American colonies had finally achieved their independence, and we had desisted from a hopeless struggle, we might have refused to recognize their sovereignty. But such a course would have led to serious inconvenience. In the absence of diplomatic relations with a great Power, which, *de facto*, enjoyed the most absolute independence, no means would be at hand for arranging any of those several complications which constantly arise, even between friendly States. Now, as regards the Southern Confederacy, we are under no obligation to acknowledge its independence, nor should we be even if the blockade of its ports were raised to-morrow. But whether in conformity with usage, or for the sake of mutual convenience, or in the hopes of materially contributing thereby to shorten the war, we ought to grant the desired recognition, are, to say the least of them, debatable points on which much may be said. In the discussion which would have supervened on Lord Stratheden's motion in the House of Lords, had it not been unavoidably postponed, the question of Southern recognition would doubtless have been fully ventilated. In the meanwhile, however, it may not be out of place briefly to review the present position of the Southern Confederacy and the grounds which appear to justify it in expecting, though not in demanding, an early recognition from the European Powers.

That the Southern States of America at the present moment enjoy the most absolute independence is an admitted fact, which even their bitterest opponents cannot gainsay. They are ruled by a Government of their own choice, which makes laws, levies taxes, contracts loans, and wages war utterly unhampered by any foreign jurisdiction. The exercise of these several functions constitutes what by international law is considered sovereignty or

independence. The fact that the Southern frontier is threatened by hostile armies, and its ports blockaded by hostile fleets, does not in the slightest degree militate against the theory of its independence, though it may very possibly endanger it. By national independence is meant the power of vindicating a nation's authority within its own confines, and not the power of enforcing respect beyond the limits of its territory. If, for instance, a war had arisen between this kingdom and Brazil, in consequence of the reprisals lately made by our Government, the coast of Brazil would have been easily and effectually placed in a state of blockade, but its sovereignty and independence would have remained unaffected. The South enjoying their perfect independence, the sole question which remains for the consideration of foreign States in respect to its recognition is, whether in all probability it will be able to perpetuate that sovereignty which it now undoubtedly possesses. If the Southern Confederacy had previously been recognized as a sovereign State, the mere fact of its being threatened by a superior Power would not have deprived it of its independent character, seeing that its diplomatic relations would still have continued in force with neutral States. But as it has never existed as a sovereign State, neutral Powers are obliged to consider the probabilities of its being able to establish its independence before officially recognizing it. It would be manifestly inconvenient and unseemly to open diplomatic relations with a Power which in the course of a short time might *de facto* cease to exist.

The official correspondence between Mr. Seward and the American Ambassador in Paris, lately published, affords an insight into the real or affected sentiments of the Federal Administration on the progress of the war. It may be sufficient, however, to say that those opinions are shared by none on this side of the Atlantic. The belief of ninety-nine out of a hundred Europeans is that the North must sooner or later confess itself vanquished. The confidently expressed opinions of the Federal Government supply no reasons, therefore, for refusing to the South the recognition it desires. The motives which have actuated neutral Powers in hitherto withholding from the South the acknowledgment of its independence spring from other sources than the empty boasts of the North. The fact is that recognition does not *per se* afford to the infant State any additional strength; and under existing circumstances it was supposed that it might have embittered and protracted the war instead of abbreviating it. Another cause which has operated in no slight degree in postponing the recognition of the Southern Confederacy has been the absence of all inconvenience to neutral States by continuing to withhold it. One of the principal grounds for recognizing the sovereignty of a State which has achieved its independence is, as we mentioned, mutual convenience. But blockaded as the Southern ports are, commercial relations between the Confederacy and the rest of the world are rendered impossible. Now, however, that the South has succeeded in establishing a navy, complications might very easily arise which would make it incumbent on neutral States, in their own interests, to recognize Southern independence. If, for instance, the Alabama or Florida should accidentally or wilfully destroy a British merchant ship, our Government would be obliged, as affairs now stand, to apply for compensation to the Government of the United States; and, in the event of it being refused, which it very probably would be, make reprisals on the Federal marine, and declare war against the United States. On the other hand, if the Confederacy were acknowledged as an independent State, then the demand for compensation would be made to its Government, and under the circumstances supposed it would immediately be acquiesced in. But although, regarded from a selfish point of view, it may not at present be worth the while of neutral States to recognize the independence of the South, it is worthy of consideration whether such a step might not materially conduce to terminate the war. The North is heartily tired of a contest in which it can gain nothing, and has lost much. The large majority of thinking men north of the Potomac are satisfied that the Union never again can be re-established. If the principal maritime Powers of Europe were to recognize the independence of the South, and thus solemnly protest against the further protraction of a hopeless struggle, we cannot but think that such an act would carry with it a moral weight which would be irresistible. If European statesmen candidly believe that the Southern Confederacy has established its independence, then why should they not give practical effect to their convictions? The recognition of the Southern States of America would be no intervention in the war. It would not in the slightest degree effect the rights of the belligerents as between themselves. The recent despatch of Mr. Seward shows how little may be expected from the Federal Government either in the way of prudence or of moderation. We have now witnessed a war of two years' duration, and it is really worth while to consider whether, by boldly giving effect to our opinions, we may not prevent the American nation continuing during another twelvemonth to sacrifice thousands of lives and expend countless treasures in the pursuit of an object which we know can never be attained.

AN IRISH VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

We are accustomed to sensational items from Ireland, or the following extract from the *Connaught Patriot* of February 28 might startle us:—

THE AMERICAN WAR.—The London *Times* and other cognate journals have thought proper to publish to the world "that a beginning of the end of the war" seems to be fast approaching. In this matter we will use the aphorism, "The wish was father to the thought." The *Times* and some of our Dublin papers say so because it is their ardent wish that the glorious Republic—the home of the oppressed of every country, and especially of the down-trodden and exiled Irish—would be disrupted. John Bull wishes this, American weakness being in his opinion a great damper upon Ireland's expectation of redemption from England's thralldom of seven centuries of dire oppression and unheard of cruelty. But we have strong hopes that between North and South, reason once more taking its place upon a high pedestal, will make itself be heard by the contending parties, and that mutual concessions (if for no other cause, from necessity) will be made to the end that, brothers in strife, ceasing to be so, will become brothers in love, and that thus the Union will be re-established on firmer basis than at first. We are sanguine that there is every sign of peace, but that it will not be by a severance of North from South, but from the conviction that it is their duty as well as their interest to combine against the common robber of mankind.

THE MINISTERIAL DEFEAT.—The Government sustained their fourth defeat on Monday night on the Corrupt Practices Bill, the second clause of which, proposing to disfranchise solicitors, agents, and messengers, was struck out by a majority 110 to 103 votes.—*The Morning Herald*,

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The Index,

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Devoted to the Exposition of the Mutual Interests, Political and
Commercial, of Great Britain and the Confederate
States of America.

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 12, 1863.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Speech was not given to the Federals to conceal thought or to mask the truth. Their falsehoods are so clumsy that only the perversely blind can be deceived by them, and the corruption, covetousness, and ferocity of New England is not concealed by the impudent assumption of sanctified philanthropy. But we must, in fairness, give the Federals credit for genius in inventing charming phrases for the announcement of unpleasant and inconvenient incidents. The relief of a felon, who did not like to utter a direct lie, and who, nevertheless, naturally wished to disguise the disagreeable fact of her husband being hanged, used to tell her friends that, after addressing a large public meeting, her husband fell through the platform and broke his neck, in consequence of one of the supports giving way. But what, we should like to know, could be more delicate than the wording of the despatch which announced to the good people of Washington and New York that the attack made on Vicksburg on the 18th of February was repulsed? Under date Chicago, Monday, February 23rd, Mr. Lincoln permitted his loving subjects to be informed that

A special despatch from Memphis, dated on Saturday, furnishes us with advices from Vicksburg to the 18th inst. Active hostilities against Vicksburg commenced on that day. The mortar-boats were towed into position, and opened the ball by firing briskly. The effect of their shots was not known. The firing was responded to by three Confederate batteries, when our position was found to be too much exposed for effective operations, and was changed. The bombardment was then renewed.

If a benighted European had been called upon to describe the affair, he would have said, "The fire of the Federal gunboats was ineffective, and the Confederate fire obliged them to retire." What a difference between such an unvarnished tale and "the effect of their shots was unknown," and "our position was changed." We will not presume to call any place impregnable, or to follow the example of the North and prophecy glorious victories; but we may, without the least tinge of arrogance, express a belief that Vicksburg, no more than Richmond, will be captured by "changes of position" induced by Confederate guns. It is now stated there is to be no bombardment, but a siege. Woe unto the army that is located during the next few months in the swamps surrounding Vicksburg. We can hardly credit the rumour of the siege.

The redoubtable Queen of the West, the Federal iron-clad ram, has, to paraphrase the style of the North, changed owners. The Queen of the West was, in consequence of her passing the batteries of Vicksburg, the theme of much complaisant congratulation in the Northern papers. Her capture would teach the Federals a useful lesson if they were not so far above all instruction; they might learn that Vicksburg is the beginning, not the

end, of their difficulties. Captain J. Kelso, commanding the fortification on the Red River, reports:—

Two gunboats made their appearance in front of this position at 5 o'clock last evening (February 17). After a brisk cannonade the leading gunboat, Queen of the West, struck her colours. I immediately ordered Captain Hutton, of the Crescent Artillery, and Lieut. Dahenty to go aboard and demand the surrender. These officers report but thirteen of the officers and crew on board. The others escaped under cover of the night. The visible results of the capture consist of one 32-pounder rifle Parrott gun, one 24-pounder, three 12-pounders, one ditto slightly damaged, besides a large supply of ordnance stores, quinine, two cases of amputating instruments, clothing, flour, bacon, beef, pork, lard, bread, and other stores in proportion.

As we stated last week, the Confederate navy is being rapidly recruited from the Federal navy—much, no doubt, to the profit and delight of the New England contractors. It is stated that the success is due to the gallantry of a Confederate pilot. The Richmond papers give the following account of this affair:—

The Queen of the West captured the Confederate transport Eva, No. 5, forced her pilot, John Burke, to take the wheel, and ordered him to take the boat to our batteries. Burke feigned fear, but finally took the wheel under a Yankee guard. Upon nearing the batteries, he told the Yankees they were fifteen miles from them, and then, putting close in shore, she received a shot which broke the steam pipe, disabling the boat, the Yankees being wholly unprepared for a fight and suspecting no danger. Burke, the pilot, jumped overboard and drifted ashore. The boat drifted to the opposite shore, when the crew made their escape, with the exception of eighteen, who fell into our hands. The crew subsequently got aboard the Yankee boat De Soto, and with 200 stolen negroes effected their escape.

The Queen of the West is but slightly injured and will soon be ready for sea. The Confederate steamer Webb recaptured the Eva, and the Federal transport De Soto is said to have been burnt to prevent her falling into the hands of the Confederates.

The Federal steamer Indianola has passed Vicksburg, and is reported to have destroyed a Confederate steamer near Port Hudson.

The Confederate soldiers are amphibious and capture ships, as well as fight on land. About the time the Queen of the West was changing owners an affair was going on, not very important in itself, but still worthy of record, which is thus described in a despatch dated Memphis, February 18, which, we ought to remark, being a Northern version, does not tell the whole truth, and must, from the very nature of things, assert much that is false:—

The tug Hercules, having two barges of coal in tow, going to the fleet, rounded to on the opposite side of the river early this morning, being unable to proceed on account of heavy fog. Scarcely had the boat touched the landing, when a party of rebels rushed aboard, took possession, captured officers and crew, stole what they could, and set fire to the vessel. All this was accomplished in a remarkably short time, but was not discovered by the gunboats that lay not far off till the flames attracted their attention. By that time those who had been taken prisoners were released, and the rebels were out of reach. The boat is a total loss. It is reported that the whole fleet will run the blockade at Vicksburg.

According to Savannah advices of the 17th February, the Confederate steamer Alice had arrived at that port, having run the blockade from Mobile on the night of the 14th of February, and made the passage to Savannah without seeing a single cruiser. The blockaders find it advisable not to keep too near the ports at which they are stationed, and the Washington Government finds it easier to blockade British ports, and overhaul and capture British ships. According to the *Savannah Republican*, the steamers Ruby, Leopard, and Wagner, arrived at Charleston on the 9th. The steamer Douglas ran out on that night. The same paper adds, that the blockade is virtually raised, as not a shot was fired at any of those vessels. No matter, by a lenient interpretation of the law of nations, Mr. Seward may announce its resumption when he likes, and be enabled to entrap our merchants.

We have no news of important warlike operations on land. The remnant of the Army of the Potomac,—which, by the way, the Northern papers assert to be 100,000 strong, but which, we venture to think, means that rations are drawn for 100,000 men—was on the 22nd February suffering from extreme cold, and blocked up with snow. When the snow melts the mud will make any movement impossible, and, what is of more consequence, increase the

sickness in the camp. The prospect is not cheering for the command of General Hooker. Some Federal stores have been captured near Romney, Western Virginia.

Except the Washington Government, none know better how slight is the Federal military hold in Kentucky than the United States' officers in that State. The slightest movement of the Confederates throws them into a panic. On the 22nd of February—we are writing from Northern reports—a small body of Confederate cavalry entered Richmond, Kentucky, and passed through to Winchester. Upon this there was a rumour in Louisville that "the Confederate General Longstreet, at the head of 10,000 men, had entered the State, and was threatening Louisville, Lexington, Frankfort, and Danville." From this we may gather that, in the opinion of the Federals who are best informed, there is so little "Union sentiment" in Kentucky that 10,000 Confederate soldiers will enable that State to get rid of the Northern troops. These rumours, though only straws on the surface, faithfully indicate the current of men's thoughts. General Morgan has added to his daring exploits the capture of a steamer on the Banner River; and the guerilla forces have interrupted the communication between Louisville and Nashville.

If the Lincolnites had their deserts, they would become the mere tools of a despot; but they are cunning, and seek to endow Abraham Lincoln with despotic power because they know he is only a puppet in their hands. By the Conscription Bill they would give him the command of the whole military forces of the Union, independent of the rights of the States, and unfettered by the action of Congress; and, in addition to this, a Bill has passed the Federal Senate authorizing the suspension of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*. New England is determined to rule the rest of the Union with a rod of iron. The tyranny of the North is often comical as well as gross. Col. Morgan, who has assumed the command of the post at Key West, has issued a general order, in which, we are told, "he enjoins the closing of shops after 8 p.m.; the assemblage of persons in the streets or at street corners is not to be allowed; persons found in the streets after half-past 10 p.m. without the countersign, or being able to assign satisfactory reasons, are to be arrested; all white persons having relatives in the Confederate army, or who had declined to take the oath of allegiance, are required to register at headquarters, in order that they may be transported to Fort Royal." Why not take a hint from English history, and have a curfew bell to announce to the people at what hour they are to extinguish their lights? The proposal to transport "all white persons having relatives in the Confederate army" may disturb the domestic serenity of Mr. Lincoln, for, according to rumour, Mrs. Lincoln is a white person, and she has relations in the Confederate army. Or, by a little extension of the principle to relatives by marriage, and of this Morgan rule to Washington, Mr. Lincoln may be called upon to register himself preparatory to transportation.

The Northern papers report that, "A great Union meeting has been held in Cincinnati. Resolutions were adopted pledging the State of Ohio to the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the support of the present Administration until replaced by another." We know that it is as easy to manufacture "a great Union meeting" as it is "a great Union victory," and if Ohio is resolved to carry on the war, we do not put much faith in the pledge to support the present Administration "until it is replaced by another," unless it means that Ohio is calculating upon an immediate change of Administration. The staunchest advocates of a reconstruction of the Union are the bitterest enemies of New England and the Lincolnites.

A private letter from New York, received from a gentleman in Liverpool, states that General Wool's military police are making quiet but vigilant search after concealed arms in that city, and under pretence of having discovered suspiciously secreted stores, have already forwarded large quantities of private arms to Washington. The correspondent concludes from this that there is a settled plan of stealthily disarming the citizens, and states that considerable alarm is felt in some circles.

The dispute between Generals Hunter and Foster is now admitted; and General Townsend has gone to Port Royal to settle the differences. General Hunter is a very short-tempered fanatic, and cannot behave civilly to his

comrades. No sooner had General Foster gone to Washington than Hunter ordered his (Foster's) staff to leave his department. He next ordered General Stevenson into custody for expressing disgust at the idea of co-operating with negro troops. This officer has been honourably acquitted, and it is rumoured that Hunter will be superseded by General Burnside.

However fond Hunter may be of negroes, his own troops do not like them, and there has been several collisions between the white and coloured soldiers. The Port Royal correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, who must be fond of a grim joke, asserts,

That 5000 negroes, led by white officers, and supported by regular troops, will shortly make an expedition into the most densely populated districts of the department of the South to call the slaves to arms. Communication had been opened with the negroes on plantations, who were prepared.

Neither negroes nor white officers would be such fools as to go "into the most densely populated districts" on such an errand, even if they could get there, but just now they cannot do so. When the North has a firm footing on the frontier, it will surely be time enough to brag about what is to be done in the interior.

Mr. Cassius Clay has thought proper to notify to Mr. Lincoln that he will only fight under an abolition policy. Any policy that will induce such men as Mr. Cassius Clay to take part in the military affairs of the North will be a gain to the South. We are not surprised to learn that Mr. Clay is urging Mr. Lincoln to replace General Halleck by General Butler. A courageous brute is a hero in the eyes of a cowardly bully.

The Conscription Bill has been passed by the Federal House of Representatives by a vote of 115 to 49. It is reported that the New York Legislature will take some action on this Bill; but it is likely that if the Legislature do not resist it, the people will, if Mr. Lincoln attempts to enforce it.

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, who knows so well the sentiments of his fellow-citizens, has proposed in the Senate that the President shall have authority to enrol as many liberated negroes as he may deem necessary to arm for service during the war. Mr. Wilson quite understands that the Yankees prefer fighting by deputy, and particularly as they can by this plan get rid of the much-hated negro. Mr. Wilson defended General Butler and his brother from the charge of having acquired large plunder in New Orleans, which was preferred by Mr. Davis, who gave notice that he should call for a committee of investigation.

The Federal Congress is doing some queer things. We are not surprised that Mr. McDougall should denounce the Secretary of War, in the Senate, "as a base man, who had wronged the country," because we are used to strong language in Congress; but we are rather surprised at a Bill making it obligatory for the President to select for promotion officers who have distinguished themselves in the field, for this is a palpable infringement of the President's undoubted and necessary prerogative. Still more astounding is a rumour that Congress will pass a joint resolution, before the adjournment, indicating the policy to be pursued in case of foreign mediation. This is rich if true; for then Congress would affect to control the Government, not only after it is adjourned, but after it has absolutely ceased to exist; and to legislate for the unknown future.

The Delaware Legislature has sent a requisition to the sham Governor of Missouri, asking him to send delegates to a Convention to effect an armistice. Of course the bogus Governor and Legislature of Missouri have refused to comply with the request.

It is reported that General Banks has been fired at in New Orleans.

The United States no longer welcome emigrants to their shores, except as food for powder. A movement has been inaugurated among the mechanics of New York to prevent the importation of foreign labour. It is astonishing how much the Northerners, in their Government and conduct, continue to approximate to the Government and conduct of China. The Chinese protest against the influx of foreigners, so do the New Yorkers.

The New York Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution recommending the Bill for the issue of letters of marque and reprisal.

A dispute has arisen between the people of California and Nevada, in reference to the jurisdiction over the lands in the Honey Lake Valley. At the latest dates both parties were preparing for an appeal to force.

On the 24th of February gold in New York was 72½ prem.; on the 27th it was 70¼ prem., and on the 28th 73½.

ENGLAND.

The demonstration of a great people may be felt and imagined, but it cannot be described, and the Princess Alexandra's welcome and the wedding of the Prince of Wales were essentially national demonstrations. The ovation of the bride, from the time she came within sight of our shores till she entered Windsor Castle, was unprecedentedly grand. The Mayor of Margate, with that ultra, and in this instance commendable, officiousness which distinguishes those functionaries, gave the Royal Bride her first English greetings, but could hardly have prepared her for what was to follow. From the moment she landed at Gravesend, the pageantry of processions was lost in the greeting of the assembled people, and yet the Gravesend greeting was hardly a foretaste of the enthusiasm that awaited her in the metropolis. The daughter of the 'Sea Kings' might be excused for forgetting the honour paid her by the Corporation of London in the loyalty manifested by the countless crowd that thronged the streets. Her way was through a sea of human beings, and the

cries of welcome rang in her ears from the moment she arrived at the Bricklayers' Arms Station until she had traversed the great city, and was on her way to Windsor. When she arrived at the Royal Town, she found that London had only represented the feeling of the entire country. It was a scene that Englishmen may well be proud of. A people so unanimous in their loyalty, though differing so widely on every political, social, and religious question, need not fear the power of their adversaries.

The marriage ceremony was gorgeous and singularly affecting. In St. George's Chapel were gathered together the flower of the English aristocracy. The Knights of the Garter, in their gorgeous robes; the foreign Ambassadors covered with decorations; the ladies at once representing the beauty and wealth of England; an Indian prince covered with jewels, reminding the spectators of that mighty empire which is a part of the vast dominions of England, constituted the most brilliant assembly that could be convened. The bride and bridegroom, both youthful and comely, both bearing themselves as befitting their exalted station and magnificent destiny, were, of course, objects of intense curiosity, admiration, and loyal emotion. But there was another present at that scene, taking no part in the ceremony, not altogether shunning, yet not courting observation; habited not in wedding garments but in robes of mourning; for whose sorrows every heart sympathized, and on whom none could look without a feeling of reverence. The widowed Queen bore herself bravely. Whatever she felt when she first gazed upon the festive scene, which must so have reminded her of her irreparable loss, she concealed, and only incompetent motherly interest and pleasure in the presence of her children; but at length, when the solemn chorale, solemn though joyous, that had been composed by her late husband broke upon her ear, her emotion could no longer be suppressed, and she wept bitterly. All who witnessed this and all who have read of it, whilst trusting that time, whilst it cannot heal, may soften the sorrow, feel that such womanly grief was not only inexpressibly touching, but was not unbecomingly Queenly dignity.

After the marriage ceremony, the bride and bridegroom departed for Osborne. At every stoppage on their route thousands of persons were assembled to greet them, and, of course, the Mayor of Southampton took the opportunity of presenting an address. At night London was splendidly illuminated, and from dusk till early morn the streets were thronged with carriages and people. The Prince and Princess of Wales enter upon their married life with a nation's hearty wishes and prayers for their future happiness.

The tide seems to be again turning in Lancashire. The diminution of pauperism last week fell short of 1200; and in some districts, as notably in Ashton, there was a serious increase. This increase was attributed by Mr. Hugh Mason, at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee at Manchester, on Monday last, to two principal causes. In the first place, several factories which had reopened for a short time have been compelled again to close. Secondly, classes of persons, who have hitherto kept off the poor-rates, and contrived, somehow or other, to keep themselves and their families alive by their own resources, have succumbed to the long continuance of a pressure which is gradually crushing out every sort of trade and industry subsidiary to, or dependent upon, the cotton manufacture and those employed therein—that is to say, nine-tenths of the whole trade and industry of Lancashire. As regards the closing of factories, the case of Ashton appears to be that of the cotton districts in general. During the last month, the number of persons working full time has been reduced by nearly 6000, and that of persons working short time by about the same number; so that, while the pressure on the poor-rates has somewhat slackened, that on the operative classes, induced by the cotton famine, has again increased. The long continuance of the distress has told upon a numerous class not directly connected with the factories. The small tradesmen have lived on their capital until their capital was exhausted; and credit, in the present state of trade, it would not be worth their while to ask, or worth any one's while to give them. The labourers in engine-shops, in the manufacturing of various kinds of machinery, and so forth, have been thrown out of work, and they are falling by degrees upon the rates. The consequence of a prolongation of the present state of things must be the reduction to pauperism of much more than half the population of the cotton manufacturing districts. Neither Government, nor the Relief Committees, nor the Poor-Law Guardians, have any idea what is to be done, though one and all are forced at last reluctantly to open their eyes to the prospect before them, and realize its full significance; emigration is talked of; and the colony of Victoria has sent £5000 to be employed in bringing out persons of suitable age and character from Lancashire. But a sum like this is a mere drop in the bucket. And one unhappy feature about all these partial schemes of emigration is, that they propose to remove from Lancashire the *élite* of her working population, and leave the inferior part only behind. The managers, the overlookers, the mechanics, the best of the weavers and spinners, both men and women—the people who have given tone and character to the operative class—are those who will be taken away. This will seriously injure Lancashire, morally and economically. She has hitherto maintained her commercial rank chiefly by the excellence of her labour—it is now proposed to draft off her best labourers to lands where their work will for years to come be less valuable than it has been at home. She has prided herself on the high, moral, and social character of her operative class—it is proposed to deprive her of those from whom that class takes tone and character. This may be kind; it may be necessary; but it involves the confession that the greatness of our cotton manufacture is at an end. And if so, the commercial prosperity

and pre-eminence of England is doomed to sustain the severest trial it has ever yet undergone.

The Parliamentary debates of the week have not been interesting. Mr. Bramley Moore made a sensible motion about the Brazilian quarrel, expressing the regret felt by the House at the occurrence of so violent a dispute, and the general wish for the renewal of more friendly relations with the empire. But the motion was ill-timed. As the *Morning Herald* remarked, we were wont of old to pardon criminals on occasions of Royal rejoicing; and on the eve of the arrival of the Princess Alexandra—now Princess of Wales—it would not have suited the convenience of the Court, the feelings of Parliament, the temper of the country, and the decorum of the occasion, that justice should be done even on so great a political offender as Earl Russell. And therefore the motion was withdrawn as a matter of course. It was nothing of itself; but as, if it had been intended to be passed, the tone of the speeches in its favour would have given it the force of a vote of censure, and compelled the Ministry to a division, so, as it was, the sting of the discussion lay in those speeches, and the Government was so thoroughly worsted in debate that the effect of the motion is not lost by its withdrawal. Mr. Layard spoke with much bad taste and a little bad temper, discourteous towards his opponents, uncandid in dealing with the facts, and actually insolent—after the manner of his chief—towards the Government of Brazil. Mr. Collier stated the case for the Government with the same disingenuousness and violence which are permitted to the counsel for the defence of a prisoner whom every one knows to be guilty; and even so far forgot his audience in his subject as to address them as "Gentlemen of the Jury." Sir Roundell Palmer did his best with the legal aspect of the case. But the Opposition had by far the best of it. Mr. Bramley Moore was somewhat feeble; but Mr. Fitzgerald's summary of the facts, and his comparison between the conduct of the Government towards weak and strong Powers, were very effective. Lord R. Cecil's strong and contemptuous tone was perhaps a little daring, but the sympathy of the House seems to have been with him; and Mr. Cobden was, as usual, very cruel and very telling. Except when he blunders upon naval and military questions, on which his well-known antipathy to armies and navies deprive him of all claim to attention, he is one of the most dangerous assailants in the House.

Much less interest was excited by Mr. Adderley's motion concerning tickets-of-leave. It is plain that Sir George Grey hopes to escape, under cover of a Royal Commission, from the judgment of a public which has by this time recovered from the terror inspired by garotters. But there is a very general feeling, as Mr. H. Seymour plainly told him, that the English system of prison discipline is a complete failure; there is a permanent uneasiness, in consequence of such events as the garotte robberies and the outbreak at Chatham, in regard to the growing audacity of the criminal population of London; and there is an all but universal conviction that Sir G. Grey is to blame for everything. He is one of those unfortunate men who always contrive to displease both the few and the many. It is scarcely possible for a Home Secretary to act well and wisely, and at the same time to be popular; but both in his prison administration, and in his use of the Royal prerogative of mercy, Sir George Grey has through his whole official life managed, with singular infelicity, to be invariably both unpopular and wrong. Were it not that Mr. Walpole, who held the same office under Lord Derby's Government, and Mr. Adderley, who knows more about criminals and convict discipline than any man on the Liberal side, are altogether indisposed to factious annoyance, Sir G. Grey would cause as much trouble to the Government as does his unlucky colleague, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Moreover, Sir Robert Peel's dashing imprudence is not calculated to displease the world at large, though it may make him a good many bitter enemies; the Home Secretary's pedantic perversity offends every one, and nobody would grudge him a fall.

But Parliament, like the country, has really thought of little or nothing except the arrival of the Princess and the marriage which followed it. Poor Sir G. Grey was more worried about the order of the procession through the City than about the blunders which produce a few additional murders and a few score of extra robberies every year; and the anxiety of intending sight-seers and sight-makers has cost him more trouble than the indignation of those who object to see criminals petted and murderers pardoned.

Sir James Outram—"the Bayard of India"—the companion of Havelock, and indeed his superior, though he declined the command, in the relief of Lucknow, died in Paris at one o'clock yesterday morning. His death is a calamity for India; for few men with equal knowledge and authority are left to guide the Indian policy of the English Government.

EUROPE.

There is a hitch somewhere in the diplomatic intervention on behalf of Poland. The French press lays the blame at the door of the English Government, and complains that Earl Russell, after talking very largely about the wrongs of the Poles, refuses to join with France in any effort to redress them. The proposal of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to make a joint representation at St. Petersburg has, it is said, been decidedly rejected. The conduct of England in this business is the subject of a good deal of very uncomplimentary comment on the Continent. It is pointed out that the newspapers which support the English Government, and are supposed to speak its opinions, indulged at first in the most vehement advocacy of the cause of the Poles, and set themselves to prove that France must go to war on their behalf. The Emperor is said to have addressed a letter to the Czar, urging upon him to make some con-

cession to the Poles, and to have already received an answer to the effect that no concession can be made until the insurrection is subdued. The debate on the question, which was to have taken place in the Senate this week, has been postponed.

The intelligence from Poland is very meagre. What there is is quite as contradictory and unreliable as usual. We have some particulars of the fights which we described last week as claimed as victories by both sides, and these particulars enable us to come to the conclusion that there, as heretofore, the lying has been pretty equally divided. We have an account from the *Czas*, a Polish organ, of the battle of Malogosez. According to it 4000 scythemen, under Langiewicz, attacked the Russians for five hours, and captured two guns, which, however, as the Russian artillerymen had carried away the horses, they could not remove. It will be remembered that the Russians claimed to have captured two guns, and so, in the letter, they did, but it was only the recovery in the afternoon of what they had lost in the morning. Ultimately, the insurgents found it necessary to retire, so the battle was certainly not a complete victory for them. The Russian account of the engagement of Myskow, which we also recorded last week, makes out that the insurgents retired at the first cannon-shot. Further Russian telegrams represent the engagements reported to have turned out advantageous to the insurgents in the district of Plock to be pure inventions, and claim to have cleared some districts of them entirely.

The only engagement of any importance announced this week, is one described from Cracow as fought near Tarnowa and Skala, between the Russians and the Poles under Langiewicz, in which the Russians were defeated and put to flight in great disorder; whilst a Warsaw account, apparently referring to the same contest, declares that the Russians surrounded a band near Skala, and dispersed the insurgents, with the loss of a hundred killed and wounded. We must leave our readers to choose between the two versions. It is possible that both may have some foundation. The Russians may have dispersed a small band of insurgents, and themselves have been routed subsequently by Langiewicz. The antecedent probability is always in favour of a Russian victory, when the troops engage in any numbers. For every champion of his country who bites the dust, three or four press to take his place. The defeated band disperses and reunites to be just as effective as it was before, and the Russian column has its work to do over again. The insurrection spreads—the hope of foreign intervention sustains the patriots in the unequal struggle. They are winning, by desperate sacrifices, time for Europe to aid them, even by the slow processes of diplomacy; they are putting its professions of sympathy to another and a final test.

The *Kreutz Zeitung*, of Berlin, which is likely to be well informed upon such a subject, speaks of the early departure from Warsaw of the Grand Duke Constantine as probable. In that event his place would be temporarily taken by General Count von Berg—a pretty certain indication, that the Russian Government has resolved to put the movement down at any cost, and will not have recourse to reconciliatory offers—and eventually by the Prince Alexander of Hesse, a brother of the Empress, and uncle of Prince Louis, the husband of the Princess Alice of England. This change is probable enough; the Archduke must be sick of Poland. His intentions when he undertook the Government were good, and he did not even allow the disgraceful attempts to assassinate him to deter him from his purpose; but at last, in sheer weakness and despair, he gave way to the men who surrounded him, and authorized the infamous conscription. On the other hand, we need scarcely say that the story of a Paris paper, that the Emperor means to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, separate it from his Empire, and make his brother Constantine its King, is one of the largest canards ever hatched.

The Whites, or Moderates, have, it is said, coalesced with the Reds, or extreme party, and avowed, by the hand of Count Zamoycki, their solidarity with the insurrection. On the other hand, it is said, that the appearance of Mieroslawski, of whom nothing has been heard for some time, is viewed with much distrust by the better classes of patriots.

Five hundred Poles of Posen eluded the vigilance of the Prussian Government, and crossed the frontier, near Słupce. At first they gained a slight advantage over a small detachment of Russians, but they were soon attacked by a large force from Konin and driven back with great loss. They fled across the frontier, and there, being challenged by a small detachment of Prussian troops, shot the captain, which was the signal for an attack which dispersed them again. They were mostly students. The official organ of the Prussian Government, recounting this incident, declares that in consequence of the organization of the insurrectionary party in Posen, and the terrorism exercised by it, it is impossible to despatch troops at the proper moment to prevent insurgents crossing the frontier, and that a larger force must be employed to oppose the terrorism of the Polish party of action. Large reinforcements have been since despatched to the Polish frontier. We have no doubt that the Prussian Government will find it hard work to prevent its Polish subjects from aiding their countrymen across the border.

The quarrel between the Prussian Government and the House of Deputies, or rather the nation, has not changed its aspect. The Government, by its official organ, has given the Deputies a hearty scolding, and they, on their part, have refused to vote the 30,000 thalers (£4500) included in the Budget for press purposes. They have, in the same manner, struck out a number of small items to show their dissatisfaction with the Government, a proceeding which displays no great dignity or wisdom. It is a very poor way of showing

want of confidence in a Government to refuse petty votes of one or two hundred pounds, and want of confidence has been the sole reason assigned for the rejection.

Kossuth has issued an address to the Poles. Fortunately for them, the opinions of the ex-Governor of Hungary enjoy very little credit now. No doubt the priests who serve the altar of liberty ought to live by it, but there is a very strong and perhaps unreasonable prejudice against a sudden reconciliation between a standard-bearer of revolution and a Sovereign he has denounced as its chief enemy, when the reconciliation is known or supposed to have been cemented by money. The address of Kossuth might have been written in a Russian cabinet. It is decidedly calculated, if it has any effect at all, to help the Russians—it counsels the Poles to make Austria and Prussia their active antagonists, by demanding Posen and Galicia—and generally to make moderate Europe, which now sympathizes with them and is disposed to help them, rather anxious than not for their extirpation. Menotti Garibaldi was said to have passed through Berne, on his way to join the insurrection. We are glad, for the sake of the Poles, for that of his father, and for his own sake, to find from the Turin newspapers that he has not left Caprera. The Poles do not require the services or the name of a Garibaldi. The Cabinets of Europe can alone save them.

The belief we expressed last week that the Pope would not accept the resignation of Cardinal Antonelli has been verified. The Holy Father has insisted and entreated until he has induced the Cardinal to continue in the office which no other prelate of the Roman Court can fill so well. Whatever scandal can bring up against Antonelli as a man and as a Cardinal, little can be objected to him as a statesman, except by those whose aims he thwarts. He has a policy, which he steadily carries out, and which, undoubtedly, can alone retain the Papacy the remnant of its temporal power. Italian unity may yet be wrecked on the *non possumus*.

The Italian Senate has, in its turn, passed the Bill authorizing the loan of 700 million lire. A despatch addressed by the Marquis de l'Isle, charged with a secret mission in Italy, to M. Fould, giving a most gloomy picture of Italian finance, has somehow found its way into the columns of the Frankfort journal *L'Europe*, and produced an explosion of anger from the semi-official press of Italy. The publication is certainly somewhat ill-timed, so far as the interest of the Italian Government is concerned. It is not a very friendly thing—although it may be the honest thing to do—to show that your acquaintance, who is trying to contract a loan, is thoroughly insolvent.

The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands have just had notice given them that the annexation to Greece is not quite so certain as they supposed. The Lord High Commissioner has prohibited a meeting, at which the Archbishop of Corfu should have presided, to express the desire of the Corfiotes for the union; and the police have received instructions to suppress all assemblages called for a similar purpose.

The sentiment of nationality seems to be strongest in those who have the least right to talk about it. The Ionians are a mongrel race, more Italian than anything else, and the so-called Greeks of the mainland have as little Hellenic blood in them as the North-American Indians. Yet the Ionians rave for the annexation to Greece, and are prepared to abandon for its attainment the security of life and property, the moderate taxation, and the universal protection they now enjoy; and the Greeks, quite unable to form a settled Government of their own, a prey to almost complete anarchy, put forward claims to dominion over the whole of Turkey in Europe, on the ground that it is their heritage as Greeks. The news from Greece is most unsatisfactory. The National Assembly has, indeed, appointed a Ministry responsible to itself, and it has authorized a loan of six million drachmas, a little more than £200,000, but the Ministry has no power outside Athens itself, and may fall any day by a demonstration, as the Provisional Government did; and no Greek is patriotic enough to lend his country a drachma. Things go every day from bad to worse. The failure to get a King from another house has revived rumours of an attempt to restore the Bavarian dynasty; in reply to which Mavrocordato, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, has issued a circular declaring that no Prince of the House of Bavaria can reign in Greece "unless he cuts his way to the throne through rivers of blood and piles of dead bodies;" and the Bavarian Consul has been arrested upon the charge of conspiring against the Government of Greece.

The Greeks are greatly to be pitied. They had a chance of making themselves a nation. They seemed disposed to use it. They have been sacrificed to the petty jealousies of the great Powers, or more correctly, to the fussy ignorance of Earl Russell.

It seems probable that Prince Couza, the Hospodar of the Moldo-Wallachian Principalities and his National Assembly will try to settle their differences by the last argument of blows. The Assembly is composed of the boyards or great landed proprietors, and the populace is on the side of the Prince. Turkey looks eagerly on, with the hope of regaining a little of the power which she has lost since the Treaty of Paris; and Russia, as well as her difficulties in Poland will allow, is on the alert to pursue the great purpose which the Crimean war scotched but did not kill. Prince Couza refused not unnaturally, we must admit, to allow the deputation of the Assembly which presented the address we mentioned last week, to read it to him.

A telegram from Ragusa announces that the Turks—meaning the Mahometan inhabitants of the neighbourhood—attacked, without cause, a Christian village, compelled the Christians to take refuge in the mountains, and carried away their cattle. A second telegram from Ragusa

announces that an order had been sent from Constantinople to the Pasha of the Province to punish the Mussulman inhabitants of Kalachin who attacked and plundered a Christian village. The two telegrams, no doubt, refer to the same affair. There is very little to choose between the Mussulman and the Christian inhabitants of these parts of the Turkish empire. The only difference is, that the former murder and pillage in the name of Mahomet, and the latter in the name of Christ. All telegrams from Ragusa must be taken with extreme reserve; they do the Turks about as much justice as the Russian bulletins do the Poles.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MARCH 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.
No business of interest was transacted.

THURSDAY, MARCH 5.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to several questions, Sir G. Grey reiterated explanations previously given in regard to the Royal procession on Saturday.—On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Sir J. Jervoise rose to put a question to the Treasury on the subject of treasure-trove. He was interrupted by the appearance of the Usher of the Black Rod, who required the appearance of the House at the bar of the Lords to hear the Royal assent given to the Prince of Wales' Annuity Bill, and another Bill for postponing payment of Bills of Exchange due on Saturday.—On Mr. Speaker's return, Sir J. Jervoise proceeded, and commented on the fact that Lord Palmerston had himself appropriated a gold "torque," or ornament of an ancient Briton, found on his estate. The Premier explained that the grant under which the estate was held gave him a right to all treasure-trove.—Mr. F. Peel explained the rights of the Crown, and said that the circulars recently issued with regard to those rights were found to contain errors of law, they had been withdrawn.

Mr. Cobden rose to call attention to the maintenance of great numbers of obsolete vessels of war in the navy. He did not mean to include small wooden vessels—frigates, corvettes, gunboats, and so forth—which were useful for maintaining the police of the seas. He complained only that we have 105 wooden ships of the line, which are quite useless, inasmuch as a single shell would convert them into mere slaughter-houses, and they could not possibly encounter even a small iron-clad vessel. The American Government had been wiser than we; it had built no line-of-battle ships. American experience had recently proved the helplessness of the largest wooden vessels against the smallest iron-sided. Our 105 liners had cost about twenty millions; one half of which had been simply wasted by the Admiralty's continuing to build liners after other nations had abandoned the practice. When Lord Derby's Government came into office in 1858 they appointed a cabinet committee to inquire into the state of the navy, and the comparative progress made by England and France since 1852. That committee reported; and their report, embodied in a Treasury Minute, was laid on the table of the House of Commons after Sir John Pakington had introduced and carried his naval estimates. That Minute, he supposed, was a party dodge. It reflected on the conduct of the Admiralty—pointed out that the French Government had got far ahead of us in converting sailing ships into screws, and recommended that our Admiralty should follow the example. But Sir John Pakington, though he did convert sailing-ships into screw frigates, also built screw liners; and this while laying down iron-clads, which must make liners useless. While he was doing this, and while he was declaring that France was making dangerous attempts to rival us in line-of-battle ships, he had in his possession the Minute stating that France had given up building line-of-battle ships, and turned all her attention to iron-clad frigates. Then Lord Clarence Paget, who had formerly insisted on the uselessness of line-of-battle ships, and the superiority of small vessels, had, since he came into office, done as his predecessors had done—encouraged the building of line-of-battle ships, on which, even within the last few years, large sums of money had been wasted. It was in vain to hope that any effective responsibility could be attached to the Ministers who had misled the country. But both Sir John Pakington and Lord Palmerston had always been trying to get up a panic by alleging that France was trying to rival us at sea—a statement which was wholly unfounded. We must not allow ourselves to be hurried by similar allegations into having wooden ships plated with iron, when, by waiting a few months, we might have ships made entirely of iron. There were 30,000 men employed in these useless wooden ships, and by that number the force voted for the navy might safely be reduced. He accused the country gentlemen of desiring a large expenditure, threatened them with the vengeance of the £10 householders, and concluded by urging a reduction in the number of men voted for the navy.—Lord R. Montague said that the reconstruction of the Admiralty was as necessary as the reconstruction of the navy had been.—Lord Clarence Paget asked what Mr. Cobden would have Government to do? There were not 30,000, but only 900 men in wooden ships of the line. Mr. Cobden had eulogized American naval management. But the Americans were the last people in the world to take up iron-clad ships, and though it was true that they did not build line-of-battle ships, they built "frigates" fit to take their place in the line of battle, in order to be able to boast of victories over British frigates, and of matching their frigates against British ships of the line. The Minutes of Lord Derby's Government referred to by Mr. Cobden showed that in six years France had added to her navy thirty-eight steam liners, and England only thirty-three; and, therefore, that Government did right to increase our navy. Great difficulties had been found in manning our ships. Now we had a sufficiency of men; chiefly continuous service men; and if we broke faith with them now, we should find it almost impossible to get them back in time of need.—Sir John Pakington complained that Mr. Cobden had made a violent attack on his administration, without the usual courtesy of giving him notice. It was a pity that people should talk on subjects they did not understand. The Minute referred to had never been intended for publication; but, having been mentioned by him, it had been called for and laid before the House. It had been his duty to provide an efficient fleet of wooden screw steamers, both by building and by conversion; for he could not tell whether or not the iron-clad frigates would prove a success. In conclusion, he said that he should always look back with pride on his naval administration in 1858-59, in spite of Mr. Cobden's censures thereupon. Sir S. M. Peto said that with an iron-clad fleet we should require fewer men. He insisted that Mr. Cobden was right as to the number of men employed in wooden line-of-battle ships. He stated that some of the armour-plated ships had been so much injured by the weather, that their plates had

become quite loose.—Mr. Bentinck defended the Admiralty.—Mr. Cobden had charged him with wasting ten millions sterling, the very sum which Mr. Gladstone, with Mr. Cobden's assistance, had wasted during the last five or six years. The men now employed in wooden ships would be wanted for iron-clads as soon as those were built, and it would not pay to dismiss them in the meantime. The worst of all economy was that which was always reducing to-day and increasing to-morrow. If we had had such a fleet as we have now, the late Russian war would have been brought to an end in three months.—Sir Charles Wood said that the navy had for many years been in a state of transition. The progress of the science of naval construction had compelled the Government to make frequent and very expensive changes. Sir John Pakington had very properly converted into screw ships all sailing vessels fit for conversion; whilst that was doing, experiments were made on iron-plated vessels, which resulted in their adoption. At present there were thirteen line-of-battle ships in commission, with 9176 men. It was not true that the iron-plated vessels had been damaged by the weather, their armour was not shaken at all. The House then went into Committee, and the Naval Estimates were passed.

After the House resumed, Mr. Gladstone explained certain changes which he proposed to make in the Tobacco Duties, Malt Duties, and Post Office Savings Banks' Bills. A Bill to provide relief in certain cases in which the present Marriage Law of Ireland bears hard on Protestant Dissenters was read a second time, after some debate, and the House adjourned at half-past 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A Bill to regulate the recovery by Poor-law Guardians of the cost of maintaining illegitimate children was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee. Some other business of no interest was transacted, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At Lord Palmerston's request, Mr. Baillie Cochrane postponed till the 16th a motion of which he had given notice regarding our relations with Greece.

Mr. Bramley Moore rose to call attention to the recent quarrel with Brazil. Our trade with that country was greater than with any other foreign country, save two; and there was property in Brazil belonging to British subjects to the amount of probably twenty millions sterling, which had been jeopardized by the conduct of our Government. The circumstances of the wreck of the Prince of Wales were simply these. The vessel was driven on a low shore, where, during a south-east gale, no ship could be saved. It was alleged that the crew were murdered; but of this there was no evidence whatever; indeed, all the facts seemed to point to a contrary conclusion. Some plundering had, it appeared, taken place. The owner of the ship had made violent and unfounded statements and extravagant demands, apparently with no other view than that of getting compensation, and his assertions had been supported by Mr. Vereker, our Consul at Rio Grande do Sul, and by the British Government. To enforce his claims they had had recourse to very violent measures. Lord Russell had justified these measures by talking of what would have been done had a Brazilian ship been wrecked and plundered on the coast of Cornwall. But that part of the Brazilian coast on which the Prince of Wales had been wrecked was a desert, and on similar coasts in this and in other countries wrecking still constantly took place, the offenders were not punished, and compensation was not made. In the present case delays had occurred, for which our Government, rather than that of Brazil, was responsible; and at last, when the matter might have been settled peaceably, a collision was brought on by the precipitate conduct of our Minister at Rio. An offer of arbitration had been made, but on the inadmissible condition that Brazil should first admit her liability. If we had had a prudent representative on the spot the whole matter might have been arranged amicably. The mischief had arisen from the conduct of Mr. Vereker and Mr. Christie, the former of whom had been long suffering from nervous delusions, while the latter had quarrelled with his own attachés and several of his diplomatic colleagues. He hoped that the Government would take such steps as would conciliate Brazil and establish cordial relations between the two countries. He moved "That this House has learned with regret the interruption of amicable relations between this country and Brazil; and this House expresses the desire that Her Majesty's Government may take such measures to restore a cordial understanding between the two countries as may be consistent with the character and honour of this country, having, at the same time, a just regard to the dignity and honour of a friendly and independent Power."—Mr. Collier said that a Sovereign had a right to make reprisals when there was a denial or a delay of justice. Every Government was bound to control its subjects, and if it failed to do so, it must take the consequences. It appeared to him that the case against Brazil might be thus summarized:—"An English vessel was wrecked upon your coasts. All on board her perished. Probably some of the crew were murdered. It is certain that their bodies were stripped and plundered. It is admitted by yourselves that wholesale robbery took place upon the cargo and the effects of the passengers. Those functionaries in the locality to whom you entrust the administration of justice, for whose conduct you are responsible, whose duty it was immediately to repair to the spot to succour the survivors, if any, and to protect the cargo, or at least to take prompt measures for the apprehension of the offenders and the restitution of the stolen goods, and to hold an immediate inquest on the dead bodies, were in all probability accomplices in the atrocious crimes which they were bound to investigate and punish. It is certain that they failed in their duty." (Cries of "No.") Failing to obtain justice we had recourse to reprisals. The inhabitants of Albardao, where the wreck took place, were habitual plunderers. News of the wreck had reached Mr. Vereker through Soares, who incidentally mentioned at Rio Grande do Sul that some English bodies had been washed ashore. Mr. Vereker, who was then perfectly sane, went to the spot. He found in the house of Soares two new English Bibles and some broken packing cases. On the shore he found portions of the cargo in a condition which showed that they had been landed dry, and plundered. The inspector of the coast would not allow him to see the bodies that had been washed ashore. Inquests were afterwards held, but so late that the cause of death could not be ascertained. The Brazilian authorities acted so tardily that all the culprits escaped. Two officials were dismissed, but against Soares no proceedings were taken. These facts were conclusive against the Brazilian Government, and Lord Russell had acted quite rightly in having recourse to reprisals.—Lord Robert Cecil said that we never thought of having recourse to reprisals when Italian brigands seized British subjects and held them to ransom. If official neglect justified reprisals then the escape of

the Alabama from Liverpool would furnish the United States with just grounds for war. He thought that the Brazilian authorities had acted promptly and vigorously, but the case of the Prince of Wales was not our only ground of quarrel with Brazil. We had now asked the King of the Belgians to arbitrate on a dispute arising out of the arrest of three British officers charged with being drunk and disorderly. Brazil deserved from us the utmost consideration, and yet we had bullied and humiliated her, because of a trumped-up charge resting on the testimony of a mad Consul, and three tipsy sailors.—Mr. Buxton thought that, whatever objection might be made to the peremptory tone of Earl Russell's despatches, the noble earl had displayed a very commendable love of justice and good temper in offering to submit the case to arbitration.—Mr. C. Bentinck supported the resolution. He saw no reason to think that the Brazilian Government had behaved otherwise in the matter than they would have done if the parties interested had all been Brazilian subjects; and if he was right in that conclusion there was manifestly no justification for the extreme measure which Her Majesty's Ministers had adopted.—Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald pointed out that the scene of the wreck was seventy-eight miles from Rio Grande; and yet the authorities at that place had gone down at once and made inquiries with all possible speed. He was sorry to say that Brazil had always been violently and harshly used by Lord Palmerston. In the present instance Lord Russell had made outrageous accusations against the Brazilian Government on the *ex-parte* statement of Mr. Vereker; but for six months he said nothing about compensation. When he did, the Brazilian Government denied its liability, and it was right to do so, for it had showed no negligence. As to Soares, there was no evidence against him, and it was simply impossible for the Brazilian Government to put him on his trial. The charges made by Lord Russell against Brazil were unfair and unfounded; it was not the fault of the authorities that some of the culprits had escaped beyond their jurisdiction. There was a painful contrast between the violent conduct of Lord Russell towards Brazil, and his patient endurance of wrongs inflicted on British ships in the United States. Mr. Fitzgerald concluded by condemning, in the strongest terms, the abusive language of Lord Russell's despatches to the Brazilian Minister, and his general tone towards foreign Powers. Mr. Layard said that on a careful examination of the evidence it was impossible to escape from the belief that some of those seamen had been murdered, and that the Brazilian authorities had refused to cause a searching inquiry to be instituted into the transaction. The Brazilian Government had been given to understand that any proposal they might make for any amicable settlement of the question, unaccompanied by any preliminary condition, would be taken into consideration by Her Majesty's Ministers. No such proposal, however, had come from them; and it should be borne in mind that when redress was claimed for an alleged grievance it was usual that any suggestion for a peaceful termination of the difference should proceed from the defendant, and not from the complainant. If the Brazilian Government had met Her Majesty's Government from the commencement in a frank and an earnest spirit the question might easily have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. He believed that if the present resolution were adopted, British life and British property would be exposed to a new danger in every quarter of the world; and upon that ground he trusted that it would not receive the sanction of the House of Commons.—Mr. Cobden said he found it impossible to attach complete credit to the evidence upon the English side throughout that controversy. A morbid suspiciousness seemed to pervade all the views of Mr. Consul Vereker, who was our principal witness; and there was no satisfactory proof of any of the gloomy conclusions which he was perpetually drawing. There existed, besides, positive evidence that he had at one time been labouring under a state of hallucination as to the danger to which he was personally exposed; and in no court of justice would the testimony of such a person in a case of this description be regarded as trustworthy. But even if some of those seamen had been murdered, such a circumstance would not justify the demand we had made of the Brazilian Government, unless it could be shown that that Government had rendered itself an accomplice in the crime; and it would be wholly impossible to maintain such a position. He had reason to know that the British merchants at Rio Janeiro unanimously disapproved of the course which had been pursued by our Government upon that occasion, and that they disapproved of it because they could not be led to believe that the Government of Brazil really meant to offer any insult or to make any denial of justice to the representatives of this country. He had only to add that he could not help condemning that system of secret diplomacy which alone had rendered possible the continuance of that miserable quarrel, and the peril to life and property which it had created. The Solicitor General said it was an undisputed principle of international law that when a Government refused to proceed against any portion of its subjects who had despoiled foreigners, that Government could be required to make compensation to those foreigners for the injury they had sustained. But that was precisely the nature of the present question. It appeared from the acknowledgments of the Brazilian authorities themselves, that a robbery of a part of the cargo of the Prince of Wales had taken place, and that the population generally of the scene of the wreck had been implicated in that crime. It was equally manifest that the Brazilian Government had refused to prosecute the offenders in any earnest spirit; and, indeed, they had refused to examine witnesses upon the evidently futile pretext that they could not compel their attendance. Her Majesty's Ministers had acted in the matter solely from a desire to protect British interests, and to convince foreign Governments that British subjects could not be plundered with impunity.—Mr. Bramley Moore stated that he did not mean to press his resolution.—The resolution was accordingly withdrawn.

MONDAY, MARCH 9.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Duke of Somerset requested Lord Malmesbury to postpone the motion of which he had given notice, respecting the arrest of certain British officers at Rio de Janeiro.—Lord Malmesbury consented, expressing, at the same time, a strong opinion that officers of the navy should wear their uniform when on shore in foreign countries.—The Duke of Somerset said that the usual practice was to wear the uniform in countries with which we were not on friendly terms, but not otherwise.—Lord Hardwicke said that, if that was the case, the practice must have altered much since his time.—The subject then dropped.

Lord Grey moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the propriety of enabling the owners of settled estates to charge them with terminable annuities for the purpose of taking shares in railways likely to increase the value of the land. A recent law allows them to incur such charges for the purposes of draining and building, with the approval of the Enclosure Commissioners, and as the construction of a railway would often benefit an estate as much as draining or building, he thought that

the privilege accorded in one case might be reasonably extended to the other.—Lord Redesdale would not object to the inquiry, but he did not think well of the proposal. The construction of railways often occupied a very long period, and the cost was uncertain.—Lord Granville approved of the inquiry.—Lord Stanhope suggested that the whole law with regard to the investment of trust-moneys required revision.—The Lord Chancellor said that that law ought not to be referred to a Select Committee. As to Lord Grey's proposal, he thought the inquiry desirable, but he should like to see all the powers conferred on landowners embodied in one general act.—The motion was then agreed to.—Lord Dalhousie called attention to the failure of the City Police to preserve order on Saturday. Serious confusion had occurred during the passing of the procession, both at London Bridge and at the Mansion House. He thought that the civic authorities should no longer retain the control of the City Police; but that it should be amalgamated with that of the metropolis generally, under the control of the Home Office.—Several other peers spoke, generally agreeing with the suggestion of Lord Dalhousie.—The House adjourned till Thursday.

MONDAY, MARCH 9.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to a question from Mr. Hennessy, Sir G. Grey explained the circumstances under which two officers of the metropolitan police had been sent out to Warsaw. The Grand Duke Constantine had expressed a great admiration of our police force, and a desire to establish something of the same kind in Poland. It was at his request that the officers were sent out to give all the information in their power.—The Russian authorities decided that our system was not applicable to that country, and the officers thereupon returned home.—Mr. Hennessy asked for the production of the letter in which the request had been made.—Sir George Grey said it was confidential, and he declined to produce it.

Mr. Adderley (one of the members of Lord Derby's Government, and a high authority on questions of social reform) moved an address to her Majesty, requesting that, pending the inquiry of the Royal commission on the subject, the Acts imposing conditions on tickets-of-leave granted to convicts should be strictly enforced. He complained that in the first place, nearly all convicts, whatever their conduct, were released at the expiry of the minimum period of incarceration. He complained, secondly, that they were never re-arrested, except on conviction for some fresh crime. There was no police supervision exercised over them as in Ireland, and the majority of them had notoriously returned to a life of crime.—Sir George Grey objected to the address. He said that the Acts referred to imposed no conditions on tickets-of-leave, but left the latter to the discretion of the Home Office. It would be difficult to establish a sufficient case for the recall of the ticket, except on fresh conviction. He asserted that only a few of the violent robberies which recently created such alarm were committed by released convicts.—Mr. H. Seymour said that everybody knew that the Irish system had succeeded and the English system had failed, and he censured Sir George Grey for supporting the latter.—Mr. Henley opposed the motion. He said that Parliament ought not to consider fresh legislation necessary whenever a temporary increase of crime took place.—Sir Stafford Northcote said that though the Acts in question did not specify the conditions to be imposed on convicts released on tickets-of-leave, it had been intended that those conditions should be a reality; but the Government had made them a sham.—Mr. Hadfield declared that only 10 per cent. of the released convicts were found to offend again.—Mr. Newdegate said that the abandonment of transportation was a great misfortune.—Mr. Bentinck opposed the motion.—Mr. Cave said that nobody knew what became of the great majority of ticket-of-leave holders. He thought the present system a failure, as being far too favourable to the criminal.—Colonel Sykes thought that something ought to be done to provide honest employment for released convicts.—Mr. Urquhart said that it would be difficult to work the Irish system in the great towns of England.—The motion was then withdrawn, and the House went into Committee of Supply.

Sir G. Lewis moved the Army Estimates. After referring to the reasons which had caused a considerable increase in the charge of the army since the period previous to the Crimean war, he congratulated the Committee upon its diminution this year, the amount of the present estimates being £1,000,000 less than that of last year's, which was £16,060,350, this year's estimates amounting to £15,060,237. The number of men, which was last year 152,403, was this year 148,242, being a reduction of 4161 men, which had been effected, not by a diminution of the number of battalions, which was the same as last year, but by reducing 100 rank and file in each battalion, with a few exceptions; and he stated the grounds upon which the Government did not think themselves justified in proposing a less number of battalions. After explaining the principal votes, and the reason of the increase or diminution of their sums, he moved the first vote of 148,242 for the land forces.—General Peel objected that the estimate did not show the correct number of men, there being two Indian regiments employed in China not included; and he moved that the number should be increased by so many men.—Mr. Massey (the Chairman of Committees) interposed. There is an old and very wise rule which forbids any grants to be made or increased except upon the motion of one of Her Majesty's Ministers; and Mr. Massey decided that a proposal to increase the number of men voted for the army (though in the present case a mere matter of form), was similarly precluded.—Several votes were afterwards discussed and agreed to. Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned till Wednesday.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sir J. Trevelyan (notorious for his hostility to the Established Church) moved the second reading of a Bill to allow to persons objecting to oaths the same privilege of making affirmation that is allowed to Quakers and Moravians.—The Attorney-General moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. He insisted that the rule of law was to require in every witness some profession of religious belief: a principle distinctly violated by Sir J. Trevelyan's proposal. The Bill also proposed to allow persons too young or too ignorant to take an oath to make affirmation, which he thought wrong.—Mr. Roebuck supported the Bill, objecting to the practice of administering oaths to children.—Mr. Henley opposed it, contending that it would lead to discussions as to the credibility of infidels before all the courts.—Several other members spoke.—Mr. Coningham, on behalf of the ultra-insignificant Radicals, denounced the policy of the Government as "reactionary and retrograde."—The amendment was carried by 142 to 96, so the Bill is lost.

Mr. Adderley moved the second reading of a Bill for flogging persons guilty of robbery with violence. After some discussion,

Sir G. Grey spoke against the Bill, declaring that there had been great exaggeration about the garrotte robberies.—Sir Stafford Northcote said that the ruffians for whom this punishment was proposed did not mind penal servitude, and it was the duty of Parliament to provide a penalty which they would fear.—The second reading was carried against Government by 131 to 68. Some formal business was transacted, and the House adjourned about half-past 5.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, March 11.

Our last report closed on a quiet market, with some irregularity in prices; Fair Dhollerah worth 16d.

On Thursday a better feeling was perceptible, and a disposition on the part of spinners and exporters to buy more freely at the recent decline, the sales reaching 6000 bales. On Friday a fair business was again done at steady prices, the sales reaching 6000 bales. The improved tone of the two previous days was quite maintained on Saturday, and with sales of 7000 bales prices were rather dearer, and in some instances $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1d. advance was paid on the forced sales of Tuesday and Wednesday.

On Monday, the market again opened with a good inquiry, and 6000 bales were sold; to-day a like amount has changed hands at firm prices. We quote Fair Dhollerah 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and Middling American 21d. to 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The main cause of the improved feeling here is attributable to the recent accounts from America, which, by most people are read in favour of a long continuance of the war. For while less is said of the dissatisfaction of the Western States, the Conscription Bill providing for another army, has passed both Houses of Congress. The feeling that was of late entertained here by many, that the North would soon have to succumb through the difficulty of raising men and money, is being gradually removed, and a strong conviction growing in most men's minds this unhappy war is still far from a close.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, March 10.

The improvement in the tone of the daily reports of the Liverpool Cotton Market, during the past week, together with the later and more satisfactory telegrams from India, have imparted a little more cheerfulness to our yarn and cloth markets.

In India mule yarns there has been a moderate amount of business done at an advance of fully $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on the rates of the week previous; but as these qualities are comparatively heavy in stock, and the prices obtained being rather low, there is no inducement as yet for spinners to replenish their stocks.

Yarns for export to the Continent have been very much neglected this week, hardly any sales being reported.

Home trade yarns, from Nos. 32s. to 40s., twist and pincops, were in better demand; but as spinners held out firmly for an advance on last week's quotations, very little business was effected in them. Cloths suitable for shipment to India have been in better request, and a considerable business has been done in jaconets, mulls, and shirtings, at slightly improved prices.

Madapolams of particular weights have also been bought up, and in some cases orders have been given to make.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

Since our last intelligence the Confederate Congress had been chiefly in secret session, and although our files of Charleston papers come down to the 12th of February, the items of congressional proceedings are few and of slight importance.

On the 2nd, in the Senate, the day has been occupied in discussing the bill to organize the Supreme Court: the question being on an amendment limiting the jurisdiction of the Court.

In the House the Exemption Bill was further discussed until adjournment.

On the 3rd, the Supreme Court Bill was further debated in the Senate without result.—The House was chiefly engaged in considering the Exemption Act.—The substitute offered by Mr. Collier, of Virginia, was rejected.

On the 5th, the Appropriation Bill was passed in the Senate.

Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, introduced a bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the peaceable secession of any State in the event of a failure to adjust any grievance complained of. The bill was referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

The Supreme Court Bill was further debated in the House.

Numerous bills and resolutions were introduced—one proposing to abolish the Post-Office Department was laid on the table.

On the 9th, Senator Hunter, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported a bill for funding the Public Debt and curtailing the Currency. The Committee adopts substantially the plan proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his recent report to Congress.

On the 10th, the Senate while in secret session passed the Finance Bill. The provisions of the bill are not yet made public, but are supposed to be substantially those recommended by Mr. Memminger.

On the 11th, in the Senate, Mr. Phelan, from the Select Committee, reported back the bill to impress cotton for public use, with a recommendation that it pass. The Senate then went into secret session to debate the Bill.

ITEMS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

Mr. Henry Laurens Pinckney, the founder of the *Charleston Mercury*, and for upwards of fifteen years, its editor and proprietor, recently died in that city.

John R. Edmunds, Esq., of Halifax, Virginia, recently presented to the Court of that country, for distribution among the families of soldiers, fifteen thousand pounds of bacon, worth some ten thousand dollars, besides making a benevolent disposition of an additional quantity. Early in the war he clothed and equipped a company.

The extensive distillery of Mason and Harman's, formerly Stern's, at Rackets near Richmond, was destroyed by fire on the night of the 10th of February.

C. L. Edwards, Esq., Assistant Cashier of the Bank of Charleston, South Carolina, died at Columbia, on the morning of February 11th, after a protracted illness from consumption.

Two hundred and fifty citizens of New Orleans, recently left that city, by permission of Gen. Banks. Some of them have arrived at Jackson, Mississippi, and many of them in a destitute condition.

A supper given in Mobile, Alabama, recently, for the benefit of the Protestant Orphan Asylum, netted the handsome amount of \$5,200.

Colonel J. C. Wilkinson, commanding the 8th Mississippi regiment, was mortally wounded at the battle of Murfreesboro. He was in every sense a noble, honest, and honourable man.

The Southern papers are discussing the merits of a new preparation of army food, called extract of flesh, of which the following is a description:—

A half ounce represents the whole amount of nutriment in a pound of fresh beef. The method of preparation is thus described:—"The whole process consists in taking lean beef, free of bone and fat, chopping it fine as when used for sausages or mince meat, and mixing it with its own weight of water. It is then slowly heated to boiling and allowed to boil briskly for a moment or two, when it is strained through cotton cloth to separate the coagulated albumen and fibrin. The evaporation to dryness of the solution must be conducted at a low temperature by a water bath or a steam heat. The powder is readily soluble in water. When properly dried it will keep for months. Enough can be stored in an ordinary watch box to sustain a soldier for a week. An ordinary porcelain lined kettle, holding a gallon, is sufficient for the preparation of the extract. To dry the solution put the kettle into a larger vessel containing hot water."

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, March 10.

The Polish question continues to engross public attention here. The excitement which the apprehension of immediate war had given rise to has subsided; but the continuance of the insurrection keeps up a certain amount of vague uneasiness.

As for the insurrection, beyond the fact of its spreading, and of the Russian soldiery being guilty of the greatest atrocities, sparing not even the Russian functionaries who happen to be residing in towns of which the inhabitants are ordered to be put to the sword, very little is known. The soldiers and officers of the Czar appear to combine all the savage ferocity of the insurgent Sepoys with the cold-blooded cruelty which has branded with infamy the Northern heroes, Turchin, Butler, and M'Neil. It is impossible to conjecture how it is all to end. Diplomacy is busy—autograph letters have been exchanged between the Emperor and the Czar, but common sense suffices to make us feel that no negotiations can be effectual whilst the two parties in the field are apparently fairly matched, and bent on a war of extermination.

From Italy we have had the sensation announcement of a falling out between the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli; followed, I need hardly say, by the *redintegratio amoris*. The cause of the quarrel was a *pique* of M. de Merode, the favourite chamberlain of His Holiness, whose political zeal and hatred of the gifted cardinal, his rival in the affections of the Pope, are by no means equal to his abilities. The cloud has blown over by this time.

Judging from their acts, their policy, their speeches, it is perhaps a rash hypothesis to suppose that the governing clique at Washington can boast among them one honest politician, and it were a hopeless as well as a thankless task to attempt to open the eyes of the wilfully blind. None but such could pen such despatches as Mr. Seward's last reply to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. But it may not be inexpedient to acquaint the bulk of the population of the Federal States, and it may cheer and encourage our friends both North and South, to be made aware of the fact, that the conviction that the North are utterly sick and weary of the war is now recognized by every shade of opinion in Europe. Look at the papers in England: every journal of standing and respectability—with the single exception of the London organ of Mr. Bright—however they may differ on other points, and they do differ pretty considerably, all, *Morning Herald*, *Morning Post*, and *Times*, agree in their views of the state of public feeling in America. In France, where public opinion has not full play, the only opinion of real weight in public affairs is that of the Government. The despatches of M. Drouyn de Lhuys were plain enough to understand, but as diplomatic courtesy is naturally precluded from calling a spade a spade. Mr. Lincoln and his associates refused to see the meaning which was obvious to every one out of his Cabinet that read the French despatches. It is probably to prevent any possibility of any further apprehension of this kind that the Imperial Government has caused to be inserted in the *Moniteur*, in the shape of a letter from New York, a statement of its views of the state of affairs throughout the length and breadth of the North. Though not strictly an official document, the insertion of that letter in a prominent part of the *Moniteur* the nature of its contents, and the significance of its tone invest it with all the importance of a state paper. It is not usual for the French official print to treat with such scant ceremony the government of a country with which France is, I will not say on friendly terms, but at peace. Hear how the *Moniteur* describes Mr. Lincoln's last convulsive effort to raise an army:—

"That a state which has successively called under arms, first, 150,000, then 300,000, then 600,000 volunteers, spent several thousand millions of dollars as premiums for enlistment, and resorted to 'draughting' as a last resource, should after a war of only two years' duration, be at a loss for men to continue the struggle, is an extraordinary and abnormal fact—yet that such is the fact is proclaimed by no less an authority than the United States Senate itself."

The writer then gives an outline of the last extraordinary measure by which the Federal Congress has actually contrived to surpass itself in exciting the derision and contempt of civilized nations, and proceeds:—

"What has become of those clouds of volunteers that encumbered Washington last autumn? The enemy's fire, disease, the winter can account for a good many no doubt, but the losses heavy as they may be, are out of all proportion, and a state of

things which requires such extraordinary efforts * * * It can only be accounted for by the fact which the democratic party have already proclaimed, and which the abolitionists sturdily deny, (of course) but which the measures they are compelled to resort to show to be true, viz:—that the soldiers are (at least) quite as tired of the war as the citizens themselves."

The *Moniteur* proceeds to demonstrate the correctness of the conclusion it has arrived at, by arguments which Messrs. Lincoln, Seward and Co., will, no doubt, think unfeeling—the official print seems to be strangely forgetful of the fact that those high and mighty seigniors (I cannot with any regard for truth call them "grave and reverend") hold it treason to doubt their *ipse dixit*:—

"If the soldiers were not weary of this struggle should we have beheld the Army of the Potomac melting away without fighting—that immense agglomeration of men, to form which the United States had devoted the best of their blood and treasure? Letters from officers have described the perpetual flow of desertion, mixed with outbreaks of mutiny which paralyzed in their hands that formidable instrument of war. Its dissolution, which discontent had commenced, weariness completes."

The *Moniteur* then goes on to give a rapid but graphic and striking sketch of the utter inaction which prevails in the Federal camps from the banks of the Potomac to those of the Mississippi. Tom is doing nothing and Jack is helping Tom. The Federal army is doing nothing, and the Federal navy is helping the Federal army:—

"An immense feeling of hesitation (*une immense hesitation*) hovers over the war. What are they waiting for? Reinforcements? Why, by their own confession, the Federal Government have not one man at their disposal. The idea is ridiculous,—it seems to be considered so even at Washington as the white population is summoned *en masse*."

With cruel irony the *Moniteur* asks if the North are waiting for another "strategic movement." This is the unkindest cut of all, and even the exposure of the absurdity of the Yazoo Canal, and the inaction of Grant in Tennessee and Rosencranz before Vicksburg, "where his army is wasting under the influence of miasma and marsh fever," appears good nature itself when compared with this cruel sarcasm. Surely this should be sufficient to satisfy even Mr. Seward. In case, however, that model of transatlantic diplomacy should not think his last dispatch adequately answered by what I have quoted above, there is more to come. He is told no longer in the urbane innuendoes of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, but with galling bluntness, that it is all over with the war, that the soldiers will no longer fight, because they feel that it is all up with the Union, and that it is hopeless to attempt to restore it; because they have no sympathy with abolitionist cant; because they know that the South are waging a defensive war, not an aggressive war; because they are conscious that they are risking their lives for no practical object; because, in short, the war "don't pay."

So much for the war, and so much for public feeling in the Northern States, but, in addition, the *Moniteur* acquaints us with the desperate effort making by the desperadoes at Washington to retain their hold of the power they feel slipping from their grasp, by trying to overawe the State legislatures in the West by the myrmidons of Rosencranz; whilst on the Potomac a sanitary cordon is to be drawn round Hooker's army, across which no newspaper is to pass!

I mentioned last week an able paper by M. Hautefeuille, in the *Revue Contemporaine*, setting forth the fictitious character of the blockade of the Southern coasts, by Northern cruisers. A Southern resident in Paris, M. Edwin de Leon, has published in the *Constitutionnel* an able letter on the same subject, which has the rare merit of placing the principles which regulate the right of blockade, before the reader in a concise and lucid shape. M. de Leon points out that whilst all the authorities on the subject have arrived at the conclusion that a blockade must be "effective" yet they differ very widely as to what an effective blockade consists in. According to the learned pundits, Hautefeuille, Wheaton, and Phillimore, to be effectually blockaded, a coast requires to be watched at a distance of four miles, at the outside, by a line of cruisers, sufficiently numerous as to prevent any vessel entering or leaving the blockaded ports. Lord Russell, however (probably as M. de Leon humourously remarks, owing to his being a veteran of the Liberal party), gives the most liberal interpretation to the term effective—holding, for instance, that half-a-dozen men-of-war would be sufficient to blockade effectually the coast of Spain, and a *portion*, considering the fact of Federal ships cruising off the Bahamas, constituting a blockade of Charleston harbour. Touching the late interruption of the blockade at that port and at Galveston, M. de Leon agrees with many writers on your side of the Channel and on this, that whatever doubts may be entertained as regards Charleston, there can be no question but that Galveston harbour was accessible for several days, and that a previous notification was indispensable before the blockade could be legally re-established.

About a week ago the *Figaro*, a scurrilous bi-weekly paper, which bears considerable resemblance to the *Age* and *Satirist* of former days, published a coarse attack on Mlle. Denain, an actress of the Theatre Francaise, whose daughter is about to be married to Edmund About, the novelist. These papers have a decided leaning to direct their filthy slanders against women whom they suppose to be unprotected. In this case, however, *Figaro* made a mistake. The day the article appeared, a friend of the lady's, M. Didier, went to the *Figaro* office, armed with a stout cudgel, wherewith he inflicted on the director of the paper, M. de Villemessant, a sound drubbing. M. Villemessant sent a brace of friends to M. Didier to ask satisfaction, and received the following reply:—

The only damage M. de Villemessant has sustained is in his skin—he has no claim to demand the satisfaction of a gentleman—I am not unwilling to pay what compensation he deems requisite for the injuries inflicted by my cane.

The public feel that M. de Villemessant has too long gone unpunished, and the universal verdict is "Served him right."

A NORTHERN EXPOSITION OF NORTHERN FINANCES.

The clearest exposition that has yet been made of the condition of Northern Finances, the exact extent of the resources of the country misruled by Mr. Lincoln, and the inevitable result of Mr. Chase's management will be found in the subjoined article, which we copy from a monthly periodical published in New York, and entitled *The Old Guard*, devoted to the principles of 1776 and 1787.

THE COST OF THE WAR, AND WHO MUST PAY IT.

The annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which was laid before Congress at the opening of the session, produced a profound impression upon the public mind. The anxiety which before was growing in the community was deepened when the self-contradictory and dissembling Report from the Treasury Department confirmed latent fears of an approaching national bankruptcy. The course adopted by the Secretary last year was one that all-reflecting persons knew would lead to such a result if long persevered in; but the persistent declaration from members of the Government that "sixty days," "a few weeks," "two or three months," would put an end to the war, served, among those who put faith in such predictions, to keep alive a hope that peace would come before financial ruin. The insidious progress of paper promises was rapidly eating out the vitals of the nation, which looked for decisive victory in the field as the antidote to the fatal poison in its system. There seemed to be a race between financial destruction and military victory. If the latter should arrive, it might save the nation. If it came not, or came too late, it could perch only on the banners of a sunken ship, o'er which the billows of bankruptcy were making way. There are few persons who comprehend, in its full force, that which is meant by national bankruptcy resulting from discredited paper money. It is now seventy years since the country was involved in the ruin occasioned by the continental money of the Revolution, and few living had practical experience of those disastrous days, when money did not exist, trade was paralyzed, debts could not be collected, judgments could not be enforced, taxes were out of the question, and armed bands—even in Massachusetts—broke up the sittings of courts, while insurrection defied the execution of any legal authority tending to the collection of taxes. The life of the nation was as a flickering lamp which a breath would extinguish. Through the conciliatory wisdom of Congress, and the firmness of Washington, the difficulties gradually subsided under the influence of the union of States, which gave the Federal Government revenue through the customs, and enabled it relinquish claim to taxes which could not be collected. Its conciliatory conduct, after the lapse of one or two years, induced Rhode Island and Georgia to come back into the Union, and a season of prosperity was inaugurated.

How great soever may have been the dangers and disasters of that dark hour, these were as nothing to the ruin which is now impending from a similar cause. The country then was poor, and but little surplus capital existed in the shape of credit, while all the States were so exhausted by a long war, that necessary prudence tempered rising animosities. This is no now the case. Eighty years of profound peace and unexampled prosperity have made the country the envy of other nations, more particularly for its rapid development of that vast wealth which is evenly distributed among the people. There are now railroad bonds, mortgages, annuities, ground rents, life insurance, bank stocks, savings' deposits, and numerous other credits, to a value of more than 2000 millions, which have already become unsettled, and which, borne on the rising tide of Mr. Chase's paper scheme, are even now moving on the current to be swiftly engulfed in the flood of bankruptcy. In that hour, when the hands of every individual will be filled with "green-back" promises, and currency no longer exists, how and by whom will the \$250,000,000 per annum of taxes, that Mr. Chase even now demands as the permanent "peace tax," be enforced? What Federal army will extort taxes from a ruined people? What courts or what juries will be found to accord judgments for debts contracted in depreciated paper and demanded in coin? The creditors of the Federal Government, if it should exist in that disastrous hour, will be numerous, but they cannot outnumber the ruined people no longer able to pay taxes to satisfy their claims. The question of taxation itself would speedily be the signal for collision between States. Thus, should the Constitution survive the assaults of the present party in power, taxation must be laid according to representation: Missouri and Massachusetts are of equal representation. The former has been devastated by the war until her wealth consists only in her land. Massachusetts has derived immense wealth from the war. Her factories, her ships, her jobbers, her contractors, her senators, and their favourites, her expeditions to the Southern coast, her pro-consul Butler, at New Orleans, have drawn within her borders the wealth of the nation, and they foster a war which pays so well. While the hearts' blood of the Middle and Western States has watered the battle-fields of the Union, New England has the profits of the war; but she has not taken a dollar of the general stock. New York has supplied the capital which Massachusetts has absorbed. When the necessity

of taxation arises, the response will be the constitutional provision, that "the tax must be equal according to representation," and Massachusetts will pay no more than the ruined people of Missouri can pay—out of that ability the Government creditor will be paid but poorly.

The Secretary of the Treasury evidently foresaw the coming evil, and his Report is simply an attempt to relieve himself of the responsibility. This attempt was met by the Chairman of Ways and Means, who, in a speech Dec. 19th, attempted to repel the responsibility where it is due, says that—"when general bankruptcy overtook the nation, he would have the satisfaction to know that he tried to prevent it." The fact that the architects of ruin are already seeking to escape the falling fabric confirms the public dread, and imports increased caution to capitalists.

The Secretary, in his Report, gave the aggregate receipts and expenditures of the Government for three years as in the annexed statement.

RECEIPTS.			
	Ordinary.	Loans.	Total.
1862...	\$ 51,935,720.76	\$524,692,460	\$581,628,181.00
1863...	107,451,798.79	608,063,432	774,525,220.79
1864...	223,025,000.00	622,368,183	845,413,183.56
Total, } 3 yrs. }	\$382,412,519.55	\$1,755,144,075	\$2,201,566,585.35

EXPENDITURES.			
	Current.	Debt.	Total.
1862...	\$474,744,778.16	\$96,096,922.09	\$570,841,700.25
1863...	693,346,321.48	95,212,456.14	788,558,777.62
1864...	826,028,279.40	19,384,804.16	845,413,183.56
Total, } 3 yrs. }	\$1,994,119,379.04	\$210,694,182.39	\$2,204,813,661.43

The expenditures for the three years now half expired, it will be observed, are 2204 millions, or more than two-thirds of the whole British debt! This vast expenditure, the Secretary estimates, will leave a debt, at the close of the third year of war, of \$1,744,685,586, which, at 6 per cent. interest, will bear an annual interest of \$105,000,000. The annual interest of the British debt is \$138,696,100. Hence, if the United States' debt could be contracted at 6 per cent., its actual burden upon the people would be three-fourths of the British debt. Now, the only nation that ever approached such a scale of expenditure before was the British, in the first fifteen years of the present century—that Government in one year expended \$500,000,000, but they did so under peculiarly favourable circumstances. They commanded the ocean, and monopolized the commerce of the world. The inventions of steam, the loom, the cotton gin, &c., had wonderfully developed her manufactures, and she had the markets of the world to supply at monopoly prices. Owing to the disturbed state of the Continent, timid capitalists there, even from France, with whom she was at war sent to England large sums for safe-keeping. Under such circumstances she could borrow largely, and she did so; but her loans did not exceed 30 per cent. of the expenses. Of every £1,000,000 raised, £700,000 was from taxes, and £300,000 from loans. Notwithstanding this safe course, her stock fell to 48 per cent. once. The United States' Secretary now proposes to borrow 80 per cent. of the whole of an enormous expenditure—double the largest war expenditure ever undertaken in one year by the British Government—and he has the absurdity to assume that those loans can be contracted at par for 6 per cent., and makes large reliance to supply the capital upon a system of paper, which he knows to be fallacious.

Of this large sum required, nearly \$1,500,000,000 is to be borrowed in the next eighteen months. The debt is now, indeed, in round numbers, \$600,000,000; but of that sum only \$200,000,000 is funded, and of that amount \$100,000,000 falls due in 1864, and must be met.—The remaining \$400,000,000 are due on demand, and must be provided for.

There are only three possible ways of raising the \$1,000,000,000 demanded by the Secretary for the service of the next eighteen months:—1. To tax for the whole amount. 2. To borrow the money on issues of stocks at the market rate, whatever that may be. 3. To issue paper money to the amount that may be required. The question of taxation seems not to have entered into the views of either the Secretary or the Committee of Ways and Means. It was, apparently, taken for granted that, after Congress had repealed the direct tax of last year, and imposed the income and internal taxes, that the extent of taxation was reached. The Secretary estimates the receipt of the taxes for the year now half expired at \$167,451,798, and for the fiscal year 1861 at \$223,025,000, embracing the customs. He proposes to issue no more currency notes, but to borrow \$1,000,000,000 on 6 per cent. stock, which he wishes to sell privately at his own discretion, not being limited in terms by Congress. This is the plan of the Secretary, including a proposition to create a National Bank Law, which is too evidently unpractical to enter into a discussion. The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means also proposed to issue bonds for the sums wanted above \$250,000,000, which he proposed to add to the notes now outstanding, making the Government currency \$500,000,000. The question is apparently between stock bearing interest and paper money; but this is only apparent, since it is very evident, from the statements of both the Secretary and the Chairman, that but

regard the resort to paper money exclusively as inevitable, and both seek to avoid the odium which, in the inevitable hour of national bankruptcy, will overwhelm the authors of the ruin.

The history of the financial operations of the Secretary hitherto would convince an ordinary man—and have doubtless fully convinced him—that loans are impossible, to any great extent, in the market. There is no such amount of capital in the country as \$1,700,000,000 which can in the space of three years be taken from the employments of industry, and loaned permanently to the Government at 6 per cent. All questions of credit or discredit apart, this sum could not be raised, but at such an exorbitant rate of interest as would outbid all employments of industry, and, by so doing, stop that production of wealth on which the payment of the taxes depends. The sum expresses an investment of \$400 in stock by every Northern family, in addition to all other property held. The Secretary feels the impossibility of the operation, since, in the last year, he has not been able to negotiate any important loan. In fact, since the war began, he has made no loans, except from the banks, who have thus invested money placed with them on temporary deposit, because it had, by the war, been driven out of its ordinary employments. It is to be borne in mind, that the capital which can be loaned to the Government consists only in that surplus which a man may possess over and above what he can employ in his business. In this country of vast natural resources there is never capital enough to carry on industry, and it always bears a high rate. According to last census returns, the amount of capital invested in productive industry in the Free States was \$920,568,681. This included the real estate employed. This capital employed 100,000 factories, giving work to 1,250,000 persons active producers. The value produced was nearly double, or, \$1,700,000,000. The average annual profit may be placed at 10 per cent., or \$170,000,000 per annum. Out of that sum the expenses of the employees are to be met, and the remainder may constitute a surplus that can be invested on interest. If it is assumed that the amount to be invested may, one year with another, reach \$100,000,000, then in ten years the nation will have saved \$1,000,000,000 for investments. These investments now exist in various forms, as follows:—

State and City debts	\$250,000,000
Railroad stocks	300,000,000
.. bonds	700,000,000
Banks	300,000,000
Insurance companies	200,000,000
Savings' deposits	200,000,000
Bonds and mortgages	200,000,000
Other miscellaneous—mines, gas, &c..	150,000,000
Total	\$2,200,000,000

This is an approximation to the existing amount of surplus capital invested, and has been the product of at least eighty years' accumulation. Without deducting what existed when the Government was formed, the accumulation would have been at the rate of \$30,000,000 per annum; but it has of late years been very rapid, and if put at \$100,000,000 in time of peace, it will coincide with the fact that \$1,000,000,000 were expended for railroads in the ten years ending with 1860. But in time of war there is no accumulation; on the contrary, one million men—one-fourth the active population—being in the army, production is small, and the immense waste of capital causes a rapid decline in amount. Under the tax law, the Government has constituted itself a partner in every man's business. It sends its agents to inspect books and stocks, and to exact, not a portion of the profits, but 3 per cent. on the production. This being \$1,700,000,000, the tax on manufactures will be \$55,000,000, which may be more than the profit. The tax on incomes draws a further sum from profits; and if the Secretary obtains the \$150,000,000 that he estimates, it will sweep off all profits, and no accumulation will take place. It is now to be remembered that \$900,000,000 are expended in keeping industry employed, and that \$2,200,000,000 are invested in various securities, making \$3,100,000,000 of capital in the country. The Government now comes forward and demands one-half of that capital in eighteen months. What will result? If it offers, by the depreciation of its stock, such a temptation as to make holders sell out other investments, it may tempt them to change. But this is impossible. They cannot change their investments to any extent, because to sell there must be buyers; and all securities, supposing the Government credit to remain as good as that of the States, will decline, step by step, with the Government stocks. Those who sell other securities to buy, will be obliged to sell cheap. If the Government stock sells so low as to induce employers to stop their enterprises, discharge their hands, and convert their capital into Government stock, the industry of the nation will come to an end, and with it the tax upon its production. But it will be observed that the \$1,500,000,000 of loans that the Secretary requires, is estimated on getting the amount at par for 6 per cent. twenty-year stocks, and those stocks are now 75 per cent. for gold. Even if he could borrow at that rate, the amount of stock issued will be \$2,000,000,000. He cannot, however, borrow at that rate. He must give such rates as will outbid all other interests, and to do so will as surely bankrupt the whole country as that he attempts it, if the credit of the Federal Government should, under the circumstances remain unbroken. This is, however, not the case; its credit abroad is already so disturbed, that all oblige-

tions there held are being constantly sent here for realization, making the current of gold which flows out in such a broad stream more than sixty millions—or double the California supply—having been exported in the past year. The foreign capitalist, looking on upon a gigantic war, which, end as it may, will swallow up the resources of the country, naturally asks—Who are the payers of the obligations? The Federal Government presents itself, with increasing wants and depreciating credit, to borrow a sum equal to half the whole capital of the country, with the avowed object of destroying an industry, and deporting four millions of workers, which has been one of the most prolific sources of the existing wealth. During the forty years—1820 to 1860—according to the Treasury tables, there were exported \$4,856,863,368 worth of domestic productions. Of this amount \$3,250,300,000 was created by those workers which the proclamation of the President proposes to emancipate and deport out of the country, at an expense of many hundred millions of dollars. Whatever may be thought of this as a matter of State policy, it surely does not aid the chance of paying the Government debts. The object of the war, for which \$1,500,000,000 must be borrowed, is avowed to be the extinguishment of an interest which produces \$500,000,000 per annum. Thus, in any event, whatever may be the result of the war, the Northern industry must pay the whole of the war debt.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE GUNBOAT ISAAC P. SMITH.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, February 3.)

In Saturday's issue we briefly announced the capture of the Yankee gunboat Isaac P. Smith in the Stono River. We are now enabled to present to our readers the full particulars of the exploit.

Several days ago a secret expedition was organized, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Yates, of the 1st South Carolina Regular Artillery, and dispatched to John's Island to attack the gunboats which occasionally prowl along the Stono. The force consisted of the following troops: The Siege Train, Companies A and B, commanded respectively by Captain B. C. Webb and Lieutenant L. W. Wilson, Major Charles Alston, jun., being in command of the battalion; Company F, of the Palmetto battalion of Light Artillery, under Captain F. C. Schulz; Company D, 1st South Carolina Regular Artillery, with a Light Battery, Captain F. H. Harleston; one Parrott gun, in charge of Lieutenant T. E. Gregg; Company I, 1st South Carolina Regular Artillery, Captain J. C. Mitchell; Companies H and I, of 20th South Carolina Volunteers, commanded respectively by Captain S. M. Roof, and Lieutenant M. Gunter, and acting as sharpshooters. During Thursday night these troops were posted at Legare's Point Place, and Grimbail's, on John's Island; Major Alston commanding the batteries at Grimbail's; Captain Harleston those at Legare's Point Place, and the sharpshooters being under charge of Captain Mitchell.

In the meantime a detachment of Lucas' (regular) battalion, under Captain John H. Gary, was posted at Mr. Thomas Grimbail's place on James Island, and further up the Stono.

They had three 24-pounder rifled guns, which were put in position 150 yards apart, and about 400 yards from the banks of the river. The guns were manned with detachments of Companies A, B, and C, under Lieutenants W. G. Ogier and E. B. Colhoun, and Captain T. B. Hayne. Further down the Stono, and on the James Island side, Major J. Welsam Brown, with two rifle guns, in charge of a detachment of the 2nd Regiment S. C. Artillery (late Lamar's) and with a detachment of the Georgia Battalion as sharpshooters, took up a position so as to man the channel.

On Friday afternoon, at half-past four o'clock, the enemy's gunboat, Isaac P. Smith, steamed up the river, passing the batteries of Major Brown and Colonel Yates, and came to anchor a little above, opposite the residence of Mr. Thomas Grimbail, and within fair range of the guns of Captain Gary. The Yankees made no attempt to land, and, after waiting about twenty minutes, Captain Gary ordered the battery to open, which it did in handsome style, sending its shots crashing audibly through the timbers of the gunboat. At the first discharge there was evidently great consternation on the Yankee decks, and one officer cried out, "Great God! what is this?" The vessel immediately slipped her cable and began a hasty retreat, fighting the battery as she retired. She threw grape, shot, and shell, with considerable accuracy, but without injuring any of our men. One grape shot struck the gun of Company C, leaving its trace longitudinally. The firing of our battery at this point was rapid and well executed. The gunboat in her flight soon came within range of the batteries of Colonel Yates, against which she then directed her broadsides. But the heavy concentrated fire from John's Island soon terminated the struggle. Three shots struck the machinery of the steamer, deranging it so that she could no longer proceed. She then dropped anchor, and her commander unconditionally surrendered the boat and crew, consisting of 11 officers, 105 men, and 3 negroes. Colonel Yates thereupon ordered the Yankee Lieutenant commanding to send his men ashore in the steamer's boats, for our men had none wherewith to board her. The surrender was soon consummated, and a detachment of our force under Captain Harleston took possession of the prize, Isaac P. Smith. She proved to be a very valuable capture. She was built in 1861, and carried a fine armament, consisting of one 30-pounder Parrott gun, and eight 8-inch heavy Columbiads. Her hull and machinery were not materially injured, and will soon be in serviceable condition.

The enemy's loss in the action was nineteen killed and six wounded. The negro pilot was killed outright. Our loss was only one man killed, a member of Alston's battalion, from Horry District, whose name we have not yet been able to obtain. Our forces behaved with the utmost coolness and bravery, encountering, without breastworks or other protection, the enemy's fire at the short range of between 200 and 300 yards. The Signal Corps and Walpole's "Stono Scouts" were very active and efficient in promoting the success of the expedition.

During Saturday night the other Yankee gunboats steamed up the river, and began shelling the Isaac P. Smith, hoping to retake or destroy her. Major Brown's guns, however, immediately opened upon them a hot and well-directed fire, and, warned by the fate of the Smith, they withdrew. The captured steamer is now under the guns of Fort Pemberton.

The prisoners were brought to the city on Saturday morning, and were escorted to jail by a detachment of the Charleston Battalion, Captain Lord commanding. They are a villainous looking crew. The names of the officers are as follows:—

F. S. Conover, Acting Lieutenant Commanding.
John W. Dicks (Executive Officer) Acting Master.
Robert Tarr, Acting Master.
Whitman Chase, Ensign.
Francis Button, Ensign.
Henry S. Borden, Ensign.
Jacob Tucker, 1st Assistant Engineer.
Erastus Barry, 3d Assistant Engineer.
J. O. Hill, Assistant Paymaster.
Charles Estacker, Paymaster's Clerk.
G. H. Marvin, Surgeon.
James S. Tucker, 2d Assistant Engineer, died on his way to the city.

A number of trophies found on board, such as officer's swords, fine mathematical instruments, &c., with a considerable pack of bran new "green backs," were yesterday brought up to General Ripley's office.

The prize will doubtless be speedily put in fighting trim, so as to co-operate in the next dash of our iron clads upon the blockading fleet.

THE GREAT NAVAL VICTORY.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, February 4.)

Not since the memorable Saturday and Sunday which succeeded the fall of Fort Sumter, has our community been as elated as during the two days just gone by. Our ability to cope with and sink the hostile vessels which have so long sealed our harbour, is at length indisputably proved. The gallant naval officers, who for months have been longing to meet their country's foe upon the water, have vindicated the reputation of our young navy in a style that will fairly take rank with the exploits of the Merimac and the achievements of Semmes. The blow that has been struck, in realizing the long cherished hope of our noble women, to give to Charleston the means of offence as well as of defence, will, we know, richly repay them for all their labours and all their sacrifices.

The project of attacking the blockading fleet is one that has been entertained for some weeks. On Friday night, everything being in readiness, Commodore Duncan N. Ingraham gave the order to start. Accordingly, at half-past 9 p.m., the Palmetto State (Captain Rutledge), the Chicora (Captain Tucker), with the steamers Clinch, Ettyan, and Chesterfield, as tenders, left the wharves and steamed slowly down the harbour. The whole expedition was under the command of Commodore Ingraham, who was aboard the Palmetto State. It was a fine night. The moon was shining brightly, though the horizon was misty, and a light breeze scarcely ruffled the surface of the water. As it was not intended to reach the bar until the moon had set, the trip down occupied several hours. At half-past 3 a.m., the iron-clads had reached Beach Channel, when the crews were beat to quarters and prepared for action. At four o'clock the lookout of the Palmetto State, which led the way, descried the outline of a Yankee vessel directly ahead. The long-coveted moment was now at hand. When within about fifty yards of the blockader, the engines of the Palmetto State were stopped, and the iron monster darted forward with irresistible momentum towards the doomed ship. At this juncture a voice from the enemy's decks was heard crying, "Back her, or you'll run into us!" The next moment the crash came, the bow of the iron-clad striking the Yankee steamer on the port-quarter, and crashing fearfully through her timber.

Scarcely had the ram wedged itself into the enemy's quarter, when the bow gun of the Palmetto State (a seven-inch rifle, was fired and the shell tore its way through the enemy's hull, hursting the boiler and shattering the engine in its passage. The two vessels hung together for a few seconds only. As the iron-clad was backing preparatory to another onset, the commander of the enemy's vessel called out that he would surrender. Captain Rutledge replied, ordering him to send a boat aboard, which he was some time in doing. On a threat being made to re-open fire upon him, the boat was finally sent, and Lieutenant Shryock was ordered to one of the quarter ports to receive its occupants. The officer in the boat announced himself as commander Abbott, of the United States sloop-of-war Mercedita, Captain Stellwagen, and said that he came to complete the surrender. He was conducted before Commodore Ingraham and Captain Rutledge, and, upon his pledge, he and the entire crew of the Mercedita were paroled. He was then ordered back to his vessel, but asked for assistance in behalf of his crew, as their ship was fast sinking. He reported that, when he left her, there were two inches of water on the berth deck, and all their boats were useless, as, in the confusion, they had been lowered without putting in the plugs, which are usually removed to let the rain water escape. Commodore Ingraham replied that he regretted that want of room and the lack of boats precluded the possibility of receiving them. The boat's crew, as well as the Yankee officer, had evidently made a hasty toilet, being without shoes or stockings, and otherwise dressed in rather scant fashion. The Mercedita was a new sloop-of-war, of the second class, built only fifteen months ago, and mounting eleven guns. Abbot said that the explosion of the boiler had scalded many of the crew, and represented the condition of the Mercedita to be, in other respects, most pitiable.

In the meantime, the Chicora, finding the Palmetto State grappling with the Mercedita, and at about 5.10 a.m., made out a three-masted propeller, with which she immediately closed, firing two shots as she approached. The enemy, as soon as these shots had been delivered, began ringing his fire bell, while the Chicora stood off to the northward, encountering a side-wheel steamer, which came down across her bow. The first shot from the Chicora burst the starboard boiler of this vessel, which was supposed to be the Keystone State. The smoke and steam from the explosion could be plainly seen issuing from the decks, and in a few moments she hauled down her flag, still ringing her fire bell. Orders were given to clear away a boat to board her, but before the order could be put into execution she had fled. At this time a steamer, supposed to be the Quaker City, came down towards the stern of the Chicora, and received several shots from the stern port.

By this time the enemy had learned a wholesome respect for our iron-clads, and these latter had little else to do than chase their large gune bither and thither. At dawn the whole blockading fleet had taken to its heels, and our little steamers cruised out after them in triumph.—But the enemy kept carefully out of range. The last shot was fired about half-past seven a.m. In the afternoon, finding that there was no further immediate opportunity for action, our steamers returned to the city, and were

received by a vast crowd, including large numbers of ladies. The cheering of the crowd, and the waving of handkerchiefs gave assurance to our naval heroes that their gallant dash was appreciated.

The following is the official despatch received from Commodore Ingraham on Saturday morning:—

"On board Gunboat Palmetto State.

"I went out last night. This vessel sunk the Mercedita, when she sent a boat on board and surrendered. The officers and crew were paroled. Captain Tucker thinks he sunk one vessel and set another on fire, when she struck her flag. The blockading fleet has gone to the southward and eastward, out of sight.

(Signed)

"D. N. INGRAHAM.

"Flag Officer Commanding."

Our gunboats exceeded all expectations in their efficiency and strength. The enemy's shots glanced harmless from their mailed sides. Not a man on our side was injured, though the enemy's loss must have been quite severe.

The crews of both vessels acted with admirable courage and coolness, and they were no little chagrined to find that the Yankees refused to engage them on Saturday. The number of blockaders outside during the engagement was thirteen, with two first-class Federal frigates—the Susquehanna and the Canandaigua.

The success of the expedition, according to the view of our authorities, raises the blockade. A joint proclamation to that effect from General Beauregard and Com. D. M. Ingraham has been issued.

On Saturday afternoon, at General Beauregard's invitation, the foreign Consuls made an excursion to the bar to see for themselves the true condition of affairs. The blockaders, four in number, were then just visible in the offing. Yesterday the blockading squadron was largely reinforced, but the vessels all kept their steam up, as if ready for a run.

CARGO SALES.—A most extensive and valuable assortment of merchandize, being parts of the cargoes of the British steamers Douglas, Calypso, Flora, and Thistle, which lately arrived here through the blockade, were sold yesterday at the store of Mr. R. A. Pringle, Mr. James H. Taylor being the auctioneer. The sale was numerously attended by buyers from all parts of the South, and the bidding was spirited. The amount of goods offered being very large, they were only partly sold yesterday, and the balance, consisting of ready-made clothing, prints, delaines, shirting, and a general assortment of dry goods, will be disposed of this day at Mr. Pringle's store. The following are the prices obtained:—

Black tea, \$5.25 per lb; damaged, \$4.12½ per lb; Oolong tea, \$6 to 6.50 per lb; Congou tea, \$6.12½ per lb; gunpowder tea, \$8 to 8.12½ per lb; young hyson do, \$6.50 to 7.62½ per lb; salad oil, pints, \$30.52 per dozen; Castile soap, \$2.10 per lb; rhubarb root, \$3.50 per lb; pulv rhubarb, \$8.75 per lb; assafetida, \$1.45 per lb; caustic soda, \$1.80 per lb; soda ash, \$1.15 per lb; sal soda, 82½ cents per lb; extract of logwood, \$3.12½ per lb; Windsor soap, \$5.50 to 6.75 per doz.; nut galls, \$4.60 per lb; glycerine, \$3.75 per lb; cream tartar, \$3.25 per lb; gum opium, \$40 per lb; powdered opium, \$38.50 to 39 per lb; chloroform, \$16.50 per lb; sulph. morphine, \$29.50 to 30 per oz; mercurial ointment \$6.75 per lb; sponge, \$13 per lb; blue mass, \$7 to 8.25 per lb; soap cerate, \$1 per lb; oil of peppermint, \$11.50 per lb; calomel, \$8.50 per lb; camphor, \$10.50 per lb; balsam copaiva, \$14 per lb; carb of ammonia, \$3.25 per lb; spirits of nitre, \$10 per lb; iodine of potash, \$21 per lb; child's Balmoral boots, \$6.25 per pair; do. double sole shoes, \$4.25 per pair; do. heel boots, \$6.37½ per pair; do. patent shoes, \$8.75 per pair, ladies' Balmoral boots, \$9.50 per pair; ladies' kid congress boots, \$13 to 16 per pair; do. black satin heel boots, \$17 per pair; do. double sole heel elastic boots, \$16 per pair men's calf shoes, \$16.50 per pair; men's clump Balmoral boots, \$20.50 per pair; French calf skins, \$279 to 302 per dozen; sole leather, \$4.75 per lb; Saxony Welch flannel, \$2.35 per yard; blue twill flannel, \$2.10 to 3 per yard; scarlet flannel, \$2.27½ to 2.55 per yard; men's merino shirts, \$85 per dozen; India gauze shirts, \$47.50 per dozen; Shetland ribbed shirts, \$95 per dozen; men's finished merino shirts, \$97.50 per dozen; grey blankets, damaged, \$6.62½ per pair; do. sound, \$13.30 per pair; men's shetland merino shirts, \$100 per dozen; men's merino half hose, \$8.10 to 15.25 per dozen; men's brown cotton half hose, \$11.25 to 16.25 per dozen; child's grey merino socks, \$4.25 per dozen; ladies' white cotton hose, \$18.25 to 29 per dozen; brown grey shetland, half hose, \$15.75 per dozen; women's imitation merino hose, \$8.75a9 per dozen; child's super merino finished socks, \$3.25 per dozen; grey merino hose, \$4 per dozen; white merino shirts, \$85 to 110 per dozen; children's cloth gloves, \$6.50 per dozen; ladies' cloth gloves, \$13.50 to 30 per dozen; men's cloth gloves, \$28 per dozen; misses' cotton hose, assorted, \$14 per dozen; ladies' lisle thread hose, \$39 per dozen; men's Crimean shirts, \$75 to 92.50 per dozen; men's serge shirts, \$85 per dozen; men's tweed shirts, \$72.50 per dozen; super French wool shirts, \$105 to 110 per dozen; grey wool and serge shirts, pockets and collars, \$120 per dozen, tooth brushes, assorted, \$12.25 to 12.50 per dozen; cotton handkerchiefs, various, \$13.50 to 24 per dozen; linen thread, \$8 to 10 per lb.; Clark's three cord white cotton, 100 yards \$2.10 to 2.85 per dozen; Clark's six cord white sewing cotton, 200 yards, \$1.55 to 1.80 per dozen; shoe thread, \$11 to 11.65 per lb.; shoemakers' closing line, \$22 per gross balls; linen thread, drab, black and white brown, \$12.75 per lb.; Coat's white cotton, 200 yards, \$5 to 5.30 per dozen; misses' hoop skirts, \$2 to 3.75 each; ladies' ditto, \$6 to 13 each.

SALE OF CLOTHS.—Mr. James H. Taylor sold yesterday a lot of fine cloths, which brought the following prices:—Black broadcloth, \$16.50 to 22.50 per yard; blue broadcloth, \$19 to 21.50 per yard; red broadcloth, \$25 per yard; doeskin, single width, \$11.25 per yard; doeskin, double width, \$21.50 per yard; drab noir, \$14.75 per yard; drap breiel, \$17 per yard; fancy buckskin, \$15.50 per yard; grey cloth, \$18 per yard.

The *Atlantic Commonwealth* says:—"The people of the Confederate States are now getting to raise almost everything they need. They have recently started in the occupation of raising blockades, making a good beginning at Galveston and Charleston.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

Agency for the Continent: G. FOWLER, 273, Rue St. Honore, Paris.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1863.

Another Reason for Recognition.

We trust that in the debate which may be expected to ensue to-night in the House of Lords, on Lord Campbell's motion, attention will be directed to one consideration of the subject of recognition, which has heretofore been almost entirely overlooked. We refer to the fact that during the present anomalous condition of the relations of this country with the Confederate States, the large number of British subjects resident in those States, and the immense amount of British property located there, are dependent for protection at this time, when protection is most needed, upon the forbearance alone of the Confederate Government. The appointed protectors of the rights and property of their fellow-countrymen in foreign countries are the Consuls, of whose office this is the most important duty. The British Consuls who discharge this duty in the Confederate States are accredited to, and receive the permission to exercise their functions from, a Government with which the Confederate States are at open war. For two years they have continued at their posts solely by the toleration of the Confederate Government, a toleration, be it remarked, quite inconsistent with the strict theoretical construction of absolute *de facto* independence.

Suppose the Confederate Government, weary of this inconsistency, weary of retaining this only remaining vestige of a repudiated authority, should decline any longer to recognize the official status of functionaries whose *exequaturs* and presence are a contradiction of its rights and powers. A proposition to this effect, viz., to dismiss all foreign Consuls not accredited to the Confederate Government on the 1st of May next is actually before the Confederate Congress. The number of British subjects and the value of British property thus left without consular protection in a country engaged in one of the fiercest wars on record, must be reckoned by tens of thousands of persons, and scores of millions of money. We do not mean to imply that the Confederate authorities would seize this occasion to wantonly insult and injure the persons and property so unprotected. Far from it. On the contrary, we feel assured that every care would be taken to mitigate the evil and to relieve individuals from the inconveniences caused by a public necessity. But if Consuls are deemed necessary to the protection of personal and property interests abroad in time of profound peace, and of uninterrupted and rapid international communication, they can scarcely be dispensed with at a time and in a country where general conscription laws convert whole populations into armies, when military conflagrations complete or anticipate the work of retreating or advancing hosts, when Death, in many shapes, stalks over the land, and when, in fact, every part of the social and political fabric is strained in an agony of desperation. It is at such times and in such places that the foreigner most needs the advice and assistance of his country's representatives, and these alone can prevent or relieve much grievous individual loss and suffering.

It is this humane consideration which has induced the Confederate Government to forbear where forbearance from any other motive would have implied a want of self-respect. Its right to dismiss summarily from within its jurisdiction all Consuls exercising their functions by virtue of an *exequatur* from the Washington Government is unquestioned. It is undeniable, also, that were it to-day to enforce this right, no one could justly accuse it of a lack of moderation in the enforcement. It has given the other Governments of the world two years to consider upon the propriety, expediency, or convenience of establishing with it the usual relations which obtain among Governments. If, after two years' consideration, the other Governments conclude such relations to be improper, inexpedient, and inconvenient, we could not well blame the Confederates for accepting the conclusion as final, and refusing in their turn that convenience of relations which is refused to them. As matters now stand, the forbearance of the Confederate Government affords to foreign nations all the essential advantages resulting from recognition, without reciprocity. The dismissal of the foreign Consuls, although not a step which we are prepared to advise, would simply place all parties on the same footing. Sooner or later, if recognition is indefinitely delayed, the Confederate Government will be forced to this measure.

A contemporary, in a very able article upon recognition, on which we commented in our last impression, states in substance that the chief reason why the Confederate States have not been admitted into the family of nations, is that their non-admission had not heretofore been felt as a serious inconvenience. "If, for instance," says our contemporary, by way of illustration, "the Alabama or Florida should accidentally or wilfully destroy a British merchant ship, our Government would be obliged, as affairs now stand, to apply for compensation to the Government of the United States; and, in the event of its being refused, which it very probably would be, make reprisals on the Federal marine, and declare war on the United States. On the other hand, if the Confederacy were acknowledged as an independent State, then the demand for compensation would be made to its Government, and under the circumstances supposed it would be immediately acquiesced in."

It would be most ungracious perverseness to regard this passage as a friendly hint to Captains Semmes and Maffit, but if the position of the *Morning Post* be well taken, as we believe it to be, it may soon force itself upon the serious consideration of the Confederate Government whether sound policy does not require that it should avail itself of all honourable and legitimate means to make other nations feel the same inconveniences which, through no fault of its own, it is made by them to experience.

In directing attention to this subject, we are not actuated by any apprehension that the Confederate Government will, except as a last resort, dismiss the European Consuls. The attested character of President Davis is a sufficient assurance against a measure which, however abstractly just, would be at least questionable in point of humanity. Our object is to point out how impossible it is that this country should much longer continue in its present anomalous attitude towards a Power which wages war with armies of hundreds of thousands of men, which occupies a territory equal in area to half-a-dozen first-rate kingdoms, and whose past and prospective trade with England is more valuable than that of all western Europe at the beginning of the present century. This attitude is a contradiction of all established facts and known probabilities; it is in direct and glaring opposition to all logical conclusions from the evidence of these facts. At any moment an incident of the war, or the action of another European country, may render this attitude untenable. It is eminently proper, therefore, that those to whom the nation has confided the direction of its affairs should decide upon a definite course of action. The public has a right to ask of them that they should guide and instruct public opinion. The public has a right

to know the position, and the reasons for that position, of every man whose voice is potent in the national councils. It is only the cowardice of indecision which shrinks from such avowals, and it is this cowardice against which Lord Campbell has chiefly to contend to-night. Men dread to commit themselves in favour of recognition, and yet they find it difficult to allege any good reasons against it. This indisposition to touch a question is more difficult to face and to combat than an open and determined hostility. When the question, moreover, is one on which, from its very nature, parties cannot be arrayed, and therefore party support not relied upon, it demands no ordinary firmness and independence of mind to become its champion. These qualities Lord Campbell has pre-eminently displayed in the advocacy of the Southern cause, and however great the odds may be against him, he has truth and common sense for his allies, and whatever may be the result of to-night's debate, he cannot fail to have the secret acquiescence in his statements even of those who may lack the courage to follow him in his conclusions.

The Financial Position and Prospects of the Confederate States.

The statement and report issued on the 10th of January last by Mr. Memminger, the Confederate States' Secretary of the Treasury, is an elaborate document, throwing much light on the present condition and the future prospects of the finances of the Confederacy. The report is addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and is remarkable for its candid admission of existing difficulties, and the radical way in which it is proposed to grapple with them. European and especially English financiers will not altogether agree with Mr. Memminger's views as to the necessity of making provision for the redemption of the public debt. The Confederate Secretary approves the principle of Mr. Pitt's sinking fund, and ascribes its failure to faulty administration. This opinion will not be endorsed in this country. The reason here assigned for the failure of Mr. Pitt's scheme for the gradual reduction and ultimate extinction of the public debt is that it was found more profitable to continue the payment of the interest than to burden the current resources of the country with the imposition of the extra taxation necessary for the liquidation of the principal. Some persons blamed Mr. Gladstone for appropriating the amount placed at his disposal by the falling in of terminable annuities to the reduction of taxation instead of to the reduction of the public debt. We need not discuss whether Mr. Gladstone made the best possible use of the surplus that came into his hands, but that he made a better use of it than if he had appropriated it to the reduction of the debt is indisputable. He used this surplus, amongst other things, for giving such an impulse to one branch of our trade as to materially lessen the inconvenience of the loss of our American trade. He did not relieve us from the necessity of paying the penny a year, but he gives us twopence a year wherewith to pay it. So long as the fundholders are willing to receive a dividend that, in consideration of the value of the national guarantee, is less than they get from commercial investments, or even from mortgage on real property, the tax-payer gains rather than loses by the non-redemption of the debt. The national creditor cannot take any undue advantage of the nation. When money becomes so abundant as to make the selling price of the Funds above par, he must consent to a reduction of interest, or take his principal with the money borrowed at a lower rate; and so with the diminution in the value of money, the rate of interest on the Government debt has regularly and steadily diminished. Our financiers, then, will differ from Mr. Memminger as to the necessity of providing for the redemption of the national debt of the Confederate States, and will think that the plan will prove abortive because it will be found to be inexpedient, though, as we shall

presently point out, there is a special reason for desiring the redemption of the Confederate debt; but be this as it may, no one can fail to perceive in the proposition so strenuously urged upon the attention of the Confederate Legislature a further and striking proof of the resolution to place the credit of the Confederacy upon a sure and lasting foundation by present and even needless sacrifices. The United States' Government is contracting a mammoth debt without providing for the payment of the interest thereon—the Confederate States' Government, in the midst of a vast and harassing war for national existence, at a time too, when, unlike its foe, its commerce is completely paralyzed by a blockade, proposes not only to forthwith levy a sufficient sum by taxation for the payment of interest, but to make arrangements for the payment of the principal. We do not contend that the latter plan is desirable, or even feasible, but the fact of its being propounded, at this moment, amply justifies the confidence manifested by European capitalists in Confederate securities.

The evil mainly dwelt upon in Mr. Memminger's report is the redundant issue of Treasury notes, and the consequent depreciation of the currency and concurrent inflation of the price of food, clothing, and, indeed, of all commodities. We need not reproduce his arguments, for the ill-results of a perpetually-depreciating currency are palpable and understood. Every class suffers, and particularly those who have fixed incomes, and those who live by the sweat of the brow. Just now, for example, the Confederate Government is the greatest consumer in the Confederation, because the sums voted for war purposes are expended by it, and it follows that if the currency is depreciated, it has to pay a proportionately extravagant price for its stores, and thus contract heavier engagements than would be necessary if the currency were in its normal condition. Mr. Memminger proposes to deal summarily with this crying evil, and we are not surprised that his bold suggestions should have been canvassed with much anxiety by the organs of public opinion in the South. But though Mr. Memminger's plan is comprehensive and daring, it is neither experimental nor dangerous.

At the close of the last year, the amount of Treasury notes, exclusive of interest bearing notes, was \$290,142,692. Besides this, Mr. Memminger estimates State Treasury notes and Bank notes in circulation at \$20,000,000. That is to say, the amount of currency was \$310,149,692. Now, we must remember that whether a currency be metallic or paper, its increase beyond the natural requirements of a community is sure to lead to inflation of prices and the concomitant ills. The depreciation of the Confederate currency is not evidence of the want of confidence in the solvency of the Confederacy. England owes 800 millions sterling, and her currency is not depreciated, but if instead of a funded debt she had bank notes to that amount floating, the currency would be depreciated, though our solvency would be perfectly secure. The question we have before us is not as to the solvency of the Confederate Government; but whether the 310 million dollars is a larger amount of currency than is demanded for conducting the commerce of the country.

Mr. Memminger estimates the currency of the Confederate States before the war at \$100,000,000. He does not refer to the effect produced by the stoppage of foreign commerce, and we think that he is right, for foreign commerce has little or no result on the currency of a country, since foreign commerce is essentially a system of barter, and only the small balances are paid in money. Mr. Memminger considers that during a war a larger amount of currency is necessary, because the circulation is sluggish, and individuals keep more money in hand for meeting unforeseen contingencies. He thinks that under the present circumstances \$150,000,000 would not be an excessive currency for the Confederate States. Nor is this assumption mere guess-work. Mr. Memminger very clearly explains the soundness of his calculation. According to the natural proportion between the amount of the currency and the price,

not the value, of commodities—and this proportion is the same whether the currency is gold or paper—the price of commodities in the Confederate States ought now to be, if Mr. Memminger's calculation is correct, three times as great as in times of peace. The currency, we are told, is as three to one, and, therefore, the price of commodities ought to be as three to one; and this is the case.

Mr. Memminger wishes to reduce the amount of currency not to the peace limit of \$100,000,000, but to the normal war limit, \$150,000,000. The matter is urgent. Before the 1st of July next the additional issue of Treasury notes from December will be nearly \$200,000,000—that is, not that the resources of the country or the value of property will be advanced 66 per cent., but that prices will, concurrently with the currency, be so advanced. Mr. Memminger begs Congress to adopt a plan to avert the future and remedy the present evil.

He proposes a further development of the Congressional action which affords to the holders of Treasury notes the option of funding them for 8 per cent. bonds before the 22nd of April, 1863. It may be asked how it happens this offer has not been universally accepted. No doubt it would have been, but the 8 per cent. is payable in the paper currency, and is, therefore, not worth nearly so much as 8 per cent. in specie; and considering the respective value of money in the two countries, corresponds to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per cent. interest in England on public securities. Mr. Memminger now advises that Congress should pass an Act extending the time for funding from the 22nd of April till the 1st of July, but between these dates at 7 and not 8 per cent., and that after the 1st of July next all Treasury notes issued before the 1st of December, 1862, shall cease to be currency. Notes not so funded, though ceasing to be money, will not lose their intrinsic value. The credit of the Confederacy will still be pledged for their redemption, and they will still be available for the payment of Confederate taxes, which will rapidly absorb the unfunded balance.

This measure is, we submit, just, as it will be, if adopted, effective. The notes were issued with the privilege of funding at any time, and the Government gives long notice that the contract must be completed on or before the 1st of July, 1863. It is a limitation of the time, not directly set forth in the contract, but some limitation was implied. These notes were not intended for a perpetual currency; and if the Government give due notice to the holders to fulfil their contract, it keeps good faith. It does not say, if you do not fund, your property is forfeited, but simply that you have forfeited your privilege of funding, and these specified issues, though property, and a legal tender for taxes, are not to be money after the 1st of July next.

Still more certain is it that Mr. Memminger's plan will not work any practical injustice. By funding two-thirds of the currency, the present holders of the currency will not have a less value of money left. Mr. Memminger remarks: "The modification of the contract is substantially for the benefit of both parties. The object in view is to increase the value of the whole remaining currency. This object it effects by increasing the purchasing power of each note, in proportion to the reduction of the whole. Assuming this reduction to be two-thirds, it follows that every holder of only one-third in proportion of the new issues, will have the same value in money left, after he should have invested the other two-thirds in bonds. In other words, he will make a clear gain of more than two-thirds. If he shall have in his possession more of the new issues, he will, nevertheless, gain in the reduced price of every article of consumption." This is as indisputable as that the inflation of the currency injures all classes, and particularly the classes who are not capitalists, and, therefore, the persons who are not bondholders will participate in the benefit of the measure.

Mr. Memminger does not anticipate any inconvenience from the immediate funding of so much currency. From December to July the issue of Treasury notes will be about \$200,000,000—

that is, \$150,000,000 for the supposed requirements of the country in a time of war, and a balance of \$50,000,000 for the amount that may be absorbed by the payment of taxes, or by loans, or other contingencies, for which it is desirable to leave an ample margin. According to his plan and calculation, on the 1st of July next there will be no more currency in the Confederate States than is necessary, and the prices of all commodities will fall, though probably not immediately.

To provide for the payment of the interest on the public debt, Mr. Memminger proposes a property tax and an income tax. What sum must be raised for that purpose? On the 1st of July next the total amount of Treasury notes issued will be:—

	\$500,000,000
Less circulation to be left.	150,000,000
Remaining funded.	\$350,000,000
Annual interest on this sum at 8 per cent.	\$28,000,000
Interest on 120,000,000 of \$7 30c. notes	8,760,000
Interest on 60,000,000 of 6 per cent. certificates	3,600,000
Interest on 8 per cent. bonds, say about \$100,000,000	8,000,000
	\$48,360,000

Mr. Memminger proposes to raise \$60,000,000 as a war-tax to pay this interest, and to provide a sinking fund; the difference between the amount of interest on the debt and the amount of the war-tax to be applied year by year to the reduction of the debt. According to the estimate made to Congress, the value of all the property in the eleven Confederate States in which taxes have been collected is \$1,632,000,000. Allowing for parts of the country being in possession of the enemy, and taking the estimate at \$1,000,000,000, a property-tax of 1 per cent. on this gives \$10,000,000. The income, calculated to be about 7 per cent. on the amount of property, is \$280,000,000, and a tax of 10 per cent., as proposed by Mr. Memminger, would produce \$28,000,000. This gives a total of \$68,000,000—leaving an ample margin between the proposed \$60,000,000 and the probable yield of the taxes. There is about \$100,000,000 invested in States bonds, and South Carolina has disputed in her law courts the right of Congress to tax the investments in such securities as property, and therefore, until the matter has been decided by the Supreme Court, one million less will be derived from the property-tax. We notice this incident not from its having an important bearing upon the revenue for war purposes, for we here see that there is an immense margin to cover it, but as evidence of the closeness with which the proceedings of the Government are watched, and with what wholesome jealousy the property and rights of the citizens are protected.

The last important matter referred to in this report is the States guaranteeing the Confederate debt. Virginia, Alabama, and South Carolina have proffered their aid, the last-named State, upon certain conditions, offering to guarantee \$200,000,000. Mr. Memminger urges that a plan should be decided on, so that all the States may join in this guarantee, and if it extend to \$500,000,000 it will enable the Confederate Government to convert the 8 per cent. into 6 per cent. bonds, and to realize a premium on the sale of the bonds. Not a capitalist in Europe will deny the validity and value of the guarantee of the States, or that such guarantee will give the public debt of the Confederate States a reputation second to no other public debt. States that, in spite of invasion and blockade, discharge their obligations with punctuality are first-class guarantors. No doubt the States will pledge their credit for the Confederate debt, and this being so, Mr. Memminger has more ground than an English financier can have for desiring the gradual redemption of the debt, for when the development of the Territories calls for the admission of new States into the Confederacy, it will not be fair that they should escape all share in the public burdens contracted for their good, as well as for the good of the present States, and yet the apportionment of the debt will be tolerably sure to give rise to troublesome negotiations. But however

opinions may be divided upon this point, the report of the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury is a document that must satisfy everybody as to the great wealth, the boundless resources, the earnest patriotism, and the ultra-sensitiveness as to the financial stability of the Confederate States. It shows, too, the prudence of the Confederate Government and its confidence in the people. It is not afraid to tell the whole truth, and in the midst of a terrible struggle for independence and existence, to call upon the citizens to provide for the future credit of the Confederacy. Such an appeal would indeed be impossible if independence had not been won, and the Government was not firmly established.

Prospects of the War.

The triumphs of the Federal navy are short-lived. Ten days ago it was announced by the telegram that the Federal ram *Queen of the West* had "run" the batteries of Vicksburg, had cleared the Mississippi between Vicksburg and Port Hudson of Confederate steamers, and would shortly form in line of battle with Farragut's flotilla off the latter stronghold. The *Indianola*, another Monitor, had followed her example; others, it was expected, would follow. The *Queen of the West*, however, has had a short career. Her commander—a colonel in the army, by the way, though this confusion of ranks is not strange in a land where Texan cavalry man two small steamers, and board and carry two Federal men-of-war—seems to have had a roving commission to do as much mischief as possible, and, bent on this service, had proceeded up the Red River, Louisiana. It was by this stream that the main supplies of the garrison of Vicksburg were transported, and the temporary blockade by the *Queen of the West* was a severe blow to the Confederates. The mission of Colonel Elliott was apparently to burn, sink, or destroy everything that came in his way; and his latest prize had been the Confederate steamer *Eva*. It seems, however, that the *Eva* was only a sort of decoy. The correspondent of the *Mobile Advertiser*, writing on the 4th of February, says: "Arrangements have been projected which will catch her in a nice little trap before she gets very far;" and the *Queen of the West* apparently fell an easy victim. The pilot of the *Eva*, John Burke by name, was ordered to take the Federal steamer to the nearest Confederate batteries; and he literally obeyed his instructions. Like the Irish pilot of the coast of Galway, who declared that he knew every rock and shoal in the harbour, and exclaimed, when the ship entrusted to his care, struck one of them, "And, by —! there's one of them," John Burke, in an hour or two, brought the *Queen of the West* within pistol shot of the batteries at Gordon's Landing; and his correct knowledge was quickly evidenced by a few well-directed shots, which in a few minutes disabled the Federal steamer, and left her to drift, a helpless log, to the other side of the river. There she was taken possession of by the Confederates, the bulk of her crew escaping to the *De Soto*, another Federal steamer. The *Eva* and *De Soto* have been, it is said, captured subsequently by the Confederates. The act of the pilot, John Burke, was a deed of no common heroism. But for the confusion arising out of the unforeseen attack, instant death would have been his award; and there are many men who would head a charge or lead a forlorn hope, who would not have hazarded their lives on such a daring venture. The *Queen of the West* is a valuable addition to the Confederate navy. Carrying a heavy armament, and possessing a formidable steam power, she will effectually command the navigation of the Mississippi between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. The *Isaac Smith* on the Stono River, the *Harriet Lane* at Galveston, and the *Queen of the West* on the Mississippi, all captures from the enemy, are giving the South the nucleus of a powerful naval force. If the war lasts, we may yet see the South in the possession of a respectable fleet constructed in Northern dockyards, just as her armies are equipped

with rifles and cannon purchased in Europe with Federal gold.

This exploit on the Mississippi is of trifling importance in itself, but it deserves notice as one in a chain of events tending to inspire the South. The Northern army and flotilla have been before Vicksburg for weeks; an attack has been made and repulsed—for the admission that the mortar-boats were at too short a range is an acknowledgment of defeat—the gunboats either dare not attempt to force the passage, or are captured when they do; the canal is a failure; all that is left to the Federals, say the Northern newspapers, is to flood the country, invest Vicksburg, and convert an assault into a regular siege. The hope is that the garrison at Vicksburg will be starved into submission. But we have little fear of an investment. McClelland's army can hardly muster 60,000 effective men; the death list is augmenting daily; the season is becoming every week more pestiferous; how is it to be expected that this army will be able, in the presence of an active and enterprising enemy, to maintain the investment? It is said, indeed, that the levees have been cut and that some millions of acres of land around Vicksburg on the Mississippi bank are under water. We will pass by the atrocious barbarism of this act of warfare—an act unparalleled in history, and by the side of which the stone blockade of Charleston is a pardonable offence—and ask what harm it will inflict on the Confederates that will not be more than balanced by injury to the Federals. The Yazoo River, or River of Death, must be the basis of the Federal operations. Its waters, always noxious to human life, must decimate the unacclimatized raw Federal regiments now brought down to Vicksburg. Still more terrible will be the effect of the spring exhalations from the inundated plains upon the Federal camps. Only an immediate and successful bombardment, or an early withdrawal, can save them from the horrors and humiliation of another *Walcheren*.

Everywhere the war languishes. In Virginia Hooker is making great efforts to reorganize his army, with apparently little success. A letter has been read in the Senate, in which it is stated that the deserters from the Army of the Potomac reach the number of 22,000, and there is a rumour that this army is to be broken up into separate commands, in order that the demoralization may not spread. In the meantime the Confederates are preparing to take advantage of the paralysis that has befallen the Northern army. Generals Stuart and Jackson, the sure forerunners of mischief, are said to be moving northward; a Confederate force is reported at Warrenton, in the rear of General Hooker; another body is moving up the Shenandoah Valley. If Hooker's army be weakened to any considerable extent, although the ground may not at present permit any serious attack upon Washington, the defenceless condition of Washington will almost tempt a dash. At any rate, the threatening attitude of Jackson and Stuart will make President Lincoln hesitate before he despatches more troops southward to assist in the destruction of Charleston and Savannah. There is a small paragraph in the latest news, trifling in itself, but very suggestive of the morale of the opposing forces. "Twenty Confederate cavalry have captured a Federal forage train, protected by eighty men, near Romney, Western Virginia." This reads like a myth, but it comes from Federal sources, and is, without doubt, true. Such is the demoralization of the army in Virginia that detachment after detachment surrenders itself almost at the first shot. The prisoners are paroled, sworn not to take active service again; their accoutrements become the spoil of the captors. The Federal troops gain all the relief without incurring the stigma of desertion. No wonder that the Conscription Bill has been carried. Soldiers must be raised somehow. Enormous bounties and drafting have failed to supply an adequate number of recruits. The Conscription Act promises to place in the President's hands new powers and inexhaustible resources. The North has patiently borne so many violations of its constitutional rights, that it will probably submit to this, but not without a struggle

on the part of the Democrats. The New York Legislature, we are vaguely told, is "taking some steps" with regard to it. But we are prepared to see a very general resistance to the Act if it be enforced. Clearly, nothing can be more repugnant to the spirit of the American Constitution and to State nationality than the Act which empowers the President to take men from one State to fill up vacancies in regiments, or even companies, from other States. As the first announcement of a centralizing policy, and the first open step towards that despotism which has been so long predicted as the necessary consequence of President Lincoln's feeble administration, it is sure to give rise to some trouble in the North. The truth is, matters seem to have come to a deadlock. The North is "stalemated." In Tennessee, in Kentucky, on the Mississippi, on the Rappahannock, there is equal evidence of mismanagement and promise of failure. Even the last hope, the arming of the negroes, only creates fresh embarrassments to the Federal commanders. There is not a bit of blue sky to be seen in the gathering gloom which overclouds Federal prospects.

The Northern Clergy and the War.

The great American revolution which has been progressing with such long and rapid strides during the past two years in the States which still acknowledge a sort of allegiance to the Federal Government has, at length, reached that particular stage which presages the final overthrow of every vestige of liberty. The warnings of history have been unheeded, and the States of the North have drifted into that current which they can no longer control, and which is hurrying them rapidly forward into the gulf of despotism. When the war cry of the Republican chieftains first resounded through the valleys and upon the mountains of hitherto peaceful America, the people of the North, startled into a delirium of excitement by the unaccustomed sound, rushed to arms. The passions of the multitude, lashed into fury by the stirring appeals of partisan leaders and reckless demagogues, gave no heed to the warnings of their more farseeing fellow-countrymen. It was in vain that the voice of reason, fortified by the lessons of the past, pointed out that even though they might be able, by force of arms, to subjugate the free people against whom their fury was directed, the very act of consummation would inaugurate for themselves the reign of despotism. The mob soon silenced every murmur of disapprobation. All who dared to speak unpalatable truths were forthwith incarcerated in the Bastilles which were provided for their reception, and Mr. Lincoln was allowed to follow out his schemes of conquest undisturbed by other councils than such as coincided with the bent of his own inclinations.

Vast armies were created as if by magic. The world was ransacked for adventurers, who, under the lure of enormous bounties, high pay, and indefinite promises of prospective rewards in the shape of spoils torn from the vanquished enemy, joined themselves to the multitude who rushed confidently over the borders of the Southern territory, only to be hurled back bleeding, disgraced, and dismayed, at the very moment when they had hoped, almost undoubtingly, to clutch the tempting prize. Once, twice, thrice, ten times, did they madly dash forward to reburnish the tarnished lustre of their military fame, only to witness at Fredericksburg the re-enactment of the bloody recoil from the plains of Manassas. There was a pause which invited reflection. The people began to recover from their strong delusion; the more sober commenced to ask themselves: "For what are we sacrificing our lives, the lives of our children, our prosperity, our liberty? If we gain that which we seek, which now seems impossible, we will have lost all which would make our victory a blessing."

It is a moment of deep peril for the demagogues who have lured the multitude to the verge of ruin, when the people pause for an instant to consider the disasters of the past, in connection with the probable future, which awaits them. So thought Mr. Lin-

coln, and the vast horde of contractors, jobbers, and Yankee manufacturers, who have grown fat upon the blood of their fellow-countrymen. There was but one hope left. The cry of "the Union" had lost its magic power, and it was necessary to replace it by another. "Revenge for our defeats! the blood of our enemies, as an atonement for the blood of our sons, whose bones are bleaching upon the battle-field!" Who so potent to rally once more the disheartened masses as a fanatical clergy?

In effect both Government and people have surrendered themselves to their leadership, and the management of the war has been confided into the hands of this most dangerous faction. Whatever may have been the power the people once held, it no longer exists. A handful of ambitious and fanatical priests now exercise supreme sway over the destinies of the Northern and most populous section of the once "great Republic." They scout the battle-cry of "the Union," once so potent in raising up victims to be slaughtered upon the battle-fields of the South. God wills not the restoration, in its former integrity, of that "league with death," and that "covenant with hell." "Let us annihilate the Southerners first, and then establish a glorious Union, such as will soften the anger of the Lord against this people." Thus preach the appointed teachers of God's Holy Word.

We will not shock the moral sentiment of the reader by repeating the words of the Cheevers, the Phillips', the Beechers, the Stowes, or of any of the other clerical charlatans, who make merchandize of their fanaticism, and offer it for sale in the markets of the world to the highest bidder; but of another, of a type somewhat similar, and who is only not one of them because nature has assigned to him a rank above them. There is a terrible distinctness in the enunciation of his bloody purpose, which is heightened by the exalted terms in which he speaks of those whom his religion requires him to sacrifice. The vulgar, common-place fanatics refer to the Southerners as reptiles, whom it were a duty to slay even though their destruction were not specially ordained by the law of God. But he whom we now introduce brings no such appliances to his aid to win the multitude to his purposes. No language of eulogy ever fell from the lips of the most devoted friend of the South more striking or significant than that which he employs in portraying the character and characteristics of the Southern people; and yet he says that "God will not be satisfied with less than their entire subjugation or extermination." It was not the life of a hired servant or a slave bought with his money which Abraham was commanded to offer up as an atonement to the Lord. But he was told to place his well-beloved son on the sacrificial altar, and with his own hand to strike the fatal blow. It is this feature of the sacrifice demanded which invests with sublimity the meditated act of the father, whose undoubting faith rendered him thus obedient to the commands of the Almighty.

So with the reverend and learned Dr. Bellows, who ranks high amongst the highest of his brother clergymen as an authorized exponent of the Divine will in the matters of controversy between the North and the South; and, it may be added, as the expounder of the policy of the Federal Government. He would not have the world believe that those whom he proposes to offer up a propitiatory sacrifice to the Lord, as an atonement for the sins of the nation, are men of ordinary mould. They are not the wicked, the dishonest, the cruel, the uncharitable, whom he orders to be slain in obedience to the commands of his Divine Master. He portrays the character of the Southern people in colours so bright, with features so attractive, and in language so eulogistic, that if we could forget for a moment the peculiar characteristics of the class to which he belongs, we should be, while listening to his harangue, in momentary expectation of hearing an indignant protest against the farther prosecution of a war of invasion and subjugation against such a people. But let the reverend gentleman speak for himself; first, in a sermon pronounced in the city of Brooklyn, near the close of the year just passed; and next, in an address delivered about the com-

mencement of the present year. Thus does the reverend gentleman set forth *the crimes of the South* :—

No candid mind will deny the peculiar charm of Southern young men at college, or Southern young women in society. How far race or climate, independent of servile institutions, may have produced the Southern chivalric spirit and manners I will not now consider. But one cannot deny in that people a certain inbred habit of command; a contempt of life in defence of honour or class; a talent for political life, and an easy control of inferiors. Nor is this merely an external and flashy heroism. It is real. It showed itself in Congress early, and always by the courage, eloquence, skill, and success with which it controlled majorities. It showed itself in the social life of Washington by the grace, fascination, and ease, the free and charming hospitality by which it governed society. It shows itself in this war; in the orders and proclamations of its generals; in the messages of the rebel Congress, and in the essential good breeding and humanity—contrary to a diligently-encouraged public impression—with which it not seldom divides its medical stores, and gives our sick and wounded as favourable care as it is able to extend to its own. I think the war must have increased the respect felt by the North for the South. Its miraculous resources, the bravery of its troops; their patience under hardships; their unshrinking firmness in the desperate position they have assumed; the wonderful success with which they have extemporized manufactures and munitions of war; the elasticity with which they have risen from defeat, and the courage they have shown in threatening again and again our capital, and even our interior, cannot fail to extort an unwilling admiration and respect. The war, then, must have shown us that we underrate the power, the charm, the advantage of a slave civilization. No base, cowardly, idle, worthless people could have waged war as the South has done.

And thus, as the expounder of the will of Omnipotence, he affixes the penalty due to such heinous offences:—

This war is no longer a war in defence of the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws; it is a war to be carried on no longer with the aim of re-establishing the Union and the Constitution, with all their old compromises. *God means not to be let off with any half-way work!* I am now convinced, and I consider it the most humane, the most economical, and the most statesmanlike policy, to take the most radical ground possible, to assume that this is a war for the subjugation or the extermination of all persons who wish to maintain the Slave Power—a war to get rid of slavery, and of slaveholders, whether it be constitutional or not.

It is no ordinary man who has thus clearly exposed the crimes of which the Southern people stand accused, followed by the terrible judgment which is announced as the penalty. In all the qualities which adorn the scholar, the politician, and the fanatic, he is, when contrasted with the herd of noisy spouters or sensation priests and priestesses by whom he is surrounded, as Mahomet the Great, to Joe Smith the Mormon. The exquisite tact displayed in the matter of his appeal to the bad passions of bad men, by bringing into bold relief the higher qualities of the gentleman, which he avers is the distinguishing characteristic of Southerners, exhibits a method in his madness which challenges our admiration, however much the sensibilities of just men may be shocked by its display. He endeavours to stimulate the passion of hatred by exciting a feeling of envy; and a fanatical fervour by announcing himself as the exponent of the will of God.

Let us briefly analyze the grievous offences of which the South stands convicted. First, even as school children there is "a peculiar charm" about them which "no candid man will deny." Second, they exhibit "a contempt for life, in defence of honour, which must be equally accorded to them." Third, "a talent for political life, and an easy control of inferiors." In Congress "they have shown themselves to be eloquent, skilful, and courageous." Fourth, they are distinguished for "a free and charming hospitality," which they "dispense with grace, fascination, and ease." Fifth, "in war they are no less distinguished by their bravery, their patience under hardships, their unshrinking firmness, and their wonderful success, than by the humanity with which they divide with sick and wounded prisoners of war their scanty medical stores, and bestow upon them the same care and kind attention as upon their own."

These are the offences of the South against the North, as distinctly and clearly enunciated as the terrible penalty of "subjugation or extermination" which is awarded as the punishment due to such high crimes. It may, or may not, be true that the

reverend and sagacious orator knew that he was laying bare the chief source of that vindictive hostility to the South which has for so many years manifested itself in the conduct of a controlling class of voters in the North; yet He who has fathomed the profound depths of that latent principle of man's nature which was developed by constant culture into an irreconcilable antagonism between the North and the South, will fail to find, in all the expositions of the origin of secession which have been promulgated by the friends of Mr. Lincoln and the approvers of his policy, so truthful a solution of the problem as is embodied in the brief bill of indictment prepared and promulgated by the Rev. Dr. Bellows.

But in what terms, restrained and circumscribed within the limits of sobriety and good taste, may we speak of those appointed guardians of a true religious faith who employ such means to stimulate the bad passions of man to an unnatural fervour? We contemplate with horror the bloody rites of the Aztec priests who sought to propitiate their gods by human sacrifices, yet their crime against humanity was, at least, mitigated by the fact that they murdered their fellow-men in obedience to the stern mandates of their religious faith. It has been reserved for the teachers of the holy religion of Christ to preach in favour of the inauguration of wholesale massacres, from which we may well believe that even the Aztec priests would have recoiled with horror.

Men who wear the priestly garb are the authors of the American war. Their councils have dragged the President of the United States into the adoption of a policy which, by the avowal of its advocates, was designed to produce a war of extermination between the black and the white races upon the continent of America. While the very instincts of mankind make them shudder at the possible accomplishment of this purpose, these priests alone, and their blind followers, amongst civilized men are awaiting with impatience the opening of the bloody drama. Even Lincoln and the political gamblers, contractors, and demagogues, who are his apologists, adopt and approve the expedient only because they have despaired by other means of overcoming the obstinate valour of the Southerners. It is alone the professed disciples of that Messiah who upon the Mount taught to the multitude his sublime precepts of Love, and Charity, and Peace, who look forward with a feeling of satisfaction to the anticipated feast of blood. If true men turn away with a sentiment of disgust from the demagogues who prostitute the sacred name of liberty to purposes of selfish ambition, with what a feeling of loathing must the faithful Christian regard these false teachers of a true religion!

However this may be, into their hands the management of the war has drifted, and into their keeping has been confided all that remains of the once-boasted liberties of that segment of the late Union which still acknowledges allegiance to President Lincoln.

Mr. Seward's "Congressional Form of Conference."

Regarded simply as a State Paper, the despatch of Mr. Seward, in reply to the suggestion of M. Drouyn de Lhuys touching an armistice between the parties to the American war, would sink into merited oblivion along with all his previous efforts in the diplomatic field. But there are special characteristics developed by the document in question which will secure for it a brief respite from the fate of its predecessors. We have already referred to many of these, but there are still others which merit something more than a passing notice. Mr. Seward, with a simplicity, shall we call it? which challenges our admiration, gravely suggests to the United States' Minister at Paris the existence of a fear which had taken possession of his mind, that "M. Drouyn de Lhuys has taken other light for his guidance than the correspondence of the Government at Washington." It is very clear that upon this point the fears

of Mr. Lincoln's Premiers were but too well founded; else the suggestion of an armistice would never have been ventured upon by the Government of the Emperor. One scarcely knows whether most to admire, in this pregnant little sentence, the coolness with which the writer employs a form of expression which indicates the existence of a doubt as to whether his "fear" was well founded, or the implied reproach against the Minister of the Emperor for seeking outside of the despatches of Mr. Seward for reliable information in regard to the past, the present, and the future of the great American contest.

If upon a first perusal of this document, M. Drouyn de Lhuys felt any inward misgivings or self-condemnation for having rendered himself obnoxious to such a reproach, a more careful study of its contents has, no doubt, satisfied him that he could not, by any possibility, take to his confidence a more faithless or untrustworthy adviser than Mr. Seward. The well considered suggestion of the French Government is rejected firmly and categorically. The Government of the United States cannot and will not listen to any proposition which involves a conference between the Government of the United States and its insurgent subjects. A mere handful of disaffected squatters, confined chiefly to the Gulf shore of the great American Union, are not to be held and deemed to be an enemy with whom the great Government of Mr. Lincoln would condescend to treat. It is quite evident to Mr. Seward that the French Minister has been reading the political journals which have assumed a hostile attitude towards his Government, and which, for wicked purposes have exaggerated this insignificant rebellion, existing only upon the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, into a great movement of the Southern States of the Union. If M. Drouyn de Lhuys will only have confidence in the correspondence emanating from the department over which Mr. Seward presides, he will perceive at a glance the many reasons which preclude his Government from entering into negotiations with the handful of rebels before they shall have been brought to submission. The only omission with which the Premier of Mr. Lincoln may stand justly charged is that he does not in this despatch, fix the extreme limit which he allows himself within which to sweep every armed rebel into the waters of the Gulf of Mexico—ninety days.

But if these considerations are not sufficient to satisfy the French Government of the impossibility of any arrangement being entered into, looking to an armistice and a conference, there exists still another, and a graver, objection than any others which have been enumerated. Mr. Seward has a conscience! Start not, reader; we are merely interpreting his own language. He has not only a conscience, but his Government is founded upon a Constitution, the terms and requirements of which he has sworn shall be the guide of all his official acts. Within that constitution he finds no provision for the cessation of hostilities once commenced between the partners to the Federal compact, by any other means than by mutual exhaustion, or by the extermination of one or both the parties to the conflict. If the framers of the Constitution had contemplated the closing of a war between the two sections by an armistice and a conference, and an agreement, they were wise and sagacious statesmen, and they would have introduced a clause to that effect. But as no such clause existed, such a means of bringing the conflict to a close would be unconstitutional; and who could suppose, for an instant that Mr. Seward's conscience would permit him to be a party to any, the slightest, infringement of that sacred chart of American liberty.

But a happy thought flashes from the mind of the Premier to illumine the gloomy picture of that war which his Constitution and conscience combine to render perpetual. The Constitution has provided a remedy, though not in the form suggested. The belligerents may not negotiate upon neutral territory; that would be impossible. But the doors of Congress are wide enough to admit the representatives of all the States. There the representa-

tives of the North, the South, the East, and the West, may freely meet, discuss all questions of difference, decide upon suggested wrongs, and apply the remedy. There, Mr. Seward informs M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the seats vacated by the seceding Southerners are still vacant, and ready to receive them; there the discontented Southerners may send their commissioners to state their grievances, and secure a constitutional redress; there the North and the South may agree upon terms of compromise. But let Mr. Seward speak for himself:—

It is true, indeed, that peace must come some time, and that conferences must attend, if they are not allowed to precede, the pacification. There is, however, a better form for such conferences than the one which M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because destitute of the sanction necessary to bind either the loyal or disloyal portions of the people. On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional forum for debates between the alienated parties; senators and representatives of the discontented party, who may be constitutionally sent there from the States involved in the insurrection. Moreover, the conferences which can thus be held in Congress have this great advantage over any other that could be organized on the plan of M. Drouyn de Lhuys—viz:—that Congress, if it thought wise, could call a National Convention to adopt its recommendations, and give them all the solemnity and binding force of organic law.

There is a preponderating argument in favour of the congressional form of conference over that which is suggested by M. Drouyn de Lhuys,—viz., that while accession to the latter would bring the Government into concurrence with the insurgents in disregarding and setting aside an important part of the Constitution of the United States, and so would be a pernicious example, the congressional conference, on the contrary, preserves and gives new strength to that sacred instrument, which must continue through future ages the sheet-anchor of the republic.

It is to be hoped that the reader has fully comprehended the statesmanlike proposition of Mr. Seward—his benevolent intentions towards his rebellious subjects—and the facility with which he disposes of the suggestion of the French Government, by proposing a simpler and at the same time a constitutional means of bringing the war to a close. If any other information is desired, however, touching the feasibility of this mode of adjustment—if any other proof is requisite to show the reliability of Mr. Lincoln's Government in all that concerns American affairs—it will be found in the terms of a now-existing law of the United States' Congress, which forms a necessary sequel to Mr. Seward's despatch.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE AN OATH OF OFFICE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter every person elected or appointed to any office of honour or profit under the Government of the United States, either in the civil, military, or naval departments of the public service, excepting the President of the United States, shall, before entering on the duties of such office, and before being entitled to any of the salary or other emoluments thereof, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: "I, A.B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever under any authority or pretended authority in hostility to the United States: that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended Government, authority, power, or Constitution within the United States hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm) that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

Which said oath, so taken and signed, shall be preserved among the files of the court house of Congress, or department to which the said office may appertain. And any person who shall falsely take the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the penalties now prescribed for that offence, shall be deprived of his office, and rendered incapable for ever after holding any office or place under the United States.

Approved, July 2, 1862.

Thus, while M. Drouyn de Lhuys is informed that all the Southerners have to do to secure the redress of their grievances is to take their seats in Congress, his Government possess a law which prohibits any and all Southerners from appearing in Congress as the representatives of the people of the South.

At the point of Mr. Seward's communication

above quoted, a serious question must have suggested itself to the mind of M. Drouyn de Lhuys—Was the American Secretary writing at random, without considering the absurdity of what he wrote? Or, on the other hand, did he really mean to deceive and mislead those who might lend a sort of credence to a statement made by one holding such a high position? We can scarcely give an affirmative response to the first interrogatory, without assigning to the writer a character of mind which, even in the estimation of his partisans, would unfit him for his high position. And yet to assume either that he was ignorant of the existence of the law above recited, or that the fact of its existence was unknown to, or might be kept concealed from, the knowledge of those for whose enlightenment he wrote, constitutes even a stronger imputation against his capacity, as well as his integrity. But it involved more than this; it was an insult, not only to those for whose information it was especially designed, but to the public at large, to whom he submitted it even before it had met the eye of him to whom it was addressed.

The Welcome and the Wedding.

The vast resources of our daily contemporaries have been fairly taxed to present a record of the reception of Princess Alexandra and the royal wedding, and the work has been done so elaborately, and with such excellent taste, as to reflect the highest credit on the English press. To those at home and abroad who did not witness, or rather take part in, the magnificent ceremonial of welcoming the adopted daughter of England to the country with the fortune and glory of which her own happiness and honour are henceforth indissolubly united, the reports of the newspapers will be evidence that the celebration of the gratifying event was altogether worthy of our national greatness. Nevertheless all who were present, and particularly all who were included in the procession, will admit that the clever sketches of the reporters fail to convey an adequate impression of the memorable scene. The pageant itself, though in the City it was far more gorgeous, is as easily described as a Lord Mayor's Show, but what baffles description was the appearance of the great multitude of all sorts and conditions of men who forsook their business and their homes on Saturday last, to offer their free homage to the Queen and to the throne, by heartily greeting the bride of the Prince who, if his life be spared, will one day—may it be a long, long distant day—be King of England. There was something peculiarly touching in the enthusiasm of the people. We have in our midst a population born to toil, and who enjoy comparatively few of the pleasures of life, but they are not the less loyal to the monarchy, which derives its power from its constitutional observance of the rights and liberties of its subjects than their richer fellow-citizens. Our monarch is the first subject of the Constitution, and the administrator thereof. And what is the result? That the nation does not love its sovereign less, though it loves liberty more. The reverence for hereditary authority is combined with that freedom which is oftener the boast than the possession of republics. It is reported that the Emperor (Nicholas) of Russia, in passing through the streets of London, was struck with the comfortable appearance of the people, and exclaimed, "Where are your poor?" If his Imperial Majesty had gone into the bye-ways and lanes, he would have found too much poverty, but no disloyalty; if he had lived till now, he would have seen that even the presence of famine and the imminent ruin of the industry of Lancashire have not caused the slightest murmur of disloyalty. The Princess is said to have been astonished at the demonstration, but even greater will be her wonder when she learns that the homage paid to her as the bride elect of the Prince of Wales was so essentially a free-will offering. Official personages endeavoured to check the popular enthusiasm, but the people would not give up their claim to testify their loyalty on the auspicious occasion. The conduct of the crowd on Saturday is worthy of all praise. The

City police did so little—could do so little—to keep order, that we believe they might as well, if not better, have been a hundred miles away from the Metropolis. It was a national *levee*, and we venture to assert that no reception at St. James's was ever managed with so much good humour and gentlemanly forbearance. We have often heard an English crowd abused as a rough mob, but we venture to say that in no city on the Continent could such a demonstration have been permitted without the control of a large body of forces. Noble lords may be a little horrified at the people being allowed to approach and crowd around the carriage of the Prince and Princess; but the royal couple were not shocked at the intrusion, and felt they were as safe from annoyance as when surrounded by an aristocratic mob at Windsor.

The demonstration on Saturday was impersonal and unselfish. The Prince and his bride were not cheered to the echo for anything they have done to deserve the nation's love, for as yet neither of them has had the opportunity of doing good. Certainly, the demonstration was not on account of any benefit this country can derive from a dynastic alliance with the gallant but small kingdom of Denmark. If an influential alliance had been an object, the Prince would not have looked for a wife in Scandinavia. The universal enthusiasm is evoked by the belief that the marriage is one of affection, and that the heir to the throne has chosen a wife who will emulate the virtues of his mother. And here we may remark that English loyalty is of two kinds. On the one hand, we reverence the King as a King, and on the other, we accord him a warmer but not more enduring attachment in respect to his personal worth. If a King is a bad man, so much the worse for England, but his throne is secure; if a King is a good man, but an unfaithful, unconstitutional Sovereign, his goodness will not save his crown. Under any circumstances, the marriage of a Prince of Wales would be the occasion for public rejoicing, but the hearty goodwill that has been so conspicuous for the last few days is the national acknowledgment of the womanly as well as the constitutional virtues of Queen Victoria—virtues that have made her name glorious and respected throughout the world. We doubt not the Prince and Princess of Wales will gratefully remember this, and loyally give heed to every wish of our widowed Queen. Such conduct will be their best title to the continued affection of the nation, as it will be the most satisfactory evidence of their public and private worth.

We cannot better set forth our good wishes for the Prince and Princess of Wales than by expressing a fervent hope that they may never forfeit the heartfelt love of the British people, and that the historian of the 19th century may be able to relate that Queen Victoria and Albert the Good lived again in the patriotic and domestic virtues of their children.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE BEGINNING OF SECTIONAL CONFLICTS.

The war with England terminated, without any brilliant achievement on either side, in a peace by which nothing was determined. The only effect which it pro-

duced on the relations of public men and political parties in America seems to have been the elevation of General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, to the rank of a popular favourite. The successful defence of New Orleans was the only chance afforded the American troops of gaining renown; but so far as the display of soldierly qualities was concerned, the British, who stood up manfully to be shot down by an enemy they could not reach, cannot be said to have lost the honours of the day. But the event reflected infinite discredit on those who sent the best troops in the world—the veterans of the Peninsular war—to be massacred in such a hopeless attempt; while the arrangements which insured an almost bloodless victory to the Americans may be held to have fairly entitled their general to the popularity he ever afterwards enjoyed. Nevertheless, the dearth of great men who were at the same time available candidates for the Presidency, and the unfortunate tendency of the public mind, were not indistinctly evinced by the prominence achieved by a man who had no other title to public favour than a victory of this nature.

After the war was over, it was found necessary once more to take some effective measures to support and strengthen the public credit, for war had plunged the Federal Government into debt. The party which had opposed the policy of Mr. Hamilton appeared on this occasion to justify it. Mr. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, reported in favour of a Bill to establish a national bank. The Democratic leaders in the House, mostly men who had come into political life since the time of Hamilton—among them Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, the two most eminent statesmen of the second generation in America—supported the measure. It passed the House by 80 to 71, the two parties being divided upon it. It received, however, the support of a majority of the Democrats, and only a minority of the Federalists, and was approved by the Democratic President Madison; so completely inconsistent were the present relations of the two parties with their respective professions of faith, and the policy which each had pursued while the Federalists were in possession of power.

The first serious contest on the tariff took place during the same year—1816. The war with England had had, in a minor degree, the same effect on the United States that the present war has had on the South—the effect that war with a great maritime Power must, while the law of blockade and of maritime capture subsist, always exercise upon an agricultural community. It had given impulse and protection to domestic manufactures; and it was proposed to continue this protection by artificial legislation. A protective tariff was accordingly laid before Congress. Its general scope is thus described by the author of "Parties and their Principles":—

"The new tariff measure, which was slightly modified prior to its final passage, arranged imported articles into three classes:—1st, those of which a full domestic supply could be produced; 2nd, those of which only a partial domestic supply could be afforded; and, 3rd, those produced at home very slightly, or not at all. On the first class it was proposed to levy a duty heavy enough to secure the market to the domestic manufacturer, leaving it to domestic competition to keep down the price. On the articles of the second class a duty of 20 per cent. was proposed; thus leaving the field open for foreign competition, and so protecting home labour that it might successfully rival and ultimately supply the whole market. The duties on the third class were adjusted more with reference to revenue than tariff, being articles of quite general consumption, and were for the most part of foreign production."

The plain meaning of a tariff of this nature is simply this: on the first-class of goods a tax of indefinite amount in proportion to their real value—it might be fifty, a hundred, or a thousand per cent.—was to be levied on the consumers, and paid to the producers. On articles of the second class a similar tax was levied, to be applied in the same manner; but its amount was limited to 20 per cent. on the real value of the goods, as delivered at an American port. But in this case a smaller or larger proportion of the tax was to be received by the Exchequer. It is possible that a homogeneous nation may for centuries endure a tariff of this kind—as England did—until a growing enlightenment enables all classes to see where their common interest lies; that is, in making all goods cheap rather than all dear. But in a heterogeneous confederation of States, some of which are chiefly exporters of raw produce and consumers of manufactures, while others are chiefly manufacturers, and consume the raw produce of their confederates and of foreign countries, it is impossible that any such system should long be tolerated. The enlightenment which, in the former case, comes only by the slow progress of economical science, is wonderfully quickened in the other by local jealousy, and by the marked and visible nature of the injury and injustice done. So soon as the separation between agricultural and manufacturing interests—in

other words, between those who paid for protection and those who profited by it—became clearly identified with the lines of State boundaries, and most of all, with the lines of geographical demarcation between the great sections of the Union, it became clearly impossible finally to maintain at once the Union and the Tariff. If a difference of another kind had not brought about a sectional disruption of the United States, the question of free trade must before long have done so. But in 1816 the manufacturing and agricultural interests were not as yet clearly identified with any State or sectional boundaries; and among the chief opponents of the tariff were the prominent representatives of those States which are now waging war in the name of the Union rather to restore protection than to abolish slavery. The chief of the Free-traders—if so they may be called—was Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. He was supported by a majority of the representatives of the North-East; by the greater part of the remnant of the Federalists; and by several of the Southern Democrats, with Mr. Randolph at their head, who warned their fellow-citizens against the measure, as calculated to build up the manufactures of the Middle and Eastern States at the expense of the South. The fact seems to be that at that time the foreign commerce of the North-Eastern States was of far more consequence than their manufactures; and the mercantile interest was naturally and strongly opposed to a system of restrictions on trade. It is less easy to understand the reasons which induced representatives of the South, like Clay, Calhoun, and Lowndes of South Carolina, to give their cordial support to a scheme so unfavourable to the interests of their constituents.

Mr. Madison was succeeded in 1817 by Mr. Monroe, who had been his Secretary of State; and who, like all his predecessors except Adams, held his office for two consecutive terms. His election was the last at which the Federalists made a party stand: and under his Administration they ceased to exist as a party. He was, perhaps, the most strictly consistent of the Democratic Presidents; inasmuch as he thought it his duty to put his veto on bills for internal improvements, as inconsistent with the Constitution, although he thought it not inexpedient that the Constitution should be so amended as to permit them. The extinction of party organization allowed John Quincy Adams, son of the last Federalist President, to take office under Monroe, as Secretary of State.

In 1824 a new and more stringent Tariff Bill was passed by both branches of Congress, at the recommendation of the President, by narrow majorities. On this occasion the sectional division of interests made itself clearly perceptible. Henry Clay was at the head of the Protectionists, and carried the whole vote of his State; Delaware also voted for the tariff; but every other Southern State gave an overwhelming majority against it. It had no advocates among the representatives of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas (Calhoun was Secretary of War, and therefore out of Congress). Tennessee gave two ayes to seven noes, and Virginia had only one Protectionist out of twenty-two representatives. Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts were almost unanimous against the tariff, and Daniel Webster ably stated their case against it. It was carried by ninety-four votes from the Western and Middle States, with twelve from other quarters, against the South and against a strong majority in New England. It was beginning, therefore, to be apparent to the South what was the real meaning of protection—a tribute paid by Southern consumers to Northern manufacturers. The distress which at that time prevailed in the corn-growing States appears to have disposed the West, on this occasion, to take a part altogether opposed to right, reason, and to its real interests. Distress at home has always the effect of inducing the Democracy to look with great jealousy on importations from abroad.

But a more serious cause of sectional division of parties was already at work. The great event of Mr. Monroe's Administration was the passing of that measure which is known to history as the Missouri Compromise; the result of a conflict in which North and South were fairly and distinctly pitted one against the other and in which sectional interests and sectional prejudices determined almost every individual vote.

The contest began in February, 1819. Missouri, a part of the Louisiana territory purchased from France by President Jefferson, claimed admission into the Union. A Bill authorizing the people of the Territory of Missouri to frame a Constitution, and providing for the admission of the new State, had been reported and read a second time. The war began by a motion to insert a proviso forbidding slavery in the Territory, moved by Gen. Tallmadge, of New York. There seems to have been no pretence for any such restriction, except in the fact that the last State admitted had been a Slave State, which mattered

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1853.)
The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Clusky. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgement of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Paine and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

the less that the Free States had still a majority in both branches of Congress. But the North took up the matter fiercely, and the proviso was inserted in the House of Representatives by 82 to 78. The Senate struck it out, the House reinserted it, and the Bill was lost.

The case in favour of the proviso was not a strong or a clear one. It was contended on the part of the North, simply that slavery was *natura in se*, and that Congress had a right to refuse to admit States whose admission seemed to it inconsistent with the public weal. It might have been enough to answer that the Constitution, did not recognize any ground of objection to slavery; that, on the contrary, it protected slave property by a peculiar law; and that Congress, by admitting Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi as Slave States, had debarred itself from the right to object to slavery on moral grounds; while the admission of Louisiana as a Slave State had precluded it from claiming the whole soil west of the great river for white labour, even if such a claim could have been reconciled with equal justice to the South. These arguments would probably have been conclusive with an English Parliament; but American representatives have always had less regard for precedent, and more sympathy with popular passions. The one real argument of the North was abhorrence of slavery; a perfectly fair ground for moralists or foreigners to take up, but a ground forbidden to American statesmen by the conditions of the Union. Accordingly, while some eloquence and much angry declamation were employed in the advocacy of the restriction, all reasoning and all statesmanship were on the Southern side. The faith of the Union was pledged to a treaty which secured to the people of the ceded territory all the rights of citizens of the United States, and all those which they already enjoyed; and therefore the right of admission to the Union, and the right of holding slaves. Again, it was absurd to expect that the South would consent to be excluded from the whole of the common territory of the Union—for to this, and nothing less, did the Northern claim point; absurd, above all, to imagine that she would submit to such an injury, when justified by an argument which was in itself an insult—namely, that her institutions were inconsistent with justice and morality. It was, moreover, inconsistent with the character to be assigned to Missouri on her admission—the character of a sovereign State—that she should be hampered in her legislation by any other law than the Constitution of the Union. It would seem, therefore, that if we regard the quarrel from an American and a political point of view, we must pronounce the North to have been utterly and extravagantly in the wrong. The quarrel was, however, passionately adopted by the people of the Northern States, who expressed furious displeasure with all those of their Senators or representatives who showed any leaning to moderation or compromise.

Nevertheless, owing to the firmness and honesty of a few Northern Senators, a compromise was accomplished during the following session. A Bill was passed in the House for the admission of the State of Maine. The Senate tacked to it the Missouri Bill, without restriction (the vote being 23 to 21; Delaware deserting the South, and three Northern Senators voting with it). The House rejected the amendment, and a conference took place, which resulted in the admission of Maine, the passage of the Bill authorizing Missouri to frame a Constitution, and the famous proviso excluding slavery from all territory north of 36°-30', the Southern boundary of the State of Missouri. The latter suggestion had been previously made in the Senate by Mr. Thomas, of Illinois; and carried by 34 to 10, receiving 14 Southern votes. This was the famous Missouri Compromise.

It did not, however, admit the State of Missouri; and when that State applied for admission, presenting her Constitution, a treacherous attempt was made by the Northern party (which had gained two additional votes in the Senate by the admission of Maine under the compromise) to evade the fulfilment of the bargain. The pretext was a clause in the State Constitution, excluding free negroes from Missouri—the same in substance which is now in force in Illinois and several other Northern States. The attempt was, however, defeated; and Missouri was admitted on engaging not to exclude any citizens of any of the United States from any privileges to which they are entitled under the Federal Constitution.

Before assenting to the first compromise, the President put two questions to his Cabinet. Had Congress the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories? They all answered in the affirmative. Did the proviso excluding slavery from the territory north of 36°-30', refer only to its territorial condition, or bind States to be subsequently formed out of it? John Quincy Adams

answered that it would bind such States, all his colleagues dissenting. The question was subsequently changed for one which all could answer in the affirmative, to avoid the revelation of this dissension in the Cabinet.

It will be seen from these facts that the beginning of that sectionalization of parties which has proved fatal to the Union took place under the rule of the last President of the "Virginia Dynasty"—the last of the contemporaries of Washington. The power they had so long and so worthily held was now to pass into inferior hands; the honourable repute they had won for their country was gradually to fade. The decline of American statesmanship, and the degradation of American policy, may be said to date from the retirement of President Monroe.

[In our last, the sub-title "Ascendancy of the Federalists" was retained by mistake. It should have been "Ascendancy of the Elder Democrats." And "Dr. W. H. Clinton" was a misprint for "De Witte Clinton."]

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

RICHMOND, January 21.

Though the meeting of Congress had been fixed for the 12th of January, it was not until the 14th that a quorum was obtained in both houses, and the country was kept waiting forty-eight hours, by the absence of a single senator, for the Message of President Davis. That document has been printed *in extenso* in the columns of the *New York Herald*, and will probably have been transferred to THE INDEX before you can possibly receive this letter. What impression it may make upon the political mind of Europe we can only conjecture, but it is regarded here by all parties as an exceedingly able exposition of the relations of the Confederate States to the Government with which we are at war across the Potomac and the Powers which yet refuse to recognize our separate nationality across the Atlantic. Its criticism of the views of the English Ministry on the subject of the blockade and the convention of the Congress of Paris in relation thereto, is equally just and forcible, and it is difficult to see how Earl Russell can escape its cogency. With regard to the conduct of the war, one of the most important passages of the Message is that which announces the purpose of the President to hand over all officers of the United States fighting under the Abolition Proclamation of Lincoln who may hereafter be taken prisoners by our forces, to the civil authorities of the respective States in which they may be so captured, for trial under the local statutes provided to punish the incitement of servile insurrection.

The agents of Lincoln, who enter Virginia with fire and sword, proclaiming freedom to the slave and endeavouring to array the black race against the white, are but carrying out, on a larger scale, the fiendish programme of John Brown, and should perish on John Brown's scaffold; and there is no reason whatever why the law which hanged the criminal of Harper's Ferry should not also hang General Milroy, who appears to be even a more despicable character. The proclamation of Lincoln, which had not been received here at the date of my last letter, is a marvel of malignity and of stupidity as well. It is a crime, but it is worse than this, it is a blunder, a blunder of the most foolish sort. It tacitly confesses the utter hopelessness of the subjugation of the South by force of arms, in the cowardly attempt to destroy our people by the torch of the incendiary and the knife of the midnight assassin. Waiving altogether the stupendous wickedness of seeking to compass the wholesale murder of eight millions of human beings through a worse than Sepoy massacre in a Christian land, at which the civilized world must stand aghast, we may well doubt whether any folly could be greater than that of dividing and distracting one's own forces, and uniting more firmly the forces of one's enemy, by one and the same act. The proclamation is not approved by the whole Northern people. It has caused already many resignations in the army and navy of the United States. It has brought forth a protest from "loyal Kentucky." The Union is unquestionably the weaker for it. But if it was possible it has banded the Southern people yet more firmly together for the prosecution of the war, and it has rendered for ever impossible, even to the purblind vision of the Northern Conservatives, that reconstruction to which they have so unreasonably looked forward as the sequel of a long and bloody strife. Mr. Lincoln has by this instance of folly and crime, lost every claim to respect, and mankind must regard with mingled horror and contempt this cruel, vulgar pitiable, insensible, funny man, half lunatic, half buffoon,

Impotens, jocosus, inexplicabilis, fallax—who carries the disposition of a jackall in the form of the

quadrumanus, and betrays the asinine instincts in his bray and in his actions. It is a singular fact, some time ago pointed out, that the anagram of Abraham Lincoln is "a h—ll-born maniac," and in this instance, as in that of Lord Nelson (*Honor est a Nilo*), the new collation of the letters would seem to have a peculiar significance.

In the devoted region of the Valley, General Milroy, following with commendable promptness the example of his master, has issued his *pronunciamento*, headed in flaring capitals "FREEDOM TO SLAVES!" in which he announces to the negro population of the county of Frederick, wherein is situated the town of Winchester, that they are absolutely free, that no acts they may commit to establish or maintain their freedom will be repressed by the military forces under his command, but that they are enjoined to betake themselves to useful employments and to abstain from personal violence, unless in necessary self-defence. No penalty is set forth for a wanton disregard of this latter injunction, nor is it suggested what will constitute the *se defendendo* in the opinion of General Milroy. As for the useful employments, if the negroes, acting after their kind, should refuse to betake themselves to such, why General Milroy will bid them go in the Prince's name, the mighty name of Lincoln, and thank Heaven he has got rid of the arrant knaves. Then, of course, it will be necessary for them, in order to maintain their freedom, to plunder their former masters, and no little offences of this sort will be "repressed" by the Federal officers. In other words, the negroes are encouraged to burn, murder, and steal, with the assurance of impunity for these crimes, and solemnly advised to go to work and behave themselves, under no penalty for idleness and brutality. But General Milroy looks with satisfaction to the commission of yet darker and more hellish deeds by the enfranchised blacks than arson, theft, assassination. He has ordered the women of Winchester, one and all, to come forward and take the oath of allegiance to the United States, declaring that all protection of their persons and property will be withheld until such oath has been taken. Admirable Milroy! Let Butler resign the crown of infamy which has been given him by the vote of mankind. Butler would have handed over the women of New Orleans to the lust of his unlicensed soldiery; Milroy, with a refinement of malice, would commit the women of Winchester to the savage passions of the negro, if he can exile them! The proclamation of Milroy has been made the subject of a special Message to the Legislature of Virginia by Governor Letcher, who asks that legislation may be had with direct reference to the necessities of the case.

In the Congressional district, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, which is mostly in possession of the enemy, the enforcement of the proclamation of Lincoln was made contingent upon the failure to make an election of a member of the Federal Congress by a majority of the voters. The malicious ingenuity of this device is apparent. The polls were opened, and the people were asked to record their free and untrammelled suffrages under the direst compulsion. If they voted in sufficient numbers to exempt the district from the operation of Lincoln's edict, the fact was to be proclaimed as a proof of the loyal feeling of that portion of Virginia; if they refused to vote, then 25,000 slaves were (in the language of General Dix's organ, the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Union*) to be "turned loose to depredate upon their property," and every recalcitrant suffragan was to be held liable to imprisonment and the confiscation of his estate. As you may suppose, a member of Congress was elected, a native-born Yankee, and the negroes, who had paraded the streets of Norfolk on New Year's Day with music and banners, to celebrate their newly-acquired freedom, were informed by General Dix, when they applied for formal papers of manumission, that as to them, the beneficence of Liberator Lincoln was of no effect. Thus the philanthropists of Exeter Hall may learn that it is hatred of the master, and not love of the slave, which has prompted the great Emancipation decree of President Lincoln. By a practical paradox, at once ludicrous and disgusting, the Union press of Norfolk, established in the interests of the Yankees, made their appeal to the voters of the district to manifest their loyalty as the means of holding on to their negroes, and the support of the Federal Government was considered the test of pro-slavery opinions! All who should refuse to vote were denounced beforehand as worse enemies of the "peculiar institution" than the vilest "incendiary of the Garrison school," in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Union*, December 18, 1862.

In the "northern neck" of Virginia, by which geographical designation is known all that tier of counties on our northern boundary lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, the Federals are thought to be carrying out the emancipation scheme in a manner

which will commend itself but little to the followers of Clarkson and Macaulay. Roaming at will through this defenceless and indefensible portion of the State, the Federal cavalry officers go from plantation to plantation tearing by main force the negro women and children from their homes, and compelling them, despite their earnest protestations and entreaties, to go on board the armed transports which swarm in the rivers. It is known that some of these vessels have gone out the capes to sea, and the belief is that the poor slaves are taken to Cuba for sale. The barracoons of the Guinea coast have been established at Washington, where hundreds of these unfortunate creatures are kept huddled together, and there is little doubt that the horrors of the Middle Passage have been revived by the Abolitionists of New England.

I have mentioned that many officers of the army and navy of the United States have resigned in consequence of the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln. It might have been supposed that the resignations would be so numerous as almost to disorganize both arms of the Federal service, and such would undoubtedly have been the result, if all who, at the beginning of the contest, declared that they would lay down their commissions the moment it became an Abolition war, had redeemed their pledges. Brevet-Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, and Major-General George B. McClellan, are both committed in writing to such a course. Major-General Halleck, upon leaving San Francisco to take service in the Federal army, declared to friends in that city that he would fight only to restore the Union under the Constitution. Major-General Burnside, who is known to many Southern officers as a man of honourable feelings and generous impulses, has again and again repeated the promise that his sword should be sheathed whenever the Government at Washington sought to destroy the social institutions of the South. No longer ago than August 1862, at Chatham, opposite Fredericksburg, while the guns of the second battle of Manassas were sounding in his ears, he assured W. Roy Mason, Esq., of the county of King George (then a prisoner in his hands), that he would not fight to abolish slavery, and when this should be proclaimed as the purpose of the Government, he would never more be officer of Lincoln's. It is difficult now to understand how he can retain both his commission and his self-respect. That he meant to resign rather than join in a war of extermination and servile massacre of the Southern people, we are bound to believe; but having once undertaken to do the bidding of a tyrant and a slave, he has found it difficult to withdraw from the degrading service, or rather he has been degraded by the very character of his duties, and an originally honest nature has been

—subdued

To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

Congress has now been in session but seven days, and for a considerable portion of the time both houses have sat with closed doors. Their proceedings, as known to the public, give an earnest of their disposition to perform the business of the country with all possible despatch, and with fidelity to its best interests. Very grave matters demand their earnest attention. First of these in importance is the question of the finances. It is recognized by everybody, from Mr. Memminger down to the most unlettered private in the army, who has drawn his last month's pay in Treasury notes, that something must be done to remedy the evils of a depreciated currency. To fix a maximum of issue is a preventive against further depreciation which students of finance may learn from Lord Overstone, but the undue inflation of the circulating medium, which has brought down Confederate money to its present state of depression, calls for a speedy remedy. Mr. Baldwin, of Virginia, introduced a Bill, a few days ago, which he supported in a speech of marked ability, looking to taxation and the funding system as the means of restoring the currency to a healthy condition. The matter of exemption from military service under the Conscription Law has also occupied the attention of our legislators. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, has moved an investigation of certain large contracts for commissary stores, in which fraud has been alleged, and an inquiry into the propriety of recalling our foreign Commissioners. Should the latter step be determined on, it is to be accompanied by a notification to foreign Consuls residing in Southern cities, and holding their *exequaturs* from a Government with which we are at war, that they can no longer exercise their consular functions within the limits of the Confederate States. A joint resolution, introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana, bestowing the thanks of Congress upon the noble citizens of New Orleans, who have kept their "loyalty, their love, and zeal" for the Confederate cause, under the galling tyranny of Butler, was passed by a unanimous vote in both Houses. In the Senate, the death of Hon. W.

Ballard Preston, one of the Senators from the State of Virginia, was announced by his colleague, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, in the language of appropriate eulogy, and becoming tributes to his memory were offered by Senators Henry, of Tennessee, Semmes, of Louisiana, Clay, of Alabama, and Wigfall, of Texas. In the House of Representatives the sad event elicited proper panegyrics on the deceased from Messrs. Staples, Goode, and Lyons, of Virginia, Miles, of South Carolina, Perkins, of Louisiana, and Chilton, of Alabama.

Two new Senators have been elected recently to Congress, one Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, in the place of General Robert Toombs, resigned, and the other, Allen T. Caperton, Esq., of Virginia, in the place of Hon. W. Ballard Preston, deceased. Mr. Johnson is well known as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, on the ticket with the late Judge Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, in the election of 1860. Mr. Caperton has borne a most respectable part in the politics of Virginia for some years past, as a member of the old Whig party, and was a supporter of Mr. Bell for the Presidency against Lincoln, Douglas, and Breckinridge. His election was due, to some extent, to the circumstance that he comes from the Trans-Alleghany district of Virginia, there being a generally-accepted, though unwritten law in State politics, that of the two Senators in Congress, one shall be chosen from the counties lying east, and the other from the counties lying west of the Alleghanies, and the eastern section being already represented in the Senate in the person of Mr. Hunter.

So much for Congress and its proceedings.

The military operations of the past three weeks have been without any decisive shock of arms between the Federal and Confederate forces, but they manifest an activity and alertness on the part of our generals at various points in the highest degree encouraging to our cause. As predicted in my last letter, the army of General Bragg was compelled to fall back after the battle of Murfreesboro; but the retreat was conducted in good order, and all the spoils of the victory—the captured stores, guns, waggons, &c.—were safely brought away. The prisoners, numbering over 5000, have arrived, and are kept in the military prisons in this city, preparatory to their discharge under parole and delivery to the Federal Commissioner, in accordance with the cartel for exchange. The cavalry wing of Bragg's army, commanded by the dashing General Wheeler, and the irregular horse of the indomitable Jack Morgan, have been especially active in harassing the enemy in Tennessee. One of the most brilliant achievements of the war was performed last week by Wheeler in the capture of a Federal gunboat and four transports on the Cumberland River. The cavalry has demonstrated so successfully its ability to cope with the enemy on the water that it may perhaps be advisable to send them out to sea to break the blockade. In the European wars in the Low Countries it has more than once happened that vessels of war have been taken by a charge of dragoons upon the ice, but so far as my reading extends, this exploit of General Wheeler is the first instance on record of an armed steamer *in motion* being captured by a troop of horse. Not less *eclatant*, and far more important in results, was the *coup* of General Magruder, in Galveston Bay, in making a prize of the Harriet Lane and the store ship which lay under the protection of her guns. This novel method of attacking the blockaders was suggested more than a year ago by General Magruder with regard to the enemy's ships off the mouth of York River, and might have been put in practice at that time but for the want of proper guns to mount upon the assaulting batteaux. The repulse of the Yankee General Sherman at Vicksburg has been followed by no further hostile demonstration against that gallant city, which still defies the foe. We have, however, sustained a reverse upon the Arkansas River in the loss of Arkansas Post, with a large number of prisoners; the intelligence of which, coming to us only through the Northern journals, we receive with some grains of allowance for the inevitable extravagance of the enemy's reporters.

The army of Fredericksburg has gone into winter-quarters, which means log huts, tents with mud chimneys (for the escape of smoke from improvised fire-places underneath the earth floor), old tobacco houses, still standing upon the estates occupied by the troops, and whatever else of shelter from the frost and the rain they can find or construct. The army of Burnside lies across the Rappahannock, protected from the cold by admirable wooden buildings sent in detached pieces from Washington (with which city they are in easy and rapid communication by steamers on the Potomac), and supplied with all the comforts and many of the luxuries of civilization. The private draws his rations of coffee, and the commanding general sips his glass of claret, while the warm regulation jacket, stout shoes, heavy blankets of the rank and file, and the numberless appointments and contrivances which are supplied to the officers from the shops of New York are in requisition to fortify them against the winter of Virginia. Again and again have we heard from Fredericksburg that Burnside was about to make a second advance, but he comes not as yet, and will probably not move from his present position until the opening of spring.

You will have observed that the Government at Washington, fully endorsing the conduct of Butler at New Orleans, [Nota bene, that this monster has been received with ovations and serenades in the Northern cities], and

refusing to render satisfaction for the murder of William B. Mumford, has ordered the Confederate officers captured in the West to be kept in close confinement, in retaliation for the like treatment of Federal officers, which our Government was compelled to decree as a measure of necessary protection to its citizens. Thus has another element of bitterness entered into this cruel and unnatural war, and thus are we rapidly drifting into a strife internecine and unrestrained by the common dictates of humanity. Whatever may be the issue of this resort to the *lex talionis*, the civilized world will hold the authorities of the Confederate States guiltless of wrong. Upon the heads of those who inaugurated the system, who have upheld the atrocities of Butler and the butcheries of McNeil, who commenced the war by making medicines contraband, and who have continued it by the official outrage of women, be the blood which may flow from the ultimate desperation of the conflict. I have already spoken of Milroy and his diabolical order with regard to the defenceless wives and daughters of the citizens of Winchester. That this heartless treatment of the women of Virginia has been his long-established policy, we know from many sources of information. A gentleman now in Richmond, formerly a citizen of Hardy County, who came to the city to nurse his only son, a brave boy, that lost his arm in the battle of Fredericksburg, yesterday received a letter from his daughter, at home within the enemy's lines, which no man of sensibility could read without a feeling of righteous vengeance—a simple narrative of outrages and spoliation that might—

— turn the coward's heart to steel, the sluggard's blood to flame.

After recounting the destruction of property, the pillage of furniture, and the sufferings and privations of the family, the poor girl writes that her mother, sister, and self had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States as enjoined by General Milroy. But out of the depths of a heart bursting with sorrow, and with a touching womanly tenderness, she adds: "Don't be angry, father; we are not false, we *did it to protect our persons, not the property!*" I cannot add one word to this record of crime.

The exclusion of medicines as articles contraband of war, against all the usages of nations and the doctrines of the writers on international law, whereby the war upon the "rebellion" was made from the start a merciless persecution of the sick and the dying, has been but little noticed abroad, and not much dwelt upon by our own writers and speakers, because we have been unwilling to make unmanly appeals to the feelings of Christendom. It is in striking illustration of wicked inventions returning to plague the inventor that at this moment the Yankees themselves are the severest sufferers from the straitened pharmacopœia of the Confederacy. The *gangrene* has broken out in the military prisons in this city, and the surgeons are almost powerless to stop its ravages for the want of proper medicines.

The health of Richmond during the winter has been more disordered than we have known it at the same season for many years past. That dreadful malady, the small-pox, has carried off large numbers of the soldiers encamped in the neighbourhood, and prevails to a painful extent at this time throughout the city. By an ordinance of the City Council, all private dwellings in which one or more persons are prostrated by this disease must be designated by a white flag displayed from one of the front windows, and one cannot walk in any quarter of the town without seeing those fluttering pennons of sickness and death. Among the latest victims was Alexander Galt, the sculptor, for many years a student of art in Florence, where he executed many excellent busts, among them the *Bacchante*, which attracted much attention in the Great Exhibition of 1851, and a full length marble statue of Thomas Jefferson, under a commission from the State of Virginia. This statue has been erected at the University of Virginia. Galt died at the early age of 35. Just before his death he had modelled a fine head in plaster of Jefferson Davis, and a bas-relief of General "Stonewall" Jackson from studies made in the camp near Fredericksburg. He was a man of most amiable qualities, and his death has elicited an universal expression of sorrow. The Confederacy moans the loss of a gallant and accomplished officer in the recent death of Major-General David R. Jones, of South Carolina. He died at his lodgings in this city a few days ago of disease of the heart. General Jones was prominent in the battles before Richmond last summer, in all of which he won distinction. The funeral services were held on Monday last at St. Paul's Church. The military escort were under the command of General Elzey; among the mourners were the President and Mrs. Davis, and the pall was borne by the gentlemen of the President's staff. The remains were deposited in a vault of Hollywood Cemetery, to be hereafter removed to South Carolina.

Bulwer's "Strange Story" has been reprinted by a publishing house in Mobile, and other more recent English novels are promised us by enterprising bookmen in other cities of the Confederate States. This is a gratifying evidence of the resources of the country under the blockade, and when our independence has been acknowledged and we shall commence as a separate nation, "to run the great career of justice," an international copyright law will be in force, by which the rights of the foreign author will be protected, while a stimulus will be offered to native talent.

The winter rains have set in, and the western rivers are at their flood. In the war almanacks for Tennessee they write against the latter part of January—"About this time expect the gunboats." Let us hope that General Wheeler will continue to keep them in check with his "horse-marines." In Eastern Virginia the rains have been attended by a moderate temperature, the mercury not having fallen below 45 degrees of Fahrenheit.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The news per Jura has arrived this morning, and, therefore, we can only give a brief *resumé* of the important intelligence, of which the details will be looked for with much interest.

On the 5th instant a battle took place at Springville, Tennessee. The Confederates were commanded by General Van Dorn, and the Federals by General Coburn. The result of the battle, which is said to have lasted all day, was the complete defeat of the Federals. According to the New York advices, "the Federal forces consisted of three regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, and one battery of artillery. Nearly all the Federal infantry were cut to pieces, or captured, but the cavalry and artillery escaped." We may judge from these admissions the severity of the disaster, and the completeness of the defeat. As usual, the defeat is ascribed to the inefficiency of a Federal Commander. The battle was fought on the 5th, and yet in New York on the evening of the 6th, "General Gillit is severely censured for not sending reinforcements to Coburn from Franklin. The news of this victory was preceded by an announcement that "General Van Dorn had been driven back by the Federals."

There has been a demonstration in the Senate. Mr. Doolittle warned "the traitors at home" that America was only beginning to fight, and would crush out the rebellion, and that she would "stand before the world greater, more powerful, more glorious than ever, and beyond what had ever entered into the mind of man to conceive." He said before the Federals would submit to separation, they would reduce Louisiana to "a territory of swamps and crocodiles," and that "it was his religious belief that the American Republic was that political power foretold by the prophets, and for which good men of all ages looked and prayed, and to whose success and duration Heaven with all its omnipotence was pledged." All this hideous blasphemy sounds like the ravings of a maniac. Speaker Grow, in his valedictory address to the House of Representatives, declared that no matter what changes were wrought in the social organism of America, its territorial limits would continue the same; which means that territory is dearer to the North than liberty. Speaker Grow received an unanimous vote of thanks from the House for the manner in which he had presided.

All the general Appropriation Bills were passed by

Congress before the close of the session, and have been signed by the President. These, together with the other appropriations, amount to about 1,000,000,000 dollars. The Miscellaneous Appropriation Bill, originally introduced by the Committee of Ways and Means, appropriated only \$1,200,000 dollars; but before it passed through both Houses, the sum was enlarged to twenty millions. None so generous as those who never expect to pay.

The bill to admit Colorado and Nevada as States of the Union, which passed the Senate, failed to pass in the House of Representatives, the latter refusing to suspend the rules for its consideration. Both Houses of Congress passed the resolutions concerning mediation, as reported from the Committee of Foreign Relations.

The war of parties in the North is not over, but rather seems to be growing fiercer and more determined. At a meeting of the Democratic Association President Lincoln's name was hissed. A large meeting has taken place at Trenton, New Jersey, in response to a call to celebrate the death of a Congress which had trampled upon the liberties of the people. Speeches were made declaring that the people were in a worse condition than the people of Austria, and hopes were expressed that the State Government would do its duty to protect the citizens. Resolutions were also passed, denouncing the unlimited control of the purse and sword of the nation, and the unrestrained power over the persons of the citizens given to the President, and declaring that it was the duty of the States to resist firmly all encroachments upon their rights; that the Conscription Bill was an aggression upon the sovereignty of New Jersey; and that the State authorities were called on to take measures for the successful vindication of the rights of the State. The employment of negroes was denounced, and New Jersey was stated to be utterly opposed to the prosecution of the war upon any other than a constitutional basis.

The report of General Banks being fired at in New Orleans is a *canard*. General Banks is charged by the *Tribune* with being an oppressor of the negro. A secession demonstration occurred at New Orleans on the occasion of the departure of a large number of Confederate prisoners for the South. A large number of people assembled on the levee to witness their departure, and made various secession demonstrations. General Banks sent a regiment of soldiers to disperse the assemblage, and no disturbance occurred.

We have also the following items by telegram:—

It is considered probable that a conflict may have taken place at Vicksburg, and not impossible it may have been evacuated by the Confederates.

General Joseph Johnston, who commands at Vicksburg, is the general who evacuated Manassas and Yorktown in such a wily manner, and at such moments, as to seriously disconcert the Federal plans based upon his resistance at each point. He may have repeated the same move at Vicksburg, which is supplied by one line of railway. If he has—Port Hudson being strong enough to hold in check the Federal advance down the Mississippi—Johnston may throw himself northward upon Memphis, or to the north-east upon Rosencrans, or even by a rapid southward movement in conjunction with the small but formidable Confederate fleet attempt to re-capture New Orleans. But adopting either of these plans, he would of course abandon for the time the Red River country, which lies between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and through which the Confederates receive immense supplies from Texas.

Much anxiety is felt in regard to Charleston. The expedition against that place is most formidable, and great efforts will be made to take it; but General Beauregard has been allowed time enough to complete all his fortifications, solid and floating, and to concentrate a powerful force.

The Charleston journals say that the privateer *Retribution* has captured a whaler in the Caribbean seas. The whaler previously showed fight, and killed one man on board the *Retribution*.

The Federals attacked Fort Macalister, Savannah, on the 3rd instant. The attack continued at last accounts.

A riot has occurred at Detroit, Michigan, caused by an attempt of the mob to take from the authorities and lynch a negro charged with assaulting a white girl. The mob failed to

capture the negro, but attacked the coloured people miscellaneous. Fifteen persons are said to be killed, and as many houses burned.

In New York a State judge has declared his intention of executing his writ of Habeas Corpus against a Federal colonel, who, however, remains in his castle at Governor's Island.

There are growing symptoms at the West of popular dissatisfaction, and much is said of secret associations organized both to support and oppose the Government.

The Kentucky House of Representatives has passed a resolution calling a national convention, and a convention of the Mississippi Valley States. It is supposed the Senate would concur in the resolution.

The New York Legislature has appointed a committee to wait on the President in reference to the prisoners from New York State, confined in Fort M'Henry, who, it is alleged, have been cruelly treated.

The municipal elections in New York State indicate great gains for the Democratic party.

It is rumoured that the Federal Commander at Baton Rouge has refused to recognise the negro regiments.

General Banks has issued orders that negro troops are to be regarded as equals with the white troops.

On the 6th of March, gold at New York sold as low 149, but before 12 o'clock had recovered to 152½. At 2 o'clock the price was 155, and at 4 it closed at 154.

The war in America is, for the moment, all but forgotten in the presence of the great Revolution in the North. Three years ago the people of the United States were justified in boasting of being as free as any people on the face of the earth, and now there is no people subject to such an unmitigated despotism. Hitherto it has been supposed that the loss of constitutional freedom must be gradual, but it seems there is, after all, but one step from enviable liberty to shameful servility. The puppet of the White House is invested with more absolute power than the Czar of Russia. At his bidding the whole of the male population, between the ages of 18 and 45, white and black, must become his soldiers. We are not in any way deluded by the Northern announcement that he can, by the Conscription Act, obtain an army of three or four millions. The Border States, and even some of the Southern States, are included in the Northern estimates. If it is true that Mr. Lincoln can raise three or four millions, we in this country might, from our larger and so much less scattered population, be able to raise an army of five or six millions of men; but this is, we know, impossible. But if Mr. Lincoln can enforce the Conscription he may procure men enough to recruit his broken ranks, and even to increase his present total force. He may procure an army large enough to hold his people in utter subjection.

Not only is the means of seizing upon the Sovereign power given to Mr. Lincoln, but he is encouraged to use them. All constitutional restraints are removed, so that he may not have the trouble of getting rid of them. The Northern people have given up their personal liberty with acclamation. The President, who is clothed with full military authority, can legally imprison whom he likes, and for any length of time. The act lately passed by Congress provides, "That during the present rebellion, the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or any part thereof." Further, the President and his officers are secured by an act of indemnity, and, as it were, encouraged to venture on any course of oppression that may suggest itself to them.

Besides these things, the President has a credit such as no despot ever before enjoyed—a credit that will enable him to drain his subjects of their last dollar's-worth of convertible property. Mr. Lincoln has also the privilege of issuing letters of marque or reprisal, so that it suits his purpose he can force the too-forbearing nations of Europe into a war.

Why do the people of the United States thus prostrate themselves before an idol—like most idols, nothing in itself, but representative of others—that they them-

selves have set up? Is the United States invaded? No. Is it necessary to resign freedom at the North in order to conquer the South? Grant that the Conscription Bill and the money bills are necessary, why should the President be allowed to trample on the civil liberty of the citizens? The affair would be farcical if we could not look behind the scenes. Mr. Lincoln will only be permitted to reign as the tool of New England, and the object of New England is not so much to conquer the South, as to reduce the West to a condition of political serfdom. Well may the South rejoice that she is separate from such a people, and well may she determine that at any cost of blood and treasure that separation shall be final.

The Democratic party in the North is frantic with the rejection of its overtures by the South. It is now apparent that the Democrats laboured under the extraordinary delusion that a reconstruction was possible if the South were permitted to dictate her own terms. The threats of vengeance are unreasonable. What have the Democrats done in times past to put a stop to this war? Did they refuse to invade the South? Are not their hands stained with Southern blood? Did they stay the issue of a proclamation for a servile war? What have they done that the South should more esteem them than the Republicans? What have they hitherto left undone that their warm adhesion to Mr. Lincoln should be a danger to the South? They did their best to conquer the South, and failed. Since then they have done their best to persuade the South to accept the Government of the North, and they have failed. Nothing remains for them but to make peace, or, with diminished strength and resources, to make another essay to conquer the South.

The *Indianola*, a Federal ironclad, sent to recapture the *Queen of the West*, was attacked by that vessel and some steamers, and forced to surrender to the Confederates. This affair took place twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. According to Northern accounts the *Indianola* is one of the new iron-clad gunboats recently built at Cincinnati, Ohio. She is four hundred and forty-two tons burthen, and is one hundred and seventy-five feet in length, fifty-one and a half feet broad, six feet in depth of hold, and draws with all on board but six feet three inches of water. The thickness of her bottom planking is five inches, of her lining three inches, of her sides four inches, and of her deck four and a half inches. Over all is a strong layer of iron plating. Her flooring timbers are ten inches square. She is flat-bottomed, and without a keel for navigating shallow waters. Her sides spread out from the bottom to the deck at an angle of forty-five degrees, and fall in above deck at a similar angle for the purpose of glancing off shots aimed at her. The gunners are protected by a kind of casemate formed by the construction of the vessel. She is a valuable prize to the Confederates, and her accession to their naval strength below Vicksburg alarms the Federals. The official despatch of Commodore Porter to the Federal Secretary of the Navy is brief, and somewhat humorous. He says: "I regret to inform you that the *Indianola* has also fallen into the hands of the enemy. The rams *Webb* and *Queen of the West* attacked her, and rammed her until she surrendered. All of which can be traced to a non-compliance with my instructions. I do not know the particulars." An English officer would have wanted to learn the fullest particulars before he charged his subordinates with disobedience, but Federal officers are not so fastidious. What Commander Porter means by the attack of the *Queen of the West* and the *Webb* being contrary to orders, we cannot fathom. We suppose the insubordination is, that he ordered the Captain of the *Indianola* to take the *Queen of the West*, and instead thereof the *Queen of the West* took the *Indianola*.

New England and New York were not particularly annoyed about the loss of the *Indianola*, for it merely involved the probability of a contract for another ship; but the capture of the *Jacob Bell*, a merchant vessel, by the *Florida*, has caused the liveliest indignation. The *Jacob Bell* was on her way from China to New York, and had on board a cargo estimated at \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000. The passengers were transferred on board a Danish vessel, and the *Jacob Bell* was burnt. The New Yorkers are consoled by the assurance that the *Vanderbilt* and the *Shepherd Knapp* are cruising in search of the *Florida*. Perhaps these ships are not very anxious to catch her.

A dash of eighty Confederate cavalry was made on the Federal lines near Strasburg on the 25th of February. The Confederates captured some prisoners and horses, when they were pursued by a body of 500 cavalry, and had at first to surrender a portion of their booty; but meanwhile the Confederates were reinforced by about 100 men, and drove back the Federals, killing and

capturing 200 of them in their flight. This misfortune is also attributed to disobedience of orders.

The Bill of Indemnity was not passed by the Federal Senate without difficulty, and it is questioned whether it is legally binding. At half-past four on the morning of the 3rd, Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, was opposing the Bill, possibly speaking against time, when a motion was made for an adjournment, and rejected. Upon this, Mr. Bayard attempted to continue his speech, when the chairman told him the Bill had passed. The Democrats protested that as no vote was taken the Bill was not law. Next day the Senate agreed to take a vote as to whether the Bill had legally passed. The Senate declared it law, by a majority of 25 to 13. If the Bill was not legally passed, the vote of the Senate will not legalize it.

The *Nashville* grounded in front of Fort Macallister, on the 1st inst., and was destroyed by the Federal ironclads.

On the 4th of March there was a panic in Wall-street. Gold was quoted at 74 premium, and on the 5th sales were effected at 50, but at the close of the day the quotation was 57½. The excitement was so great that the quotations changed every ten minutes. It is stated that the Legislature of Congress, on the last day of its sitting, passed this proviso:—For the future all contracts for the purchase of gold and silver must be reduced to writing, and stamped under the Stamp Act, at the rate of one half per cent. on the whole amount, and bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. Loans or deposits made for less time than three days, when renewed or extended, are to bear the same burden, and all loans of currency made by brokers on security of gold or silver shall not exceed par value of the coin, under penalty of non-recovery before courts of law. We shall probably find that there are other causes at work.

The New York Chamber of Commerce has manifested its anger at the burning of the *Jacob Bell* by a tirade against England. The President of the Chamber intimated that a war with England was a possibility, and one not to be dreaded. England's neutrality was denounced, and the conduct of England towards American merchants declared to be a disgrace to the age. We wonder England is not held responsible for the defeats of the Northern army, as well as for the inefficiency of the Northern navy.

Mr. Sumner has reported to the Senate from the committee upon foreign relations concurrent resolutions regarding mediation. After referring to the French offer of mediation the resolutions declare that any idea of mediation or intervention is impracticable, unreasonable, and inadmissible. Also that any offer of interference so far encourages rebellion, and tends to prolong the contest, and that Congress will therefore be obliged to regard any further attempt in the same direction as an unfriendly act. The resolutions express regret that the foreign Powers have not frankly informed the Southern chiefs that the work in which they are engaged is hopeless. May we respectfully suggest that the reason is that foreign Powers happen to think that the attempt of the North to conquer the South is hopeless? Foreign Powers will not believe Mr. Seward's romance of the war.

A meeting of about "fifty thousand and a-half persons," is reported at Indianapolis, Indiana. Speakers at the "fifty thousand" meeting must have powerful voices to be heard distinctly by all the assembly.

The Federal General Sigel has resigned his command. The Mayor of New York, a Republican, has voted a series of resolutions adopted by the Board of Aldermen, condemning the action of the Government in dismissing General Porter from the Federal service, and tendering that officer a public reception.

ENGLAND.

There has been a net diminution of nearly 2,000 in the pauperism of Lancashire—of which diminution one-half is due to Manchester alone. Some noisy grumblers—one or two of whom may possibly be honest, but cantankerous, philanthropists, while the rest are certainly agitators without sense or veracity—have been uttering fierce complaints against the Relief Committees, who are accused of behaving with harshness of manner, and of exercising practical tyranny over those dependent upon their funds. The truth, as it appears from these accounts, is simply that the Committees have insisted, wherever practicable, on attendance either at school or at work as a condition of relief; that they have not always been able to provide suitable work or desirable classification; that they have had to take strong measures in order to get rid of dishonest and undeserving claimants; and that some of their members, in the performance of their unpleasant and harassing duties, have lost their tempers and behaved with some little

rudeness. No substantial grievance—scarcely the shadow of a grievance—is made out by the agitators on behalf of the recipients of relief.

The marriage of the Prince of Wales has been celebrated throughout the kingdom with rejoicings, which prove at once the loyalty of the people, and their delight at finding an excuse for making holiday. In Ireland the people have, for the most part, behaved rather better than usual. Only in Cork the occasion was celebrated in true Irish fashion, with a tremendous "row." The object or character of that riot we do not pretend to explain; suffice it that the men of Cork were happy after the manner of their country, having broken some hundreds of windows and a score or two of heads. The rejoicings ended in the regular Irish style, with the interference of the police, a busy day for the magistracy, and the condemnation of a few dozen rioters to various fines and terms of imprisonment. Of course the glaziers gained. In London the accidents of which we spoke last week have occasioned a great outcry; and once more the privileges of "the City" are threatened with invasion. The outcry, however, will probably subside; the City will make a defence of some sort; and its privileges will remain, for the present, as they have existed, "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Fortunately for them, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, whom it is proposed to place in authority within the sacred civic precincts, has made a fool of himself. The police had made certain arrangements for the presence of the Volunteers in Hyde Park, which seemed unsatisfactory to the military authorities, and the latter altered them. It is clear that Sir R. Mayne, who is not a General, but an officer of police, ought to have taken this quietly. He could not pretend to decide what space a given number of troops required. But he grew petulant, and permitted or caused the publication of a paragraph reflecting on the military authorities and on the Volunteers, which drew down upon him the silent displeasure of the official world, and the loud condemnation of the Volunteer officers, many of whom are influential members of the House of Commons. The shock which this error has given to his reputation will help to damp the eagerness of reformers to extend his authority over the City, properly so called; and, as we have said, things will probably remain as they are until some person of importance is crushed or otherwise inconvenienced by the miscarriages consequent on the present division of authority.

Sir George Grey has contrived to get into a curious scrape; a scrape, moreover, in which he is really chargeable with nothing worse than a forgetfulness of appearances. Some time ago the Grand Duke Constantine, now Viceroy in Poland, visited this country, and was much struck with the efficiency and excellence of our police force. By his instructions the Russian Ambassador not long ago wrote a confidential letter to Sir George, requesting him to send two policemen to Warsaw, to instruct the Russians in the English system. The request was complied with, in forgetfulness of the fact that a state of siege already existed in Poland; and in ignorance of the impending reign of terror, the men went, gave information, were politely informed that the plan would not work in Poland, and came home. Of course, their mission bore the appearance of being designed to assist Russia in her tyrannical designs, and provoked the animadversions of the vigilant Mr. Hennessy; and, of course, Sir G. Grey has been terribly badgered on the subject. It does not appear that he was substantially to blame; but it is a little strange that he should not have seen that he would certainly bring unpleasant suspicions upon himself, and embarrass the Government of which he is a member.

Parliament has done little business this week. Lord Stratheden has kept postponing from time to time his motion for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy; and the Lords have done nothing more useful than the record of their intention to check the encroachments of railway companies on the open spaces of the metropolis, and to insist on some general scheme of railway communication, which shall deliver London from the fear of being torn to pieces at the caprice of projectors. Lord Shaftesbury did good service in defending Finsbury Circus from intrusion, and in pointing out the cruel wrong done to thousands of poor persons in crowded districts, who are ousted without notice or compensation by the companies, and driven at once from their homes and from their work, or forced to cling to their work at the cost of crowding still closer, and living in unhealthy and indecent lodgings at an enhanced rent. In the Lower House, Mr. Baillie Cochrane's Greek motion proved a failure, though the debate told heavily against the Government, and provoked Lord Palmerston to display a little irritation of temper. Some

excitement was felt about Mr. W. E. Forster's motion for an inquiry into the Game Laws. The radical members for large towns, and the lowest class of their constituents, have a most foolish tenderness for the crime of poaching. Poaching, as pursued in this country, is simply a kind of robbery. Gangs of men go out by night to plunder for profit—not for sport—the costly preserves of a landowner; go prepared to murder his keepers if they do their duty and resist the robbery. There is no reason why these men should be punished less severely than burglars or highwaymen. On the other hand, what may be called incidental poaching—the snaring of a hare or a rabbit on a common (where the game belongs to the Lord of the manor) by an ill-fed peasant is a very venial, but a comparatively rare offence. However, the country gentlemen are almost as unreasonable in their passion for game preserving as the Radicals in their sympathy with game stealers, and consequently a game debate in the House reflects little credit on either party. On the present occasion Mr. Bright was silent, and Mr. Forster moderate; argument was felt to be of little value, and the division was the one reason on which each party relied. It went against the poachers, and the matter rests for the session. However, something will have to be done. The best thing would probably be to make game property, and game-stealing larceny—felony if in the night and by gangs of armed men—and deprive it of all exceptional protection. The present absurd distinction between a half-tame pheasant and a domestic fowl leads men to poach who would shrink from absolute and avowed theft, and poachers soon become not merely thieves, but murderers.

A meeting of sympathizers with Poland was held on Tuesday at the Guildhall. The Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Pope Hennessy, M.P., and some other gentlemen, generally of liberal politics, were the speakers. We fear that the cause of Poland will derive no benefit from their sympathy. All expressed the strongest abhorrence of Russian tyranny, and the kindest feeling towards the Poles; but the only practical suggestion offered was that diplomatic relations with Russia should be suspended till Poland was restored to her rights; and nearly all united in deprecating the idea of war. Now in dealing with a power like Russia, and a rebellion like that of Poland, diplomatic intervention can be of no avail unless either the suppression of the insurgents be clearly hopeless, or the intervening States be known to be ready, though only in the last extremity, to resort to force. If the Czar were likely to be affected in any degree by the moral reprobation of Europe, he would never have had recourse to the infamous outrage which provoked the rebellion; and the remonstrances of England and France will be utterly null and void, if he understand that in no case will we go to war. Such intervention can only encourage the Poles to their own destruction.

On Tuesday night—the night of the festival of St. Patrick—the mob of Cork assembled again to do honour to their patron Saint, and break some more windows. It was found necessary to disperse them at the point of the bayonet. The ringleaders were arrested; and, perhaps, by the time they are brought to trial, we may learn what—if anything—was the occasion or object of the riot.

EUROPE.

The most important intelligence from Poland is the assumption of the dictatorship by Langiewicz, and the consequent establishment of a definite visible authority over the insurrection. In the proclamation, in which the hero of the day assumes this authority, he summons all the Poles beneath the Muscovite yoke to join in the struggle, the object of which is avowed to be the expulsion of the "Asiatic barbarians." The dictator points out that, notwithstanding the extremely unfavourable circumstances under which the struggle commenced, although it has been fought throughout against regular troops by a people with "naked hands," it has lasted two months, gains strength, and develops itself with energy. The need of a central power now, he says, makes itself felt, and, although there are better men, he assumes it, to surrender it to the national representatives as soon as the yoke of the Muscovite is shaken off. He confirms the fundamental principles of liberty, expressed in the first manifesto of the Provisional Government of Warsaw, "liberty and political equality for all the sons of Poland, without distinction of belief, condition, or birth, and granting land to the peasants, free of all rents and charges, the proprietors to be indemnified by the State." In pursuance of the functions so assumed, Langiewicz has appointed General Wysocki his military coadjutor, and placed the civil administration in the hands of Poentkowski. He has also issued national bank-notes of the value of two

Polish florins, or one shilling. The Secret Provisional Government of Warsaw has recognised the new dictator, and the country generally has accepted him with enthusiasm. The Poles have shown considerable political tact in the choice of their chief. Mieroslawski, although a very able general, was unpopular as a revolutionist by profession. Langiewicz did, indeed, fight with Garibaldi, but he is a Pole above all. He knows the necessities of the conflict, and he has no desire to peril the cause of Poland by mixing it up with that of revolution generally. Mieroslawski has disappeared. If he is still in Poland he is not at the head of any large body of men.

Far from being superseded, the Archduke Constantine has assumed the whole military and civil power in Poland. He has taken the command of the army, and has left Warsaw for Skierniowice, with the intention, it is presumed, of proceeding to the principal theatre of the war in the south-west.

Most of the independent members of the Council of State have sent in their resignations. The Archbishop of Warsaw has also resigned his seat in that body. This act would apparently indicate that the Moderates, or Whites, have resolved to make common cause with the Reds, and either have abandoned all hopes of sufficient concessions from Russia, or believe that the insurrection is likely to triumph.

The war news from Poland is this week decidedly favourable to the insurgents. The battles between Langiewicz and his lieutenants and the Russians, which we mentioned last week, turn out to have been, upon the whole, Polish victories. The only disaster the Poles have experienced has been an engagement at Losnowicz, in which, at first, completely successful, they were in the end overcome by the large reinforcements which the Russians received, and driven to take refuge in Prussian territory. On the other hand, we hear of a victory gained over the Russians at Myszewo, between Plock and Warsaw, and not very far from the latter city, in which a hundred Russians were killed. The Russians have also sustained several defeats upon the Bug, where it forms the frontier between Congress Poland and Volhynia. Warsaw accounts admit that in one of the engagements the Russians lost two guns, and class them all as defeats. These successes point to a considerable extension of the rebellion in those old provinces of Poland, upon which the Poles now place their reliance. And there are further indications to the same effect. It is announced that even in the distant Government of Minsk—two Governments intervene between it and Congress Poland—the state of siege has been proclaimed. It is confessed by the Russian authorities that a detachment of the National Guard was drawn into an ambush, three miles from Wilna, and lost 250 men; and it is reported from Lemberg that the insurrection has broken out in Podolia, and that several thousand insurgents are posted near Bar. Podolia is at the extreme south-west of the former Polish kingdom, and borders upon Bessarabia and Kherson. If the insurrection has really broken out there in such proportions, the Russian Government will be most seriously embarrassed. May the new confederation at Bar have better fortune than the old one!

In the south-western district, where Langiewicz himself commands, there has been much marching and counter-marching, but no fighting. The insurgents have succeeded in obtaining a large quantity of arms from their friends in Galicia; they are even said—but the story is, we fear, too good to be true—to have got possession of 6,000 muskets, which were being clandestinely forwarded from Russia through the Danubian Principalities, to aid the rebellious subjects of Turkey. Whilst the insurgents have been strengthening themselves in this way, and Langiewicz, according to different accounts, finds himself at the head of from 8,000 to 18,000 men, the Russians at Olkusz, Miechow, and Wolbrom have been receiving large reinforcements. A great battle is apparently imminent. Langiewicz was, at the latest advices, posted at Dzialosice, in the immediate neighbourhood of Miechow, the Russian head-quarters, and not many hours could elapse without an engagement.

Every day brings some fresh tale of Russian brutality. The Russian officers have lost all power over their men, and in vain attempt to protect the lives and property of unoffending persons. The ravages of this war, and when it may, cannot be repaired in a generation.

The report of the committee of the French Senate upon the Polish petitions proposes to leave the question to the wisdom of the Emperor, and pass to the order of the day. The reporter, M. Larabit, after describing the success of the insurrection, and stigmatising the conduct of the Russian Government, points out that the

petitions which call for war, tends to nothing else than a French crusade on behalf of Poland, wishes in which the Senate cannot unite. "England," he observes, and with justice, if the language of the Government organs can be taken to represent England, "appears to wish by excitement, more or less sincere, to drive us into a war in which her Government would not follow us." The explanations which the minister "without portfolio" made to the committee, satisfied it that the whole question had from the very first secured the attention of the Government, which had shown a very active and sincere sympathy with Poland. In presence, therefore, of the negotiations which have been opened, and in the conviction that the Emperor's Government will do all that is just, possible, and politic for Poland, a reference of the petitions to the ministers is, the reporter concludes, neither necessary nor justified. The debate upon this report commenced on Tuesday. MM. Bonjean and Poniowski—the latter, naturally enough—opposed the conclusion of the committee, and the former talked about remodelling the map of Europe. M. de la Guéronnière, a much more important person, supported the committee.

The diplomatic documents which have been laid before the Senate fully justify the conclusions of M. Larabit. The French Government has shown itself extremely anxious to do something for the cause of Poland. It feels, however, the immense difficulties that stand in the way of any effective interposition. The Prussian Convention seemed to offer it an opportunity of speaking frankly and usefully. The language used by the British Ministers and communications from Vienna, led it to believe that England and Austria, both regarding the convention as an act which transformed a local disturbance into a European and international question, and both disapproving very strongly of it, would be willing to join in common representation at Berlin, and it consequently made a proposal to that effect to both those Courts. Both declined. The French Minister then addressed, on the 17th of February to Baron Talleyrand, the Imperial Ambassador at Berlin, a despatch—one of those now published—in which he criticises very severely the conduct of the Prussian Government. He points out that neutrality was the obvious interest of Prussia—the greater the reserve she had shown the more she would have succeeded in circumscribing and neutralising the influence of the struggle upon Posen, whilst the effects of the arrangement are to create real dangers where none existed. "By interfering," he says, "the Cabinet of Berlin accepted the responsibility of the measures of repression adopted by Russia, and invited the separate members of the Polish nation to oppose their union to that of their Governments, to attempt, in a word, a national insurrection; and whilst it gratuitously threw itself into grave embarrassments, it created a situation which, from this day, will be a cause of inquietude, and may become a source of complication for the Cabinets."

On the following day, M. Drouyn de Lhuys addressed a despatch to the Duke de Montebello, at St. Petersburg, not very precise in its terms, and not distinctly asking anything of, or suggesting anything to, the Czar. It refers to the power which the Polish question has of exciting the sympathy of all classes of the French people, hints at the danger that the pressure of public feeling may become irresistible, and refers to some conversations with the Baron de Budberg, in which the French minister, doubtless, gave some indication of what measures would, in his opinion, satisfy the French feeling.

The last document of the series is a circular, dated 1st of March, to the French agents abroad, in which M. Drouyn de Lhuys recapitulates the steps which he has taken in the question, and intimates that France is desirous of acting in conjunction with the other Powers.

Some excitement has been created in Paris by a statement in the *Constitutionnel*, that the camp of Chalons would assemble between the 20th and 31st March, or two months earlier than usual. The *Moniteur*, however, immediately denied the accuracy of the announcement. Rumours of a similar character are still floating about Paris.

The *Cologne Gazette* and *La France* affirm that Earl Russell, although refusing to act in concert with France, has addressed a despatch to all the Powers, signatories of the Treaty of Vienna, stating that the present condition of Poland demands diplomatic intervention, to require from Russia the full and entire execution of the first article of the final Act of the Treaty of Vienna of June, 1815. According to one account his Lordship goes even further, and asks for the Poles everything that the Czar Alexander at any time promised the n. Alexander, it is known, was very liberal in these promises, and undoubtedly led the Poles to expect a great deal more than the treaty secured them. The statement that some

despatch, calling for common action, has been sent by Earl Russell, seems to be authentic enough. In a few days the *Cologne Gazette* will, probably, publish a German translation, and a month afterwards Earl Russell will think fit to acquaint the British public with what he has been doing in its name.

The *Staats Anzeiger*, the official journal of Prussia, declares that England is the only one of the great Powers which has adopted the form of a despatch to express its objection, to the Convention. The statement may be accepted as a proof that the English Government did send a despatch to Berlin on the subject. The despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Baron Talleyrand, which we have elsewhere described, shows that the *Staats Anzeiger* was either very ignorant or very impudent in describing the English as the only despatch objecting to the Convention.

The Committee of the Prussian House of Deputies upon Military Reorganization is engaged in discussing some amendments proposed to the project of the Government by Herr von Forckenbeck in the name of the liberal fractions. The result of the amendments, which establish a provisional system until a general law can be framed, would be to secure the two years' term of actual service, and to render the army a more popular body. At the same time, the proposers and some other military authorities affirm that they would give the King a much more effective army. The Government is not disposed to accept these amendments. It will continue to let the King have precisely the army he pleases, by disregarding the Constitution, and governing without a budget as long as possible.

Signor Minghetti has lost no time in availing himself of the authority given him by the Italian Parliament to raise a loan. The larger portion has been taken by the Rothschilds, but three millions sterling are offered for public subscription in London, and the same sum in Paris. The price at which the loan is nominally issued is 71, but the allowances bring it down to about 69. The Italian Government only asks for 500 million livres now, retaining the power to ask for the other 200 million at any time it may deem fit. No doubt Signor Minghetti has done the best he could, but we should think that the conviction that another loan will be thrust upon the market in a short time is calculated to keep Italian stocks at even a lower price than that to which the enormous and rapid increase of national indebtedness must naturally drive them.

King Victor Emmanuel has reduced the sentences upon the soldiers compromised in the last Garibaldian rising to twenty years of *travaux forcés*. They were condemned for life. In a little time another act of the same royal clemency will, we should hope, annul the sentences altogether. The poor fellows, no doubt, committed a grievous offence, but they had the very best grounds for believing that they were acting in accordance with the real wishes of the Sovereign. And after a full and complete amnesty to the leader in the movement, it is not fair to enforce all the rigour of the law against his followers.

Sicily is far from quiet yet. A conspiracy, of which the Minister of the Interior gives this singular description, that it was partly of a Bourbon and partly of a Mazzinian character, has been discovered in Palermo, and numerous arrests have been made in consequence. The names of the victims—for a man thrust into the infamous prisons of Palermo must be deemed a victim, however great his offence—seem to show that the Mazzinian element was the leading one: the editors of the *Unità Politica* and the *Aspromonte*—titles with a meaning in them—are amongst the prisoners. Palermo is, according to the official report, which those who like can believe, "perfectly quiet."

The Greek National Assembly has appointed a committee to confer with the Ministers upon the question of electing a king. We hope something may result from these conferences, but there seems little chance of it. The Greeks must wait for Earl Russell's nominee, and Earl Russell, as the debate in the House of Commons has shown, is at his wits' ends to find one, and yet will not allow the Greeks to look out for one for themselves. In some parts of the country the people are so tired of an interregnum which amounts to complete anarchy, that they are even crying for Otho back.

Prince Couza has added another to the many griefs of the Moldo-Wallachian Assembly. He has responded to their address—in which, amongst other reproaches directed against his Government, they complained that the Chamber had been dissolved five times in the last four years—by a message which, after scolding them quite as heartily as they had chided him, he dissolved the Assembly.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The adjourned debate on the second reading of the Great Eastern Railway Bill, proposing an extension through the city, and the occupation of Finsbury Circus by the terminal station, was resumed by the Earl of Shaftesbury. He moved that the Bill should be read that day six months. — Lord Granville moved the adjournment of the debate for a fortnight, which was agreed to.

THURSDAY, MARCH 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to General Buckley, Sir George Grey said that the Government had not yet considered the propriety of amalgamating the City and Metropolitan police.

In answer to Mr. Stanley, the President of the Poor Law Board stated the guardians had power to raise money for the emigration of paupers.

In reply to Mr. Hennessy, Sir George Grey stated that he had that evening laid upon the table of the House the note of the Russian Ambassador, communicating the desire of the Grand Duke Constantine, Governor-general of Poland, that some officers of our Metropolitan police force should be sent to Poland. He had to add that he would also produce a report of the police officers who had, in consequence of that application, been sent to that country, so that all the facts of the case would become known to the public.

Mr. Lindsay moved, on the order for going into Committee of Supply, that it is not expedient at the present time to build wooden ships to be covered with iron-plates. Government intends to build five such ships. Mr. Lindsay's arguments went to show that it would be better to build ships entirely of iron. He argued that good iron was to be had at a fair price, and that though iron ships did get foul, they were easily cleaned. They could be made perfectly invulnerable, and they were far stronger than wooden vessels. Experience showed, too, that there was no greater danger from splinters in iron than in wooden ships. As a shipowner, not a ship-builder, he vindicated the conduct of the contractors against the imputations cast upon them by the Admiralty. Lord Clarence Paget showed that we were building fewer iron ships than France. It was absolutely necessary to use wood in iron ships, in order to resist shot. A very great difference of opinion existed as to the comparative effectiveness of iron and wooden frames for armour-plated ships. He explained the difficulty between the contractors and the Government, arising out of the uncertainty of official requirements. At present, it was impossible to tell what form of iron-plated ships would be best. He knew, however, that wooden ships plated with armour would be useful, and as they could be built much more quickly and cheaply than iron ships, Government intended to build some while waiting to see what was the best form in which permanently to construct our Navy. — Lord Palmerston said it appeared to him that the hon. member for Sunderland, who sought to reconstruct our Navy, ought to have included in his resolution a proposal to reconstruct the Admiralty likewise. The Government were not by any means indisposed to construct iron-clad ships clad with armour; and the fact was that we had eleven of those ships, of which not less than ten were built in private yards, the Achilles being the only one of the number constructed by the Admiralty officials. There could be no doubt that iron ships were liable to a special disadvantage from the rapidity with which their bottoms became fouled, and from their consequent loss of speed; and that disadvantage must operate more extensively in the case of men of war than of merchant vessels, inasmuch as men of war were often detained at distant stations, where it was impossible they could undergo a cleansing. The adoption of that resolution would tie up the hands of the Government, and would turn the House into a committee on shipping—a position for which they were necessarily unfitted. He hoped, therefore, that in that matter they would leave to the Government the discretion that properly belonged to them. — Mr. Bouverie said that the Admiralty did not possess the means of constructing armour-clad iron ships; and such vessels could only be built by private contractors. But it would, he thought, be most unwise to leave the country entirely at the mercy of private individuals in a matter of that importance. The House then divided, and the resolution was negatived by 164 votes to 81. Some other business was then transacted, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lords sat for a short time, and read a second time the Bill for the Registration of Births and Deaths in Ireland, sent up from the House of Commons; but no discussion of any interest took place.—Some formal business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Sir De Lacy Evans brought under the consideration of the House the expediency of amalgamating the Metropolitan and City of London police establishments. The hon. and gallant member said it was well known that the Royal procession on Saturday last had been seriously and dangerously interrupted in the City, and that on the night of the illuminations eight persons at least had been crushed to death in the same part of the metropolis; while along all the other portions of the line the procession had passed on freely, and not a single life had been lost during the illuminations. These facts, he thought, afforded a special reason for effecting that amalgamation of the two police establishments, which was equally called for by general considerations of public expediency.—The Lord Mayor said that the failure of the

police arrangements on Saturday had arisen out of a series of extraordinary conjunctures. In the first place, the City commissioner of police had died only a week before the great popular demonstration of Saturday. Then, again, the whole pressure of that demonstration had been thrown upon the City police. And, further, an additional source of confusion had been created by the passage of van loads of the metropolitan police along the great City thoroughfares in the course of the morning. It had been stated that an offer of assistance had for that occasion been made by the chief commissioner of the metropolitan police to the City authorities; but there was no truth in that rumour; and he had to add that the only aid they had received from the military authorities consisted in the presence of a number of men of the mounted artillery, who, in consequence of the large loose trappings worn by their horses were necessarily ill-fitted for such a service. The Volunteers, too, had contributed by their movements to complicate the difficulty. The City authorities had given orders that the Volunteers should form mere ornamental portions of the spectacle, and that they should take no part in keeping the line of the procession; and the fact was that they had only stood in the way throughout the day. He submitted to the House that circumstances of this exceptional character would not justify them in deciding that the citizens of London should be deprived of the control they had hitherto exercised over their own police. He had heard some of her Majesty's judges state—and they were unexceptional authorities upon such a point—that the City police contrasted very favourably with the corresponding metropolitan force by their steadiness, activity, and reliability. The City authorities, however, felt that there were circumstances in the scene of Saturday last which called for careful inquiry, and that inquiry was at present being prosecuted. With regard to the great loss of life which had most unhappily taken place at the illuminations, he should express his belief that no police arrangements could have prevented that lamentable calamity.—Lord A. Paget said that as he had been in attendance upon the Royal party on Saturday, he wished to offer a few observations to the House in reference to the progress of the procession. He had to state, in the first place, that nothing could be more admirable than the conduct of the people upon that occasion—he would not call them the mob, for they were not a mob; they had done all they could to facilitate the advance of the carriages, and he had not heard a single angry word from any of them. But a scene of great confusion had prevailed along the whole line of the procession in the City, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Mansion House. The fact was, that the police had been so few in numbers at that point that they had been completely overwhelmed, and there was no doubt that "a very tremendous squash" had been the result. Some of the crowd had got up on the Royal carriage, and others had been driven between the leaders and the wheelers. But the moment the procession arrived at the other side of Temple Bar, he had felt like an Arctic navigator who, after having been tossed among the icebergs, at length saw clear water ahead. He had told the Lord Mayor in the course of the morning that he was sure his Lordship could easily receive from the Horse Guards or the heads of the metropolitan police any assistance for maintaining the line of procession which he might require; but that statement had not been made by him in any official capacity.—After a few words from Colonel F. French and Mr. Ayrton, Sir G. Grey said there could be no doubt that the Royal procession on Saturday, which had passed readily through all the other portions of the metropolis, had met with a serious obstruction in the City. He believed that the City police was sufficient for its ordinary duties, but that it was not sufficiently numerous to meet such a pressure as that which it had to encounter on Saturday last. He thought it would be wrong for him to say at once that there should be an amalgamation of the City and the metropolitan police establishments. But he felt persuaded that there should be such an alteration of the existing law upon that subject as would enable the City authorities to supply a sufficient force for extraordinary occasions. With regard to the loss of life which had taken place at the illuminations, he had to state that he did not think any persons in authority were to blame for that unhappy occurrence. He had further to inform the House that her Majesty felt the deepest regret for that calamity; and that she had commanded him to convey the expression of her earnest sympathy to the families of the sufferers.—

Colonel Sykes asked a question concerning the dismissal of an English officer in the Chinese service.—Mr. Stirling said that the French press had spoken very severely of Earl Russell's conduct in regard to the offer of an asylum to the Pope, and had denied the truth of the noble Lord's statements. He wished for a precise explanation of the facts.—Mr. H. Seymour called attention to the collisions that have taken place in Japan, and complained of the inexperience of our representatives there.—Mr. Layard explained the accident referred to by Colonel Sykes. He vindicated the conduct of our representatives in Japan, observing that, as diplomatic relations with that country had only existed for a short time, they were necessarily without loyal experience. He said that it was impossible to produce correspondence relating to private conversations between Mr. Odo Russell and the Pope. But the substance of the report of Mr. Odo Russell was set forth in the despatch of Earl Russell of the 29th of January, which had been laid before the House.—Sir G. Bowyer said that the Pope in his conversation with Mr. Odo Russell had alluded in a mere casual way to the possibility of his seeking a refuge on British territory. It was evident that too much importance had been attached to that statement.—Mr. Layard said that the relations of Mr. Odo Russell with the authorities at Rome had again become as satisfactory as they

had been at any previous period.—Mr. H. Russell said that, as the brother of Mr. Odo Russell, he wished to take that opportunity of observing that the position of an English agent at Rome was one of a very peculiar and difficult description, inasmuch as he represented a policy directly opposed to that of France, which exercised an overruling influence in that city. In his opinion the best course for this country to pursue would be to have as little as possible to do with the Pope. The House then went into Committee of Supply, and some time was spent in the discussion of the Army Estimates. On the proposed vote of £5,709,733 for general staff and regimental pay, allowances, and charges, Lord R. Cecil referred to the French "blue book" just published, which contains the accounts of the expenditure of the French army, and showed from those accounts that if our War Office were to practise the same economy as the corresponding department in France, it would be possible, without diminishing the pay or allowances of the men, to effect a reduction of £3,000,000 in our military estimates. Sir G. C. Lewis denied the correctness of this statement, and the fairness of the comparison. The vote was passed, as were several others. The House resumed, transacted some formal business, and adjourned at ten minutes past 12.

MONDAY, MARCH 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Bill to continue the Act of last session for the relief of the distressed Unions in Lancashire, and a Bill to prevent the sale or exportation of salmon during the season when salmon fishing is forbidden, was read a second time. No discussion of any interest took place, and the sitting scarcely lasted half-an-hour.

MONDAY, MARCH 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Baillie Cochrane—the orders of the day being suspended his favour—called attention to the affairs of Greece.—Mr. Gregory followed. He thought that Prince Alfred would not have been a suitable king for Greece, and that his acceptance of that high office would not have been consistent with English interests. He did not agree with Mr. Cochrane's censures of the policy of the Foreign Office; but he wanted to know why, whenever an unusual diplomatic difficulty occurred, an Elliot was always sent out, if possible, to supersede our regular Minister? He expressed strong sympathy with the Greeks, and condemned the traditional policy pursued by England of upholding the Ottoman empire.—Mr. Monckton Milnes—one of the most eminent of the unofficial members of the Whig party, generally appealed to in party difficulties as a sure supporter of Lord Palmerston—said that he did not doubt the good intentions of the Ministry towards Greece, but that he did not admire the manner in which those intentions had been carried out. It was unfair to Greece to bind her by the protocol excluding the reigning families of the three Powers, and thereby deprive her of many of the most suitable candidates. It was unwise to allow names of other candidates to be mentioned till it was known that they would accept the crown. He thought it most unfortunate that the Greeks were precluded from choosing where they were most likely to find experience, intelligence, and good faith in their future sovereign.—Mr. Layard explained that the English Government could not bind itself to refuse the throne for Prince Alfred, till Russia made a similar engagement as regarded the Duke of Leuchtenberg; otherwise, we should have no diplomatic hold on Russia.—Lord Palmerston said he had been curious to know what could be the ground upon which Mr. Cochrane could have founded an attack upon the Government. There had been personal attacks upon Earl Russell, who could afford to be perfectly indifferent to them. One or two things appeared to have grievously weighed upon the minds of those who took the same view as Mr. Cochrane—first, that the Greeks had exhibited such unanimity in the desire to elect an English Prince, and that they were not informed at once that Prince Alfred could not be their King. But they were told so at the earliest moment. Then it was said that when they were so told, and they went on to elect the Prince, our Minister was instructed not to interfere. But were Mr. Scarlett and Mr. Elliott to have gone about among the electors and told them not to elect the Prince? Had this been done, the interference would have been blamed as indecent. Then it was said the Greeks had been neglected by the British Government; but the Government had lost no time in endeavouring to secure an acceptable candidate for the Crown of Greece; it was for the Greeks themselves to choose; the British Government could only suggest a choice. He was, therefore, at a loss to know in what respect their conduct, which had been frank and straightforward from the beginning, was open to blame. The motion was withdrawn.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Peers sat for a short time, but no discussion of any interest took place.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A Mr. Somes asked leave to introduce a Bill to close public-houses entirely on Sundays.—Sir G. Grey would not oppose the introduction, but reserved to himself the right to resist the second reading.—Mr. Barnes, of Leeds, the ablest advocate of the Dis-senters in the House, supported the motion.—Mr. Roebuck gave notice that, if the second reading were carried, he should move to close all clubs on Sunday.—Leave was given by 141 to 52.

Mr. W. E. Forster moved the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the operation of the Game Laws. The House divided:—Ayes, 157; Noes, 176. So the motion was lost.

Mr. Roebuck moved for returns concerning changes of surname by Royal license. The Solicitor-General supported and confirmed the views of Sir G. Grey. The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Cowper obtained leave to bring in a bill for the embankment of part of the river Thames on the south side thereof, in the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, and for other purposes.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Dr. Brady moved the second reading of a Bill to prevent persons suffering under infectious diseases from being taken to the hospitals in cabs.—Several members objected to the Bill. Sir G. Grey said he thought it altogether injudicious.—After some discussion the second reading was postponed to the 27th May. The House adjourned at twenty minutes past one in the afternoon.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, March 18.

The improved tone that characterised our cotton market at the close of our last report, has this week been followed by some excitement and a considerable advance in prices.

On Thursday a fair business was done at very firm rates.

On Friday the market became very strong on receipt of a good Manchester report, and news of a large business going on there at enhanced prices; this on Saturday, together with receipt of Bombay telegrams, reporting an advance of 9d. to 1s. per piece in shirtings, led to considerable excitement, and the sales were run up to 12,000 bales, buyers freely paying an irregular advance of ¼d. to ½d. per lb.

On Monday the excitement continued, and with sales of 15,000 bales, a further advance of ¼d. was established; the trade, however, failed to respond to the extent anticipated, and the bulk of the business was done by speculators and exporters. The demand on Tuesday was again large, at very firm prices, and the sales resulted in 10,000 bales.

To-day, however, the demand has again fallen off; 6,000 bales only have been sold, and at the close sellers show more disposition to meet the market. We quote Middling Bowdles 21½d., Middling Orleans 22d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar 18½d., Fair Broach 17½d., and Fair Dhollerah 17½d.

The chief item of interest in the American news is the great decline in the price of gold, which in two days had fallen 15 per cent., owing to action in Congress. At Charleston the defences were still being increased, and an immediate attack seemed improbable. The most important war news will now come from Vicksburg, where a desperate struggle was hourly impending; there were rumours of a Federal victory at latest dates, and also of a disastrous Federal defeat.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, March 17.

For the first time since September last, we have to report a very large business as having been done in this market, both in yarn and cloth, owing to letters from India advising a large amount of sales at advancing prices, showing a considerable profit, and to the receipt of further telegrams from Calcutta, dated 26th, and Bombay dated the 27th ult., reporting an excited market at a further advance of from 6d. to 12d. per piece on shirtings during the fortnight, also to the general belief here that the struggle in America will continue for some long time to come.

The demand for Mule yarns suitable for India has been very great, and notwithstanding that the stocks of Nos. 40, 50, and 60 in bundle, were large, they have been pretty generally cleared off at an advance of fully 1d. per lb. on the previous week's quotations.

Cloths of all kinds have partaken of the excitement, but the demand has been chiefly for shirtings, mulls and jaconets, for shipment to India. Shirtings of all weights have been sold at an advance of from 6d. to 1s. per piece, and jaconets from 1½d. to 3d. per piece.

Some considerable business has also been done in Tanjibs and narrow T. cloths, for the Levant.

The German buyers have taken more freely of 16s to 24s and 30s water twist, but as the prices offered were rather low, spinners were very loth to respond to them in the face of excitement in the Liverpool cotton market.

Home trade yarns from 32s to 40s twist and pie-cops have been also in demand, and up to Monday an advance of 1½d. per lb. on the quotations of the previous Friday was obtained. In Bolton spinnings from 60s upwards, there has not been as much business effected as there might have been, owing to the advance required by holders.

To-day our market has been in an excited state, but not much actual business has resulted, the prices asked putting a check on buyers.

CONFEDERATE FINANCES.

REPORT OF THE CONFEDERATE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT C. S. A.

Richmond, January 10th, 1863.

Hon. T. S. Bocock, Speaker of the

House of Representatives, C. S. A.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit the following report of the condition of this Department.

The statements for the last year were made up to the 18th of February, 1862, the termination of the Provisional Government. From the commencement of the Permanent Government to the 31st of December, 1862, the receipts and expenditure were as follows:—

RECEIPTS.	
Patent Fund	\$13,920
Customs	668,566
Miscellaneous	2,291,812
Repayment of disbursing officers	3,839,268
Interest on loans	26,583
Call loan certificates	59,742,796
One hundred million loan	41,338,286
Treasury notes	215,554,885
Interest-bearing notes	113,840,000
War-tax	16,664,513
Loan, 28th February, 1861	1,375,276
Coin received from Bank of Louisiana	2,539,799
	<hr/> \$457,855,704

EXPENDITURE.	
War Department	341,011,754
Navy Department	29,559,283
Civil, miscellaneous, foreign intercourse, and customs	13,673,376

PUBLIC DEBT.	
Interest on public debt (loans)	5,892,989
Payment of Treasury notes, Act of 9th March, 1861—	
Principal	545,900
Interest	20,860
	<hr/> 566,761
Redemption of 6 per cent. certificates	11,516,400
Redemption of Treasury notes called in for cancellation and reimbursement of principal, under Act of May 16th, 1861	23,751,172
	<hr/> 41,277,322
	<hr/> \$416,971,735

Brought forward	\$416,971,735
Add balance against the Treasury on 18th of February, 1862	26,439,572
	<hr/> \$443,411,307
Amount of receipts	457,855,704
Deduct amount of expenditure	443,411,307
	<hr/> Balance \$14,444,397

This balance consists in part of the coin on hand, received from the bank of Louisiana, and the remainder in interest-bearing Treasury notes.

The appropriations made by Congress, and not yet drawn from the Treasury, are as follows:—

Civil and miscellaneous	\$10,925,049
War Department	57,865,879
Customs	896,612
Navy Department	12,692,373
	<hr/> Amount \$81,879,913

The estimates for the support of the Government to the 1st of July, the end of the fiscal year, are as follows:—

Legislative	\$231,600
Executive (salary of President, &c.)	13,471
Treasury Department	29,929,697
War	242,977,067
Navy	16,948,870
State	150,253
Department of Justice	172,632
Post-office Department	60,123
Miscellaneous	10,000
	<hr/> \$290,493,713

In order to ascertain the amount to be raised by Congress, we must add:—

1. The estimates	290,493,713
2. Undrawn appropriations	81,879,913
	<hr/> \$372,373,626
And deduct the balance in the Treasury of	14,444,397
	<hr/> Leaving amount to be raised \$357,929,229

The debt of the Government at the same date was as follows:—

BONDS AND STOCKS.	
Under Act of February 28, 1861	14,987,000
Under Act of May 16, 1861	6,414,800
Under Act of August 19, 1861	67,584,100
Deposit certificates under Act Dec. 24, 1861:—	
Issued	89,005,370
Redeemed	12,516,400
	<hr/> 66,488,970
	<hr/> \$145,476,870

TREASURY NOTES.	
8.63 notes	992,000
Two years' notes	10,919,025
General currency	272,022,467
7.36 notes	120,480,000
\$1 and \$2 notes	6,216,200
	<hr/> 410,629,692
	<hr/> \$556,106,562

In the above statement is contained a large amount of bonds and interest-bearing notes, which are on hand in the various depositories not yet issued. It is important to bear this in mind in estimating the effect of the Act of the last session upon funding Treasury notes. The loans in which such notes are funded, are those mentioned in the schedule as loans of May 16 and August 19. The amount of these loans as reported at the last meeting of Congress was on the 1st of August, \$41,577,250.

By the statement now reported, the total amount of these bonds is	\$73,999,400
From which should be deducted amount on hand not yet disposed of, say	8,000,000
	<hr/> 65,999,400

And in order to ascertain the amount of Treasury notes funded, there must be deducted for the bonds issued for produce, say

	7,000,000
	<hr/> \$58,999,400
Deduct amount reported 1st August	41,577,250
	<hr/> Balance \$17,422,150

This balance shows the amount of Treasury notes funded in five months, the average being about three and a half millions per month.

During the same period the interest-bearing Treasury notes have increased

from	\$22,799,900
To	120,480,000
	<hr/> Increase \$97,680,100
From which deduct notes on hand	11,004,600
	<hr/> Real increase \$86,675,500

This large increase of interest-bearing notes affords satisfactory evidence that the issue of them was a judicious measure; and for any ordinary war the bonds and interest notes, amounting together to a monthly sale of twenty and a half millions, would have sustained the Government without any resort to paper currency. But the estimates call for more than twice the amounts furnished by these resources; and we are compelled to resort to the Treasury notes to supply the deficiency. It becomes, then, a most important inquiry whether the issue of such notes can be continued, and if it can, then to what extent?

In a former report it was shown that the circulation of the Confederate States before the war might be estimated at 150 millions of dollars. In the existing state of things, it is probable that a larger amount of currency is required. In time of peace, money passes rapidly from hand to hand, and the same money, in a single day, will discharge many obligations. A large portion, too, of the operations of business are performed

by bills of exchange and bank checks. In the present stagnation of commerce and intercourse, larger amounts of ready money are kept on hand by each individual, and the Confederate Treasury notes and call certificates are used as a substitute for bills and drafts to a considerable extent. If this view be just, we may venture to add as much as 50 per cent. to the usual amounts of currency, and this would raise the sum total at which it might stand, to 150 millions. The difference between this sum and the actual circulation will show the redundancy. The actual circulation embraces not only Treasury notes but bank notes and State emissions of Treasury notes. In ordinary times coin would also form a part; but, at present, not only the coin but a large portion of the bank notes have been withdrawn from circulation.

The issue of Treasury notes on the last day of December amounted to \$299,149,692, exclusive of interest-bearing notes. By adding to this a sufficient amount to cover the State Treasury notes and the bank notes in circulation, we can arrive at the sum total of the currency. Twenty millions added to the Treasury notes would probably represent the whole.

It is this aggregate which must be kept in view when we deal with the currency as a measure of values. It is the whole mass as it is accepted by the community in exchange for its various commodities, which by its proportional relations to those commodities determines their prices. By a law as invariable as any law of physical nature, these prices rise or fall with the actual volume of the whole currency. Neither skill nor power can vary the result. It is, in fact, a relation subsisting between two numbers, the one representing the total values of property, and the other the total circulating medium. The nature of that medium cannot change it. It would exist with a currency of gold with as much certainty as with one of paper, if the gold were kept within the country by restraints equal to those which retain the paper.

Assuming, then, that entire confidence exists in our currency, the mere fact that its actual volume had been increased threefold would lead us to expect a corresponding increase in prices. Such increase, although eventually certain, does not usually appear at the same moment with the expansion. Like the moon's attraction upon the ocean, the time of high water is postponed for a certain period beyond the moment at which the influence has been exerted, and the length of the interval is affected by exceptional causes. But although there may be delay, the event is certain. Prices will reach the height adjusted by the scale of issues, and they can only be restored to their usual condition by a return to the normal standard of currency. In other words, the only remedy for an inflated currency is a reduction of the circulating medium. Is this reduction practicable?

Before answering this question it is important we should be fully assured of the excessive issue of paper currency. If the country were open to foreign intercourse, the difference in value between coin and paper money would at once afford a test. But in the present condition of trade, coin cannot be imported, and gold and silver have become articles of commerce like iron and lead. They cannot, therefore, take their usual place as absolute measures of value.

Difficulties, somewhat of the same kind, attended other tests, such as bills of exchange, real estate, or commodities in general use, and of which there is no scarcity. Ordinarily, the average price of wheat, grain and other like articles of prime necessity would furnish a guide. But the want of transportation causes a fluctuation of demand and supply from day to day, and thus deranges prices. Making all due allowances for fluctuation, we find that the present prices of such articles range at nearly three times the usual peace prices. Notwithstanding the interruption of commerce, we find also, that the foreign exchanges, and even coin, stand at nearly the same rate. Reasons of a different character, but of equal force, apply to real estate and prevent its price from being a proper guide. The general increase, however, in its nominal value confirms the conclusions deduced from the other tests. These facts unite in establishing, beyond doubt, both the actual redundancy of the currency and its probable rate of excess.

The remedy which is required, in order to be effective, must, therefore, withdraw two-thirds of the entire volume of the currency.

The measures already adopted by Congress were intended to act in this direction. The Treasury notes were all made fundable originally in 8 per cent. securities, and it was supposed that the holders of notes would prefer investing them in bonds, rather than hold them when depreciated. To stimulate investments, the holders have been notified by the act of last session that after the 22nd of April they can no longer invest in 8 per cent. securities. These measures, although judicious and well-defined, are overpowered by the necessity which compels the Government to increase its issues. Notwithstanding the large and daily investments in bonds the currency continues rapidly to grow in quantity. This increase causes a daily advance in prices, and the necessities of the Government compel it to purchase at these prices. The payment of enhanced prices again compels a further increase in these issues, and an ascending series of action and reaction is thus established between prices and issues, which, if not arrested, must result in consequences disastrous to the best interests of the country.

These effects are hastened by the injurious operation of the excess of currency upon the bonds of the Government. These bonds are offered as absorbents for the Treasury notes, and the high rate of interest which they bear is the inducement to take them. In our present circumstances this interest must be paid in Treasury notes. By depreciating these notes the interest suffers equal depreciation, and an 8 per cent. bond becomes, in effect, a 4 or 3 per cent., according to the sale of issues of Treasury notes. The inducement to take the bonds is thus destroyed, and the bonds themselves cease to afford relief to the currency. They offer still less inducement to any foreign purchaser, because he is informed by the rate of exchange that his interest will be paid in a currency which must be exchanged for his own at the rate of three dollars for one. It is plain, therefore, that the change required is a prompt reduction of the currency to its normal condition. The question recurs, is this practicable?

At the last session of Congress an effort was made to attain this result by the proposal for a loan of one-fifth of all gross income, to be paid in Treasury notes in exchange for bonds at an early period, and would thus have checked the advance of prices. It is the misfortune of every such failure that it leaves the evils increasing at a double ratio; and subsequent remedies must be so much the more stringent. All the causes of excess continue in full operation. Prices increase, the Government is compelled to purchase, and the purchases must be paid by new issues. Each new operation aggravates the disease, and hesitation or delay is ruinous.

The conditions, then, which any sufficient remedy must fulfil, are, first, prompt, and secondly, effective reduction. To be effective, the currency must be reduced at least to 150 millions, already shown to be its extreme limit; and this reduction must

be so prompt as to take effect before prices can undergo further increase.

To meet these conditions, I would respectfully propose that after the lapse of a reasonable time, the issues of Treasury notes, bearing date prior to the 1st of December, 1862, shall cease to be currency. This can be done with the least possible injury by following up the action of Congress at the last session, and fixing a period of limitation for funding these notes.

As the law now stands, these notes are receivable for Government dues; and the holder is entitled to fund them in 8 per cent. securities until the 22nd of April next, after which date he can fund in 7 per cent. I propose simply to fix a period of limitation for the exercise of this last-mentioned privilege, by enacting, that after the 1st of July next the privilege of funding these notes shall cease. Six months have already been allowed for investment in 8 per cent. securities, according to the contract on the face of the note. Two months more will be allowed for investment in 7 per cent., and if after so long a notice the holders do not choose to avail themselves of their privilege, the good faith of the Government will stand clear of imputation.

But it is essential to good faith that ample means should be provided by the Government to secure and pay the principal and interest of the securities in which the holders are required to invest. This can only be effected by an ample and permanent tax. Such a tax is the corner stone of the whole fabric. Without it, the scheme has no foundation, and can secure neither public confidence nor success. The proper extent of this tax will hereafter be considered. It is sufficient for the present to affirm that it must, at least, pay the interest on the entire public debt.

To give completeness to the plan, it would seem proper to provide measures for any future redundancy. We are happily relieved from this necessity by the patriotic proposal of several of the States to guarantee the whole or a large portion of the war debt of this Government. If all the States can be induced promptly to adopt this measure, means will thereby be furnished to absorb any excess of the new issue over the proper amount of currency. The guarantee of the States will enable this Government to reduce the interest of its bonds to 6 per cent., and if the States can be prevailed upon to extend the guarantee so as to cover the whole war debt, or at least four or five hundred millions thereof, the saving in interest will be so great as to enable the Government, in due time, to extinguish the whole principal of its debt. Upon a debt of 500 millions, this saving will be just ten millions. The ability to apply this amount to the principal instead of the interest affords such obvious advantages as to ensure the favourable consideration of both Congress and of the States.

An analysis of the scheme proposed will reduce it to three essential features:—

1.—A limitation upon the privilege of funding the notes issued prior to 1st of December.

2.—A war tax.

3.—A guarantee by the States.

1.—In considering the first of these features, the first inquiry which suggests itself is, what will be the effect of this limitation? Will it arrest the circulation of the notes, and lessen the volume of currency?

Its first effect will certainly be to add another stimulant to investment in bonds. It was unfortunate that the act of the last session postponed the change of interest for six months. The delay has deprived the remedy of much of its efficacy, and good faith requires that at least sixty days should be allowed for its operation. Otherwise, I would have proposed to limit the funding privilege to the 1st of May, instead of the 1st of July. The effect of the stimulant is thus retarded. Still, the fact that there is a period of limitation will induce holders to come in before it expires. Those who desire to secure 8 per cent. securities will come in before the 22nd of April, or hold up until near that day the notes which secure that right, and all who can will come in before the 1st of July, to save the final exclusion. It is probable, therefore, that throughout the entire period an amount will be withdrawn sufficient to check any rapid advance in the total amount of circulation.

But when the final date of limitation approaches, the notes will not pass readily from hand to hand; and the result will be that they are thrown out of ordinary circulation and relieve the currency to that extent. The comparatively small amount then left in the hands of individuals will cease to have a purchasing power. They will pass only by special contract, and their chief value will consist in their being receivable for Government dues. If at this point the Government will collect a tax sufficient to absorb the whole remnant, the relief afforded to the community and the currency will be made complete.

Hitherto the policy of the Government has sought to absorb the circulation by inducements alone. Bonds at a high rate of interest have been offered; but the inducement has been abated by the depreciation of the currency in which the interest is paid. It is proposed now to supply the deficiency by a small portion of constraint. We see on every side of us indications of the abundance of money. Large sums are everywhere held on deposit; but the holders propose for themselves more profitable investments than public securities. The ability to keep unemployed these sums, and to hold them for an indefinite time, proves that no serious damage will be suffered by requiring their conversion into bonds. The large amount of money which is shown by the war tax returns to be invested at interest in private hands confirms the belief that there is no want of capital among our people. It does not seem to be a rash conclusion, therefore, that at least three-fourths of the currency outstanding on the 1st of December may be funded without substantial damage to private interests. If the remaining fourth could be absorbed by a tax, the solution of the problem would then be complete. The people are fully prepared for the payment of a high tax. It may not be practicable to place it at so high a rate as to absorb one-fourth of the entire currency to be called in, but it may approach so nearly as to leave unabsorbed only that portion which will remain outstanding, in spite of all efforts to call it in.

I will not venture to assert that grave objection may not be made to this scheme. Such objections will be found in the way of every plan. They are necessary results of the proportions of the war which is waged against us, and the enormous sums of money required to carry it on. But it appears to me that, upon due examination, these objections, if not entirely obviated, will be found to be counterbalanced by equivalent advantages.

The first and most obvious objection to the scheme is, that it is an infringement of the contract. The notes have been accepted upon the promise of the Government that they may be invested in interest-bearing public securities, and that promise is not fulfilled after the 1st of July next.

It may be answered that Congress has already settled this principle by the Act of last session, which reduced the interest from 8 to 7 per cent. A still better answer will be found in the reasons which led to that Act, and which make necessary the one now proposed. A limitation of time for the performance of con-

tracts has never been considered an infringement where sufficient opportunity is given to claim performance. Justice is satisfied by giving to the party full opportunity to receive the benefit of his contract. Upon this principle rests every change in statutes of limitation. Examples of the same principle are afforded in private matters, by the laws of partnership, and for the administration of assets. In public matters, the history of every nation affords like precedents, which will probably find support in the laws of every State in our Confederacy.

The modification of the contract is substantially for the benefit of both parties. The object in view is to increase the value of the whole remaining currency. This object it effects by increasing the purchasing power of each note in proportion to the reduction of the whole. Assuming this reduction to be two-thirds, it follows that every holder of only one-third, in proportion of the new issues will have the same value in money left, after he shall have invested the other two-thirds in bonds. In other words, he will make a clear gain of those two-thirds. If he shall have in his possession none of the new issues, he will, nevertheless, gain in the reduced price of every article of consumption.

2.—Next, it will be objected, that after the lapse of the period of limitation, the value of the note as money is taken away. It is true that the note will lose its function as money; but its intrinsic value is unimpaired. It is still receivable for public dues, and it still has the faith and property of the Confederate States pledged for its payment. It will even have a modified circulation. A great public exigency has arisen which compels a change, and all that the Government can do is to make the change with as little injury to private rights as possible. This it endeavours to do by avoiding any direct interference with the contract, and by giving to the holder ample opportunity to reap all its advantages. The time for the enjoyment of these advantages was no part of the contract, and every holder was bound to know that such an incident has always been considered within the control of the law-making power.

3.—It will be urged that the calling in the circulation as proposed will cause too large and sudden a contraction. An examination of the probable state of the currency at the date of limitation will show this objection to be unsound. The new circulation, to be issued after the 1st of December, will on the 1st of July probably be upwards of two hundred millions. It will be issued gradually, and will fill up the channels left by the funding of the old issues, and so far from producing contraction, the new issues will probably be in excess at too early a date. The danger at all times to this kind of currency is in that direction.

4.—A fourth objection will be found in the probable effect on the price of bonds. The large amount of currency turned into bonds will cause the supply to outrun the demand, and the usual consequences of such a condition of the market will follow. It cannot be denied that the price of bonds will probably fall. But this fall will in truth be merely nominal, and will find a full compensation in the increased value of the currency for which they are sold, and in which the interest will be paid. Those classes of the community which sell bonds from necessity or for the means of living, will probably gain more in the reduced market prices of the articles which they purchase than they will lose in the reduced market value of the bonds which they sell. Those who hold the bonds on speculation would gain or lose according to their ability to hold them; while all those who have taken them as investment will escape injury by simply holding them according to their original purpose. The contraction of the currency will increase the value of the interest paid them during the war; and at the end of it they will have a security which will command a price which will amply repay their confidence.

The most conclusive answer, however, to this objection is to be found in the fact that whatever may be the amount of depreciation on the bonds, it cannot exceed the depreciation in the value of the currency. If the Government must issue an obligation in the shape of currency to pay \$21 for a barrel of flour, which in a normal condition of the currency could be purchased with seven, it is actually selling its paper at one-third of its face. At the same time, by excessive issues, it is disturbing all other values, and all the commercial relations of society. The depreciation in the bonds could never reach this high rate; neither would it affect the prices of commodities or commercial relations. If, then, we are reduced to a choice between evils, the reduced value in the bonds is manifestly the less.

II.—We now come to the consideration of the next great feature in the scheme, namely, the war tax. What shall be the subjects of that tax, and what amount should it raise?

The subjects upon which a tax may be levied are many, and the expediency of each involves questions which it is not proposed at present to discuss. It seems to me that a tax upon property and income is so much to be preferred to stamp duties, excise, licenses, and other like taxes which call for a machinery vexatious in its character and expensive in its operation, that there will be little hesitation on the part of Congress in its acceptance. The direct tax heretofore levied has set in operation all the machinery necessary to levy another; and an income tax could be collected by the same means.

It seems to me that both these forms of tax should be adopted. To lay a sufficient tax upon property alone would require too large an increase in the rate of last year. Such an increase would operate with peculiar hardship upon property producing no income. On the other hand, a tax upon income is so easily evaded, that of itself it would furnish an insecure resource. It is proper, however, that incomes should be taxed; otherwise the whole profits of speculation and trade, together with those resulting from skill and labour, would escape contribution. I propose, therefore, that a tax be imposed upon property, and upon the gross amount of incomes of every kind, excepting those below some minimum to be adjusted by Congress.

The next inquiry is as to the rates of these taxes, to adjust which it must first be ascertained what amount it is necessary to raise. It has already been shown that up to the 1st of July next the Treasury notes in circulation will exceed \$500,000,000

Deduct the circulation proposed to be left,	150,000,000
say	150,000,000
Remaining funded	\$350,000,000
The annual interest on this sum at 8 per cent. is	\$28,000,000
To this must be added the interest upon about 120 millions of 7.30 notes	8,760,000
And upon 60 millions of 6 per cent. certificates	3,600,000
Also the interest upon 8 per cent. bonds and stock, say about 100 millions	8,000,000
	<u>\$48,360,000</u>

This amount shows the lowest figures which should be raised by the tax. The soundest considerations of policy would add as largely to this sum as the people of our country can bear. If the tax be made payable in all kinds of Treasury notes, it would absorb so much of the first issues, and by reducing the amount to be funded, would abate the force of the objections to the scheme. If sixty millions of notes could be thus called in, the benefits resulting would fully counterbalance every possible hardship. The currency would promptly recover its value, the bonds would become an object of investment instead of being thrown on the market, and a sure and steady system of finance would be established.

A tax of 1 per cent. on property, if it could be made as productive as last year's, would raise twice the amount of the last war tax, say forty millions. But inasmuch as portions of the States are in the hands of the enemy, it would be proper to make a deduction of probably one-tenth, which would leave the amount at only thirty-six millions.

This sum would be subject to still further abatement, so long as the decision of the Confederate Court of South Carolina as to the power of Congress to tax State bonds remains unreversed. The very large amount of money invested in this form was included in the war tax act of the last year, and the tax thereon was paid everywhere, except by those who raised the question in South Carolina. For the ensuing year the case would be different. If the same tax were laid by Congress, it is probable that the holders of State bonds would claim exemption under this decision, and Congress itself might be unwilling to re-enact, in the same form, a law which had been declared unconstitutional by the co-ordinate branch of the Government, until that decision is reversed. The question is of such magnitude and involves such great interests that an appeal was taken. But this appeal cannot be decided until a Supreme Court shall be organized. It may be worthy, therefore, of the consideration of Congress, whether the question should not be raised in another form, by taxing the income of the bonds in the hands of the citizens. The taxing power over income in the hands of the citizens for consumption may be distinguished from that over State bonds, specifically as property. In my view both are constitutional, and the public interests demand that every proper effort should be made to ensure consideration of the question in all its aspects. In either case, however, the tax would probably prove unproductive, until the question shall be finally decided. It is necessary, therefore, to estimate for an abatement on the tax of last year. Assuming one hundred millions as the probable amount invested in State securities, a tax of one per cent. would amount to one million of dollars, and so much must, therefore, be abated from the estimate.

In estimating the rate of a tax on incomes, the only basis to which I can refer is the value of the entire property in the eleven Confederate States. It may be assumed that the net income of this property is measured by the average rate of legal interest of the money which represents its value. If the tax were laid upon net income, and that income were faithfully returned, it could, in this way, be estimated with some degree of accuracy. But the devices are so many by which a return of net income can be evaded, as to make such returns unreliable. A resort to gross income is, therefore, more expedient. The difference between the two must be at least 25 per cent.; but, under existing circumstances, and for the purpose of an estimate, it would be prudent to disregard the difference, and assume that the returns of gross income will be about equal to the average rate of legal interest. It is believed that even the proceeds of skill, speculation, and labour, which may be returned where no capital is involved, will not materially vary the result.

The estimate, formerly made to Congress, of the value of all the property in the eleven Confederate States in which taxes have been collected, was 4,632 millions. If we leave out the old numbers in those figures, on account of such property as is now beyond the reach of taxation, and for other contingencies, we have, in round numbers, 4,000 millions. The average of interest in the Confederate States may be set down at 7 per cent., which would make the total income equal to, say 280 millions. A tax of 10 per cent. on this sum would produce, in the gross, about 28 millions, and this, added to the property tax of 35 millions, would raise a sum total of 63 millions of dollars, or, in round numbers, 60 millions, after deducting expenses and contingencies.

It will probably be insisted that there is no occasion for the imposition of so heavy a tax; and many will contend that it is sufficient that the Government pay the interest alone of the public debt. I ask leave, most earnestly, to dissent from this doctrine, and to urge upon Congress a continuance of the policy already adopted by this Government, of making portions of the public debt payable every six months after the probable termination of the war. The sinking funds devised by Mr. Pitt, and the great statesmen of his times, have proved deficient, not in principle, but in administration. The principle upon which they rest is the annual raising of an amount beyond the interest for the purpose of eventually discharging the principal. The punctual investment of these surplus sums at compound interest by the mere operation of numbers, would be certain to discharge the debt in a given time. The failure of this plan, in its effects upon the public debt of England, arose from defects in its administration. As the invested fund increased in amount, it offered constant temptation to the Government to make use of it, and the party in power often preferred inventing pretexts to seize upon it, or to court public favour by taking off unpopular taxes required for its increase rather than continue or augment those taxes. Besides, the neglect to make punctual investments as the interest accrued had a constant tendency to reduce compound interest to simple; and thus it was found impossible, in a long course of years, to preserve the fund inviolate, or to maintain the constant supply from taxes, which the plan demanded.

These defects are believed to be remedied by the plan upon which the 100 million loan of this Government has been issued. It resembles the sinking fund plan in requiring an annual surplus of taxes beyond the amount of interest on the public debt. But it differs from it, in applying this surplus to the immediate redemption of principal. The machinery of a fund is dispensed with, together with all its attendant officials. The best practical investment is made by paying off so much of the public debt; and the temptations and waste incident to a fund are avoided. The full benefit of a sinking fund is thus secured without its disadvantages. All that is required is the original adjustment of the payments of principal through an entire series of years, and the steady determination of Congress to raise annually a fixed sum sufficient to make these payments, in addition to the yearly interest. The number of years in which the debt will be paid, will depend upon the amount of this fixed sum. In proportion to its excess over the annual interest, will be the shortness of the period. The first payments of principal will be comparatively small. But each will diminish the interest of the succeeding

year, and will thereby set free a larger sum annually to be applied to pay the remaining principal, until the debt be finally discharged.

The act of Congress of the 12th April, 1862, departed from this plan, and made the next issue of bonds payable in thirty years subject to redemption at any time after the expiration of ten years. The whole subject necessarily comes up for consideration in adjusting the tax now to be laid by Congress.

The fifteen million loan carries an interest of 8 per cent.; it is payable in ten years, but may be redeemed at any time after the 1st September, 1866. The one hundred million loan is also an 8 per cent. loan, and is made payable in instalments which fall due every six months in eighteen years, from 1st January, 1864. The first instalment of principal of \$1,288,700 is payable 1st January, 1864; the second, of \$1,340,200, is payable 1st July, 1864. The third loan is under the Act of April, 1862; it is also an 8 per cent. payable as above stated, at the pleasure of the Government, at from ten to thirty years.

If Congress should approve the application of the plan of the 100 million loan to the whole debt of the Government, then a change should be made in the loan of April, 1862. No bonds have yet been issued under that act, and the matter is yet within the control of Congress. A modification of the law must be made at any rate to meet the reduction of interest required on notes issued subsequent to 1st December. If the scheme of finance hereinafter proposed, in relation to the debt guaranteed by the States shall find favour with Congress, a further modification of the loan of 12th April, 1862, should be made by reducing the period for redemption from ten years to five. This change will enable the proceeds of the sale of the 6 per cent. bonds guaranteed by the States, to be applied in discharge of the 1 per cent. at the end of five years in case they cannot be purchased in the market sooner.

III. We come now to the third feature of the scheme, namely, the guarantee of the States.

The State of Virginia led the way, and proposed that Congress should devise a plan for a loan to be guaranteed by the States. Congress did not seem to take any action on the subject at its last session. It was probably deemed best that the proposal should come from the States an offer of their guarantee is certainly more beneficial to the credit of the Government than a request for aid. The delay has given the opportunity to the States to make the offer. The State of Alabama has offered a guarantee of her quota of the whole war debt upon certain conditions. The State of South Carolina has offered to guarantee a quota of 200 millions upon certain other conditions. A copy of the action of their respective Legislatures is herewith submitted.

The varying action of these two States evinces the importance of settling a definitive plan by Congress. It is probable that every State will cordially respond to such plan, and sustain the credit of this Government.

The great advantages to be derived from this guarantee have already been somewhat developed. It is only necessary now to give prominence to two of them:—First, the opportunity which it affords of converting an eight per cent. into a six per cent. debt; and, secondly, the premium which can be realized on the sale of the bonds. The former will enable the Government to establish a loan on the principle already explained, and the latter will place in its hands ample means to call in the redundancy of the Treasury notes after the 1st of July next, and to sustain the credit of its 8 per cent. securities, or to purchase them.

Assuming that the States may be induced to extend their guarantee to 500 millions, I propose to adjust the debt upon the plan of the 100 million loan so as to ensure its discharge within a given period; the length of this period depends upon the sum which Congress will devote to the annual payments. The commencement of the period or the date at which the first payment is to be made is, of course, within the control of Congress, and involves the same inquiry as to the amount now to be raised by taxes. A postponement of this first payment of principal would seem to allow a diminution of the tax. But it must be observed that some considerable time must elapse before the guarantee of the States can be had; and further time must then be consumed in carrying the plan into execution and in procuring returns of the sales. During all this period the 8 per cent. and 7.30 notes are outstanding, and will absorb nearly as much more money as will afterwards be required to meet the first annual payments on the principal. Besides this, it cannot be too strongly urged that the present is the appropriate moment at which to commence a proper system of taxes. The patriotism of the country is now fully aroused. The duty of contributing largely to the support of the Government is generally recognized. The large amount of money in circulation will make the payment easy, and the payment itself will aid the tax-payer by reducing prices to their proper condition.

Before leaving the subject, I would respectfully submit that there is another plan for arranging the debt in instalments, which would produce the same results. It is by issuing all the bonds in the usual form payable at the same date, and attaching to them a condition that the Secretary of the Treasury shall annually or semi-annually, by lot, designate a certain portion to be paid off. If these annual payments were arranged on the same principle which governs the 100 million loan, and were made equally obligatory upon the Government, the result would be the same.

A reference to a few details will conclude all I have to say on this subject:—

With my last report was submitted a report from the war tax office, to which I request your attention, particularly to the observations in relation to a uniform tax on slaves. It is proper, also, to make provision for a more equal assessment of property in each State. A commission of a certain number of the tax collectors from the various portions of each State should be appointed to meet and adjust the rate at which the various kinds of property should be assessed.

It seems to me, also, that the entire machinery of assessors provided by the last act can be dispensed with by charging the duties of the assessors on the district collectors, and increasing their salaries. Exceptions may be made in case of large cities. This defect in salaries attached to the entire arrangement of the last act. It is not a wise policy to confide large money arrangements to officers who are badly paid. The patriotism of the officers induced them, during the last year, to accept the offices with the small salaries allowed. But it would be neither wise nor just to ask a repetition of the sacrifice.

The issuing of Treasury notes and the transfer of them to the various depositories, with the arrangements at those depositories for their receipt, custody, and disposal, have grown into some of the most important functions of this Department. The engraving, printing, and preparing the notes involve great responsibilities and still greater expense, and I must again urge upon Congress the expediency of creating for this branch a separate

bureau. The necessities of the times compelled a transfer of the printing establishments to Columbia. It seemed a better policy to encourage private competition and enterprise, rather than undertake to carry on mechanical work by the Government. The engraving and printing, together with the manufacture of paper, have all been done by contract. But the handling of the notes after they are printed, and the trimming, numbering, and signing them, require a large number of clerks. I have been obliged greatly to increase the number under the authority of the Act of March 7, 1861, and the whole number is now 262; of whom 139 are ladies. I ventured upon the employment of the latter, under the belief that they would be found diligent and efficient, and that Congress would approve the relief which was thereby extended to a large portion of the most loyal, suffering, and deserving of our countrywomen. In arranging their duties, I reduced the time and work required below the rate required of the men, and made a proportionate reduction of salary. The plan has been found to work well. When it is considered that this very large branch of the business of the Treasury is without an appropriate head, and must be superintended in all its details as matters now stand by the Secretary himself, it will, I trust, be deemed reasonable to establish a separate bureau for its administration. I am bound by a sense of public duty again to say that it would conduce more to the public interest to dispense with most of this agency, and have the signatures to the notes engraved and printed. Experience proves that any signature is readily imitated—that the signatures of the same writers vary so much as to afford no adequate guide, and that, where so many signers are employed, it is impossible to inform the community either as to their names or signatures. The written signatures, therefore, furnish no better security than the engraved.

The issue and deposit of Treasury notes, and the very large disbursements now made for the war, have changed the entire character of the treasuries and depositories. Those at Richmond, Charleston, Montgomery, and Jackson, have become large banks, and the number of clerks and the salaries of both officers and clerks are wholly inadequate. The Assistant Treasurer at Charleston has a salary of \$2,500, and the clerks at each office are limited to \$1,200. The teller in a bank receives as much for his salary as is now paid to the Assistant Treasurer at Charleston. That officer has, for some time, desired to resign, and for two months I have been seeking, without success, a proper successor. I have also been unable to procure competent clerks at the salaries prescribed, and have been obliged to add to the sum. Congress may judge of the importance of these officers when they are informed that five or six millions of dollars are frequently in their hands on deposit. These officers, moreover, are made responsible for the acts of the clerks under them, a liability which, under present circumstances, no responsible party is willing to take. Unless these difficulties are corrected, it will be difficult to retain the present incumbents, and almost impossible to procure proper successors.

The collection of the produce loan, together with the purchase of produce under the Act of 21st of April, 1862, has been prosecuted with vigour. The total amount of subscriptions to the loan, valued in money, is about twenty-five millions of dollars; of which \$7,631,044 have been collected at an expense of one-third of 1 per cent. The purchases of cotton thus far reported by the agents amount to 69,597 bales, costing \$1,474,400. These purchases, at the present moment, have probably reached 250,000 bales, including those of which reports are on the way. In order to dispose of the cotton, two forms of certificate have been devised. By one, the specific parcel of cotton is identified and disposed of. By the other, the Government obligates itself to deliver certain quantities at certain points, at a fixed price. By the advice of our ministers abroad, some of the latter certificates, covering about 30,000 bales of cotton, have been placed as an experiment in the foreign markets; but sufficient time has not elapsed to hear from them. The details of this branch of the Department are set forth in the report of the clerk in charge, to which your attention is invited. The important and responsible duties intrusted to this clerk, render it proper that his office should be placed on a level with other branches in the Department. I would therefore respectfully recommend that the office be raised to the grade of a chief clerkship.

The collated returns of the war tax have not been completely made in all the States. The report of the chief clerk in charge of this Bureau, is so full and distinct upon the several points to which attention is due, that I cannot do better than refer you to a copy thereof, which is herewith presented. The question that has arisen between the Governor of Tennessee and the Department, is a mere question of estimate, but as it involves a large sum the Secretary would respectfully ask the direction of Congress as to some proper mode of adjusting the difference. The liberal manner in which the State has acted under the circumstances, may induce Congress to adopt an estimate which the Secretary would not feel himself empowered to accept.

The suspension of the collection in several parts of other States is also submitted specifically to the attention of Congress, in order that further instructions may be given. In relation to the State of South Carolina, it should be remarked that the Governor has directed the tax to be collected by the State tax collectors, wherever practicable, and the amount to be paid over to the Confederate Government.

The legislation which will be required to carry into effect the several matters recommended in this report, is the following:—

- 1.—An act limiting the period for funding the Treasury notes, bearing date prior to the 1st of December, 1862.
- 2.—Authority to issue a sufficient amount of Treasury notes, to pay the appropriations required for the support of the Government to the 1st of July next.
- 3.—Authority to issue bonds and stock sufficient to fund the notes already issued, entitled to be funded at 8 per cent.; and those hereafter to be funded at 7 per cent.
- 4.—A call upon the States to guarantee the war debt, upon a plan to issue 6 per cent. bonds, payable in instalments, in twenty-five years, upon the plan of the one hundred million loan.
- 5.—A modification of the loan act of April, 1862, by reducing the time to five years, within which the Government may redeem the bonds.
- 6.—A war tax upon property and income.
- 7.—The appropriation act.
- 8.—The organization of a Bureau in charge of the issue of Treasury notes.
- 9.—Increase of the salaries of the Assistant-Treasurers and Depositories, and their Clerks.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

C. G. MEMMINGER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1863.

The Romance of War.

There has been recently published in this country a clever little pamphlet, on the model of Archbishop Whately's "Historic Doubts," which treats the American War as a myth, invented by the Tories in their hatred of the Democratic institutions of the United States. The arguments of the writer are drawn mainly from political considerations, from the various and contradictory changes in the feelings and views of the Northern leaders, from the Constitution itself, from the language of all the principal American authorities, from the tone and temper of the American people; and he has made out his case very fairly. Two thousand years hence, when the New Zealander stands amidst the ruins of London, if by chance a copy of this pamphlet comes into his hands, he may possibly Niebuhrize the history of the New World, and prove to the satisfaction of admiring students that the accredited accounts of the Secession and war in America in 1861, 62, and 63 are pure fiction, and that the names of Jefferson Davis, and Lee, and "Stonewall" Jackson, McClellan, and Lincoln, and Butler, represent only imaginary personages, invested with the most marked characteristics of American society at that period. But if, stimulated by his first discovery, he carries his researches further, and investigates the history of the war, he will find still more convincing evidence of the truth of his theory. No amount of testimony will induce a belief in the blunders and disasters of Northern armies and their commanders, or persuade the highly intelligent public of that future age that the millions of men who are now paraded on paper in the North, and those magnificent fleets which are being constantly launched from Northern dockyards, as realities. Seriously, there is something so incredible in the accounts of the struggle as they now reach us, that the historians of the war will have a most difficult task to fulfil; and when we reflect how many different versions are extant of the battle of Waterloo, and how hard it is to bring home positive and conclusive testimony to a debated event even of the last century, we may almost imagine our remote posterity reading of the sacking of Southern cities and the spoiling of Southern homes, as we do of the feast of the Lapithæ, or the rape of the Sabines. Take the memorable incident which has immortalised Pennsylvania, the regiments of three-months'-men with their bands and commanding officers at their head, marching off home amid the roar and smoke of battle, rising up over the plain three miles in their rear. Who will believe it? Take the news brought by the last mail, it is equally suggestive of extravagance and fiction. Only a month or two ago there was a great army of 170,000 men on the Rappahannock. They fought a battle and were beaten, and lost some 15,000 or 20,000 men. But since the battle that enormous army seems to have melted away. We hear nothing except of its gradual dissolution. The New York papers say there are 27,000 deserters from the rank and file. They do not overstate the number, we may be sure. The *New York Herald* of a recent date published a list of some fifty officers

who had been removed by General Hooker, and another list of resignations equally large. And this is an invading army encamped on an enemy's territory. Can it be true? Quite recently, two great expeditions started Southward, one for Vicksburg, another for Charleston; they arrive at their destination, and nothing more is heard of them. The army of General Foster disappears entirely; the army of Grant and McClellan emulates the labours of the Persians under Xerxes, and boldly sets to work to turn a mighty river from its course. And then dying of exposure and ennui, and marsh malaria, this great army rots quietly away. Take the latest episode of the war, the loss of the Queen of the West and the Indianola. The whole affair reads like the romance of war. Here are the Federals supplying the South with ship after ship, in such a manner that one might almost say the thing was designed. No sooner is the Queen of the West captured, than the Indianola is sent in quest of her, and in her turn becomes a prize to the Confederates; and now the North is seriously alarmed lest the Confederate flotilla, increased by the best ships of the Federal squadron, should make a dash upon New Orleans, and free the Mississippi in a manner not the best calculated to meet the wishes of the North-Western States. The Queen of the West and the Indianola combined all that was newest and strongest in the Northern navy. The one a formidable ram, the other a turreted iron-clad, together they might have cleared the river between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. But with a want of foresight, a disregard of ordinary precautions never surpassed, each of the steamers starts upon its marauding expedition, through a country that has been for months in the enemy's occupation, and, as might be expected, each is taken. Commodore Porter says the Indianola was captured through disobedience to instructions. But no possible instructions could have saved her. It was a comparatively easy matter to run the blockade down the river—a very difficult thing to steam up the Mississippi in the teeth of the Vicksburg batteries. Commodore Porter is alone responsible for the loss of both his ships. Where one steamer effected a passage, twenty could, and to despatch these two gunboats away from the body of the fleet with no possibility of retreat, was simply to make them a present to the Confederates. We are ignorant of the force the latter possess in these waters. The Queen of the West, the Indianola, and the De Soto, they have captured from the North—the City of Vicksburg and the Webb have already been heard of. It is rumoured that there are at Port Hudson two or three powerful iron-clads. With such strength it is by no means impossible that they will look up the flotilla supporting Banks, and that instead of Port Hudson being assailed, the garrison at Baton Rouge, and even New Orleans will be in danger. In the whole history of this contest there has been nothing more surprising than the successful resistance of the South on the waters of the Mississippi; and if now, after all the efforts that have been made by the North-Western States, and after the vaunting of the great deeds to be accomplished by Farragut's and Porter's squadrons, the Southern flotilla, hitherto hemmed in between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, not only defies the North, but actually becomes the assailant, it will have added another marvellous page, perhaps the concluding one, to the chronicle of this extraordinary war.

From the North, from Charleston, from Tennessee, there is no important news. Hooker's troops are "muddled" up on the Rappahannock, and the only rumour worth quoting from head-quarters, is that he has excited some enthusiasm amongst his dispirited host by announcing McClellan's early assumption of the chief command. There are the usual accounts of cavalry raids, but beyond the interest of an occasional skirmish of the pickets, nothing to record. The Federals are evidently nervous about Kentucky, and there is a suspicious absence of information respecting the doings of Longstreet and Morgan and Forster, which accounts for their apprehension. But for the present the military news

is eclipsed by the depredations of the Florida. Her last prize is the Jacob Bell, one of the fastest and finest of the American vessels, engaged in the China trade, with a cargo valued at \$1,000,000,—which, the *New York Herald* lugubriously remarks, would have paid \$200,000 in custom dues to the Federal Government. The loss of the Jacob Bell has driven the Chamber of Commerce well-nigh frantic, and the indignation of the Yankee ship-owners is excited not against their own naval administration, which permits these outrages on the national flag, but against England; and the passing of the Bill empowering the President to issue letters of marque is the first overt blow issued at this country. This and the Conscription Act are the two warlike measures of the close of the Congress. But long before they can come into operation the fate of Charleston and Vicksburg will be decided. The Congress of 1861 has terminated its labours in the midst of reverses and humiliation such as have never befallen a nation. Its latest acts, its voluntary surrender of every right, consecrated to the American people by the Fathers of the Republic, to the feeble despotism of Mr. Lincoln, hold out but little promise of peace, or even of a cessation of that series of disasters which has cast a blot upon the flag of the United States long years of triumph will not remove.

The Anomaly of the Age.

The history of our age is full of strange anomalies, but the strangest and greatest of them all will appear to the future historian to be the attitude which the neutral Powers of the earth have for two years observed towards the Government of the Confederate States of America. A Government which it would have been deemed the sublimest consummation of European statesmanship to have created in the interest of civilization and the world's peace—a Government which was indispensable to readjust the balance of power lost in the Western hemisphere and seriously threatened in the Eastern—this Government, when most unexpectedly, and without effort of European statesmanship, it presents itself in full-grown vigour, still remains, after two years' brilliant existence, ignored and unrecognised. During these two years this Government has riveted upon it the anxious eyes of all civilized Europe. It has waged war upon a scale unprecedented even in this century of Napoleonic wars. It has at this moment a victorious army of nearly half a million men in the field, and it has given lessons in naval warfare to the oldest of maritime nations. It has its representatives in every great capital, its agents in every mart of commerce. It enjoys the obedience of a numerous and devoted population, in a degree which devotion to a cause or country has seldom reached in modern times. It is feared by its enemies, honoured by its friends; and whether on the field of battle or in the haunts of commerce, it commands a confidence which few nations in so short a space have won. At this very moment, when its antagonist, double in numerical strength, and apparently with tenfold resources, is about, in very desperation, to perfect its bankruptcy by prohibiting the exportation of the precious metals—this unrecognised Government supplies its necessities with European loans. Recognised on the Stock Exchange, recognised by common parlance and by public opinion the world over, this Government is unknown and unrecognised, only by the diplomatic ceremonial.

In recording this anomaly, the historian will remark that there is no parallel of a nation occupying so conspicuous a place, and acting so important a part in history under similar circumstances. Other nations have struggled for independence, and have toiled hard and waited long to see that independence recognised; but in the fortunes of none has the civilized world ever before had so unanimous and vast an interest, and yet none has ever before been allowed to struggle so wholly unaided by moral or material support. Perhaps the historian may endeavour to explain this anomaly by a reason equally anomalous. It was not, he may argue, that neutral Powers were deterred by doubts as to the probable

issue of the conflict, but, on the contrary, that at an early stage of the conflict, the ability of the new nationality to maintain itself became so manifest, that neutral nations deemed it unnecessary to incur risks or responsibilities for the attainment of an object already secured. Be this or not the true and sufficient reason for the supineness of European Governments, and especially of our own, it is certain that the time is now fast approaching, when this country must decide between a change of policy and the loss of most of the substantial advantages which it might reasonably expect to derive from the independence of the Confederate States. Even if it was wise to have done nothing towards the establishment of that independence, it cannot be wise to forego, in favour of others, our share of its fruit.

The correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Augusta, the heart of the Southern American States, describing their almost fabulous wealth and commercial resources, says:—

Never has so magnificent a field been thrown open to European commerce as these rich and magnificent provinces which the Federals have so long farmed. Offering with the one hand raw material of priceless value, they are disposed to take with the other every manufacture which European ingenuity and capital can supply, to an extent of which we have as yet but little conception in England. There is abundant evidence that France is already aware, and prepared fully to take advantage of the magnificent opening for trade which is about to be offered to the competition of the world. If England fails to make similar efforts to avail herself of this rich harvest, she will lose an opportunity compared with which the fabled profits which have been more than once anticipated from the extension of commercial facilities with China are poor and contemptible. It cannot but be apparent that the nation which is first to rush in and fill the vacuum, now on the eve of being thrown open, will possess great advantages with a view to the establishment of future trade.

And he adds the significant warning that, "it is impossible that many months can elapse before direct trade between Europe and the South is established."

But Great Britain has even higher and nobler moral interests at stake than these tempting commercial prospects. It concerns her that her voice should be heard and listened to as that of a friend in the counsels of the young nation, when it enters upon its peaceful career of prosperity. Shallow reasoners scoff at what is called moral influence in international politics, yet all history demonstrates that nations, like individuals, are swayed by such influences; that is, by hates and loves, passions and prejudices,—much oftener than by merely calm material consideration. Especially are those passions, whether of likes or dislikes, the strongest which a nation brings out of a great crisis, during which its character is fusible and impressible. It will be difficult for the Southerners, when this fearful war is over, not to remember favours or slights, and they will evince more equanimity of temper than ordinarily belongs to humanity if they do not judge of the conduct of others to them during the crisis according to its effect in prolonging or shortening their present difficulties. The nation that stood coldly by while the strife was raging, and which appears reluctant to acknowledge the victory even when gained, will scarcely be considered as a friend by the successful combatant. If British influence is to prevail, or at least to equilibrium rival influences at Richmond hereafter, it is but common-sense policy to show by unmistakable acts that past British policy has not been actuated by any feeling of malevolence towards the new Government.

The public awaits with impatience the debate in Parliament upon these grave questions, for which Lord Campbell's motion in the House of Lords is to be the signal. This motion, so often postponed, has at length been definitively fixed for Monday the 23rd inst. The reason for the last postponement, as well as of a previous one, is the indisposition of Lord Russell, whose voice, we regret to learn, has for some time been too weak to permit his taking part in debates. Without his presence, the chief object of the proposed motion, that of eliciting a public declaration of the intended policy of the Government from the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs himself, would, of course, be lost. The delay, however, at this present juncture,

is likely to be productive of good rather than evil. It is assumed that the French Government, though ready for action, is, for the moment, too much absorbed with the affairs of Poland not to wish for delay. Meanwhile public opinion and Ministerial policy are ripening apace, and it may fairly be hoped that Earl Russell's declarations on the day of the debate will have a more definite shape and tangible purpose, than they possibly could have had at the date when Lord Campbell's motion was first announced.

Diplomatic Correspondence on American Affairs.

We elsewhere reproduce that part of the American diplomatic correspondence, just presented to Parliament, which has passed between Her Majesty's Government and the representative of the Government of the Confederate States in England. Our readers now have the opportunity of ascertaining for themselves the excellent temper manifested by the Confederate Government under peculiarly trying circumstances, for unavoidably to some extent, but, as we think, to a much greater extent than was necessary or politic, the *neutrality* of the English Government has been vastly in favour of the North.

Mr. Mason's letters on recognition will perhaps be the most interesting, but his correspondence on the blockade will excite the most surprise. Immediately after the recognition of the Confederate States as a belligerent power, England and France requested the Confederate Government to accede to the terms of the Convention of Paris, and the request was promptly complied with. Under the old law of blockade, as set forth in the treaty between Great Britain and Russia in 1801, it was expressly stated that the blockade of a port was legal if the ships of the blockading power were sufficiently near to cause "an evident danger in entering." The text of the Convention of Paris says,—“Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient *really* to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.” More explicit language could not have been employed. Not only is the former stipulation omitted, but it is expressly declared that the blockading force must be sufficient “*really* to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.” Formerly a blockade was effective if the chances were twenty or fifty to one against a vessel getting in or out of port; but according to the Paris Convention, a vessel must have no chance of getting in or out of the blockaded port; or, admitting that stress of weather might now and then drive off the blockading squadron, it was not, of course, contemplated that under the new construction of the law the blockade of Charleston should be deemed effective, when in four months no less than sixty-nine vessels were entered and cleared at that port. Even under the old construction of the law, we believe that such lax guardianship would have been sufficient to invalidate a blockade. On the 15th February, 1862, Lord Russell wrote to Lord Lyons, that it was the opinion of her Majesty's Government, that it was sufficient for the blockading force to create an evident danger of entering or leaving a blockaded port. The case does not admit of argument. It is evident that Lord Russell has thus introduced a law of blockade, not only unsanctioned by, but expressly opposed to, the emphatic declaration of the Convention of Paris; and the Confederate Government was justified in firmly protesting against such a palpable violation of the treaty, to which, at the request of England and France, it had yielded its assent. Mr. Mason points out very clearly the evil result of the recognition of a paper blockade. The Federal Government, though unable to seal Charleston, Savannah, and other Southern ports, affects to blockade a coast line of 2,500 miles, and so prevents, not by force, but by proclamation, commerce between the Confederate States and neutral nations. Besides the large ports, there are in the South a number of

smaller towns accessible from the sea, and commerce might be carried on from these points, if neutral Powers insisted upon the Federal Government efficiently blockading them, or else treating them as open ports. The result of a fair observance of the Convention at Paris, would be to replenish our cotton market, and to open up a mart for our cotton manufactures. If the English Government had been firm in this particular, Lancashire would have been saved from destitution, and our staple industry from a depression that may result in its ruin. The want of American cotton does not prove the efficiency of the blockade, but arises from the Federal cruisers being allowed to capture neutral vessels on the high seas. The English people have suffered as much, perhaps even more, than the Confederates by this unfair and inexpedient infractions of a solemn compact.

With regard to the law appertaining to the raising of blockades, we suppose that there will be no misconception; for on February 10, 1863, a few days before the news reached this country of the naval engagement at Charleston, and that the brilliant exploits at Galveston had raised the blockade of that port, Lord Russell very emphatically and plainly declared what was the law in a despatch which he addressed to Mr. Mason. His Lordship says, “The driving off a blockading force by a superior force does break a blockade, which must be renewed *de novo*, in the usual form, to be binding upon neutrals.” We trust his Lordship will remember that it is not alone the duty of a Government to expound the law, but to enforce the observance thereof.

We need not animadvert on Mr. Mason's well-considered arguments for the recognition of the Confederate States. He demands it as a right, and not as a favour; he confesses his belief that withholding recognition prolongs the war; but he does not ask that neutral Powers shall take any steps following recognition to put an end to the war. The Confederate States seek neither aid nor intervention. They are content with the neutrality of foreign Powers, notwithstanding its unequal operation. Recognition would not deprive the North of its military chances of success, if it had any; and it would not be so hotly opposed by the Lincolnites, were it not for the consciousness that such a step being taken by foreign Powers would open the eyes of the people of the United States to the hopelessness of the struggle in which they are engaged.

The batch of correspondence marked No. 1, discloses an amount of shuffling on the part of the Federal Government, for which we were hardly prepared, even by Mr. Seward's late mendacious despatch in answer to the French proposal of mediation. Mr. Seward had promised on behalf of his Government, that as soon as a Southern port was in its possession, Europe should no longer languish for the want of cotton, or at all events, the United States Government would do what it could to alleviate the cotton famine. When Mr. Seward was reminded of these pledges, he excused himself on the ground that the Confederates burnt their cotton at the approach of the Federal forces. Lord Russell smartly rebuked him for this bungling excuse. In a despatch to Lord Lyons, his Lordship observes that it was unreasonable to make this a matter of blame to the Confederates, “for they could not be expected to leave such articles in warehouses to become the prize of war, and to be sold for the profit of the Federal Government, which would apply the proceeds to the purchase of arms to be used against the South.” It was then proposed by Lord Russell that each planter who chose to sell his cotton should be allowed to receive the price for it, irrespective of any political considerations. Mr. Seward declined giving an answer until he had ascertained the quantity of cotton ready for market, the quantity planted, and the disposition of the planters, though what these things had to do with the question we cannot conceive, and we are not astonished that Lord Russell should designate the conduct of Mr. Seward as being far from satisfactory. The English Foreign Secretary, in a despatch to Mr. Stuart—who was then Acting *Chargé d'Affaires* in the absence of Lord Lyons—dated July 16,

1862, observes: "Mr. Seward always held out the expectation that when the Southern ports were taken by the Federals, and the authority of the United States restored in those ports, cotton would be forthcoming, to be purchased for the use of Europe. New Orleans and other Southern ports have been taken, and the United States' authority restored therein, but the cotton is not forthcoming. The remedy should not have been delayed, nor the interests of neutrals treated with so little regard." This remonstrance had no effect, and as the Federal Government could neither seize the cotton of the planters nor trick them out of it, no cotton was forthcoming. On the 23rd of October last, Lord Russell wrote: "It is not to be supposed that the planters will give away their cotton: and they cannot sell it without receiving something in exchange which will increase their means, to whatever object those means may be applied." We should think the most credulous partisan of the North must be convinced that the Federals, and not the Confederates, have starved Lancashire. It is, indeed, absurd to suppose that the Confederates would object to change their cotton for gold.

There are several items in this correspondence worthy of a passing notice, not that they throw any new light on the state of affairs, but rather that they indicate how well our Government has been kept advised as to the probable issue of the contest, and the conduct of the Federal Government. On July 21, 1862, Mr. Stuart wrote to the Foreign Office that, "Amongst the means relied upon for weakening the South is included a servile war;" and to this Lord Russell promptly replied, "The prospect of a servile war will only make other nations more desirous to see an end of this desolating and destructive conflict." Is it not reasonable to suppose that, since a servile war has been proclaimed, "other nations" should feel called upon to take some steps to put an end to the conflict?

Despatch No. 21, from Mr. Stuart, is very explicit as to the object of issuing letters of marque. The English *Chargé d'Affaires* urged upon Mr. Seward "the danger of disputes which would probably ensue" if such a course were persevered in; and Mr. Seward was gracious enough to say, that if the friendly act of seizing the *Oreto* at Nassau were followed by similar acts, the measure would be unnecessary—that is, if the British navy would come to the aid of the Federal navy the British commercial marine should not be molested by Federal privateers. We have not thought it proper to help the Federal navy against the South, and the consequence is that letters of marque are to be issued. The insolence of Mr. Seward in threatening this country with pains and penalties, if we did not obey his wishes, is supremely ridiculous, though we much regret it should be tolerated. Nothing encourages bullying so much as submitting to small insults.

The report of Mr. Anderson, a member of the English Legation at Washington, dated the 1st of October, 1862, with regard to the state of feeling and condition in the Western States, which he had recently visited, will, no doubt, disgust Mr. Seward. Mr. Anderson writes: "Having heard much in the Eastern States of the unanimity which was said to prevail in the West with regard to the energetic prosecution of the war and the policy of emancipation, I was somewhat surprised to find that this unanimity was very far from existing." With respect to emancipation, Mr. Anderson says: "Nowhere in the Abolition States could I find that the freedom of the slave was connected in men's minds with the idea of the amelioration of his condition, nor did the question even seem to have been seriously agitated, what was to be done with the mass of emancipated negroes. I found that there was only one point upon which opinion seemed to be unanimous, which was, that no general immigration of negroes into the free States could be permitted; they must be freed; they must be kept at a distance; but, with those two conditions satisfied, there seemed to be little disposition to pursue the question any further." Mr. Anderson, after recording the atrocities of the Federal soldiers, says:

"It appears to me from all this, but one conclusion can be drawn. The Democratic party in the North is fighting for subjugation; the South has clearly seen that if she fails, nothing but utter ruin awaits every man. * * * I heard it often argued, (privately, for men would not dare to express such sentiments openly) that if the war was prolonged and embittered, and the end seemed hopeless, the Western States would begin to flag, would separate themselves from the extreme party, and be inclined to make overtures towards those with whom they had common interests." Mr. Anderson was a shrewd and observant traveller.

The correspondence about the Alabama is very long, and not particularly instructive. Mr. Adams is at much trouble to prove facts which are not denied, and pours in documents and depositions *ad nauseam*. Everybody knows that the Alabama was built in this country, and that she has done splendid service to the Government under whose flag she fights. Mr. Adams complains of the building and equipment of the Alabama as a breach of neutrality, and calls upon the English Government to aid and abet the Federal spies in preventing any like breaches so far as the Confederates are concerned. Lord Russell reminds him that Her Majesty's Government "are unable to go beyond the law, municipal and international;" and, again, that Her Majesty's Government "cannot go beyond the letter of the existing law." In answer to Mr. Adams's impudent threat of demanding compensation for the damage done by the Alabama, Lord Russell observes,—

If it be sought to make Her Majesty's Government responsible to that of the United States, because arms and munitions of war have left this country on account of the Confederate Government, that Confederate Government, as the other belligerent, may very well maintain that it has a just cause of complaint against the British Government, because the United States' arsenals have been replenished from British sources.

Nor would it be possible to deny that, in defiance of the Queen's Proclamation, many subjects of Her Majesty, owing allegiance to her Crown, have enlisted in the armies of the United States. Of this fact you cannot be ignorant.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, have just grounds of complaint against both of the belligerent parties, but most especially against the Government of the United States, for having systematically, and in disregard of that comity of nations which it was their duty to observe, induced subjects of her Majesty to violate those orders which, in conformity with her neutral position, she has enjoined all her subjects to obey.

Mr. Adams replies with clumsy simplicity: "I beg to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that it is not the mere purchase or exportation of arms and warlike stores by the agents of the insurgents in America of which I have ever complained." What amazing kindness! Provided we will do all in our power to prevent the Confederates getting arms into the South, they may buy as many as they like. It would be awkward to stop the trade, because the United States want arms and warlike stores; so Mr. Adams does not complain. Just now, thanks to the splendid equipments of the beaten Northern armies, the South does not want arms. If Mr. Mason should inform Lord Russell that he does not complain of the agents of the Northern insurgents buying ships here, but he objects to them buying arms and warlike stores, his protest would be quite as just and reasonable as Mr. Adams's. The Queen of the West and the Indianola, lately captured from the Federals, are covered, we believe, with English iron. Does Mr. Adams hold the English Government responsible for the damage these rams may do to Northern ships? Let the North send a sufficient number of well-built vessels of war to the South, and the Confederates will not have occasion to offend Mr. Adams, by obtaining their ships *directly* from English shipbuilders.

Must we Lose our Cotton Trade?

"The fact, however, of a population living upon a charitable fund cannot endure, except as a temporary expedient during a short crisis. The time is coming when, if the trade does not return, this congestion of population must be dispersed and drawn off to other industries or to other lands."

Such were the concluding words of a leader on the Cotton Famine published in the *Times* of Saturday

last. Of the thousands who read them, but few persons probably appreciated the gravity of the stern fact, so frankly admitted and so plainly unannounced by our contemporary. When this country was agitated by the fear of invasion—a precautionary fear not unworthy of a great nation conscious of its responsibilities—Lord Overstone was examined by a Committee as to the effect that would be produced on our commerce by the landing of an enemy. His Lordship was too shrewd and practical to attempt to set forth the probable issue of an unprecedented event, but he contented himself with saying, in answer to his querists, that the consequences of an invasion would be most disastrous to the community; and no one, we presume, will dispute the correctness of his conclusion. Yet an invasion is an evil less to be dreaded than the loss of our cotton trade. The first would be a blow to be averted at any cost, yet a blow that would not permanently cripple us, much less be mortal. An enemy might get the command of the channel so as to land his forces, but he could not hope to keep the command of the channel; and if he ventured on more than an incursion, he would know that his troops would have to pay with their lives for their rash adventure. But the loss of our cotton trade would be lasting. We do not assert that the Anglo-Saxon race would be ruined, and that it would not find other fields for its energy and labour; but that, so far as this country is concerned, the loss of the cotton industry would be irreparable. Let us glance at the magnitude of our cotton trade, and we shall then perceive how far our prosperity is dependent on it.

In 1860 our imports were:

	£164,736,000
Exports of foreign produce	43,538,000
Exports of domestic produce	135,842,000
Total imports and exports	£344,116,000

How much of this stupendous trade is directly connected with cotton? In 1860 our imports of cotton were:

	£44,615,000
Exports of the raw material	15,981,000
Exports of cotton manufactures	51,959,000
Total of cotton trade	£112,553,000

One-third of our vast trade is directly in cotton. Indirectly, how much depends on it cannot be stated with the like accuracy, but it will surely be a moderate estimate to assume that, associated with our cotton trade is 20 per cent. of the value of the rest of our trade, and, consequently, that half of our entire business is due to cotton. To compare small with great things, cotton is to the nation what tea is to the grocer—it is the leading article involving a trade in sugar.

The profit on our cotton trade cannot, of course, be calculated, but we are in a position to show the margin for profit. In 1859—we are now dealing with the estimated *real*, and not the stated official value—the quantity of cotton imported into this country was 1,399,938,752 lbs., and the value thereof £35,753,880 sterling. By looking to the total of imports and exports we have given above, and where we take the *official*, and consequently higher value of the imports, it will be seen that our export of cotton and cotton manufactures was £23,325,000 in excess of our cotton imports. This balance is not an arithmetical gauge of profit, for it does not tell us what was the cost of the industry that so increased the value of the raw material, but it discloses an ample margin for profit. But this is not all. The consumption of cotton in England is estimated at nearly 11 lbs. per head of the entire population; so that we used at home about one-fourth of our imports of 1860—or raw cotton to the value of about £9,000,000 sterling. This is even better evidence of profit than the excess of exports. But we need not dwell on this part of the subject, since no one denies the profitability of our cotton trade. It is the most remunerative, as well as the largest branch of our commerce, and its loss would be manifestly a terrible calamity. Is there any reason for apprehending such an unparalleled disaster?

Supposing the stream of benevolence was to flow on for years, it is not the less true that a population could not be kept on charity for that time without

becoming so demoralized as to be ruined for all industrial pursuits, and a burden and a danger to the State. Not from any fault of the good people of Lancashire, for the like cause would produce the like effects on any class of the community. We do not, however, regard the present clamour against the mode of relief as a sign of demoralization. The operatives are pauperised not by their own act, nor by its pleasing God to cut off the harvest upon which their industry depends, but because it suits the policy of their Government to respect the claim of the United States to treat the Confederate States as a rebellious territory—for if the Southern Confederacy were recognised as a nation as well as a belligerent, we should obtain cotton, for then no paltry quibble would be permitted to render inoperative the Convention of Paris, to which the Confederate Government has given its adhesion. It is not only the inefficient blockade of the Southern coast, but the blockade of the sea, in contravention of the Convention of Paris, that keeps the home market bare of American cotton. Under such circumstances the operatives have a right to relief; and because the burden is delegated by the Government to the benevolent public, it does not follow that the relief should be received by the operatives as paupers receive alms. But feeding the operatives is the least of the difficulties. Mr. Cobden thinks it would be cheaper to keep them on turtle and champagne than to irritate the fanatics of New England; but has he reflected that keeping them in idleness in any way for any length of time is ruinous? Is there then any prospect of the revival of the trade? Not so long as the war continues on the present footing. The bubble scheme of replacing the American supply is exploded, but it may be desirable to point out again the connection between America and our cotton trade. The following table of the cotton imported into this country in 1860 is taken from Mr. Capper's work on "The Port and Trade of London:"—

Country.	Cwts.	Value.
		£
From the United States ..	9,963,309	30,069,306
„ British East Indies ..	1,822,689	3,373,614
„ Egypt ..	392,147	1,480,895
„ Brazil ..	154,317	561,949
„ Mauritius ..	28,250	82,672
„ France ..	19,524	62,562
„ British West Indies ..	7,336	27,280
„ Peru ..	2,571	9,518
„ British Guiana ..	2,016	8,825
„ the Western Coast of Africa ..	2,069	6,094
„ South Africa ..	1,186	3,336
„ Other Parts ..	23,322	70,838
Total ..	12,419,096	£35,756,889

Thus America sent us four-fifths of the quantity and six-sevenths of the value. It is evident that, under the most favourable circumstances—even if the Confederate States had not a monopoly of climate—very many years must elapse before there would be any chance of the American supply being replaced. But it will not be so after any number of years. The reason America has supplied four-fifths of our cotton is, that it could do so at a price which defied competition; and if the price of cotton is enhanced, so as to make it worth the while of other countries to abandon their present products for cotton, the demand will fall off. The large consumption of cotton, and consequent greatness of our cotton manufacture, is due to the cheapness of the raw material; and if that becomes dear, the demand will diminish, and our manufacture will be dwarfed. The present prices check our trade, and will continue to do so. The only chance of a revival is obtaining the supply from America, by the cessation or modification of hostilities, and that we may be able to replenish the exhausted stocks in the Southern Confederacy. The orders from the South would keep our mills going for many months, even at the present high prices. If this is not to be, our operatives must find employment in other trades, though we know of none that are not fully supplied with labour. Or we must send our bees abroad to labour in and to enrich other countries. The smart Yankee knows this, and is determined to carry on hostilities until the cotton industry of

England is broken up. That result will be quite as good, so he thinks, as the enforcement of the Morrill Tariff.

These facts call for grave consideration. They are not to be disposed of by a suggestion of "Historians," that we write to prop up the Liverpool cotton market. They are not to be disposed of by any amount of special pleading against the right of recognising the independence of a nation that is openly acknowledged on every mart in Europe, and, indeed, practically, by every European Government. It is no reply to allege we are writing in the interest of the Confederacy. We admit the South has a vast interest in the prosperity of the English cotton trade. We think, though on this point many eminent Southern politicians differ from us, that it will be well for the South if her industry is mainly directed to the production of cotton. But the Southern lands will yield their increase, though they are not planted with cotton, while the cotton operatives of England, if driven forth by the continued depression of trade, will be utterly lost to the country. We suppose, however, that few will gainsay the importance of our staple industry and the danger that threatens it. Why, then, do we submit so patiently to this affliction? That a purposeless war may go on. Because some of our publicists think that according to the law of nations, so long as the North keeps large bodies of men in the South, not to fight but to rot, it is not lawful to recognise the South. So that the North, under pretence of freeing the negroes, may enlist a few thousands of them to be slaughtered, and if by any means they can accomplish it, cause here and there a servile massacre in the South. Because New England wishes the monopoly of Southern and Western trade, and to exclude European manufactures. We do not wonder that the Yankee is complacent about his smartness, and that he thinks the nations of Europe are in their dotage. New England will not conquer the South, but she will be able to gratify her malignant hatred of this country, and to boast that she destroyed the staple industry of England, by duping our Government with loud bragging and vain threatenings.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE DISRUPTION OF THE DEMOCRATS.

For the second and last time in the history of the United States, the election of a President fell, in 1825, into the hands of the House of Representatives. Voting by States, their choice fell on John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, and father of the present Minister to England. Perhaps, had the old party distinctions lasted, Mr. Adams would have ranked himself among the Federalists. As it was, he was counted as a Democrat; and the vote given in his favour by Henry Clay, which was subsequently arraigned as a breach of faith, could hardly be considered as an act of party treason. On the whole, the choice was probably a good one; for Adams was, at least, as worthy of the Presidency as any of his immediate successors. The principal event of his Administration was the revision of the tariff in 1828, on which occasion the Southern and Northern States were more distinctly and directly brought into conflict than had happened before, except upon the Missouri Compromise. The extravagance of the duties imposed four years before

had led, as a matter of course, to various fraudulent practices; and the object of the revision was rather to render the Customs regulations more stringent and more effective than to raise the rate of the imposts. But the object was still the same—to tax American consumers not for the sake of revenue, but for the benefit of American traders and manufacturers. And the operation of such a measure had become more clearly unjust than ever. We are not now concerned with the economical objections to a protective system. After a careful study of the arguments on either side, we might possibly understand that, in a homogeneous nation, there are plausible reasons why wise and even clear-sighted patriots may be willing to encourage nascent manufactures at a present loss to the community for the sake of a greater ultimate benefit. But the United States were not in a position to do this equitably or safely; for it had now become obvious to all that a protective tariff meant merely the protection of Northern at the expense of Southern industry—the impoverishment of half the Union for the enrichment of the other half. It may be worth while to indicate, once for all, how this came to be the case.

The South, producing chiefly for exportation, required no protection, and could not be benefited by it. In the first place, its system of labour gave it a natural protection against the few rivals it could ever find. Slavery had enabled it to combine, in a tropical climate, the supervision, the energy, and the capital of a superior race with the efficiency of manual industry of which, within the tropics, that race is incapable. It was protected in the markets of the world against India; for India, though she had an abundant supply of cheap labour, had not the advantage of having that labour directed by Anglo-Saxon skill and vigour, and utilised by the capital of a civilized and mercantile people. It was exposed to competition with the West Indies; but that competition hardly affected any produce save that of Louisiana; and after 1833, it ceased to exist. Again, depending on foreign markets, the South could derive no benefit from domestic protection; while such protection was sure to hamper her trade both by provoking retaliatory measures, and by increasing the expense of production and transport. It was not, therefore, that the North would not have granted protective duties on Southern produce, but that the South did not want them. Indeed, in a region of such abundant fertility as the United States, with millions of acres of rich land uncultivated, and half the surface of the country untilled, agriculture could gain nothing by protection, for it had nothing to fear by foreign competition. It was, therefore, only manufacturers that needed encouragement, and it was only for manufacturers that protection was asked.

Now the circumstances of the South were such as almost to forbid the growth of manufactures. The habits and character of the people forbade their aggregation into vast towns and overgrown villages, as in the North. They were scattered over a wider extent of country, and preferred a country life. Again, labour was too valuable to be wasted on manufactures. Every hand that was available was wanted for other employment. There was a constantly-increasing demand for the products of Southern agriculture—a demand increasing much faster than the supply. The only manufactures of the Southern States, therefore, with few exceptions, were carried on at home; the women and girls spinning and weaving the clothing of the household. Manufactures of this kind need no protection, for their cost is hardly appreciable. They do not divert labour from other tasks; they merely occupy time which would otherwise be unemployed. The condition of the Northern, especially of the North-eastern, States was very different. In New England agriculture had begun to languish; it has since decayed not only there, but actually in New York. The soil there has been exhausted more rapidly than in the South, and for precisely the same reason—it did not pay to preserve it. It was more profitable to work it to the uttermost, and, on its failure, to seek new land elsewhere. The Yankee, moreover, is less attached to his home, whether by ties of affection or of convenience, than the planter of the older Southern States. Therefore, the agricultural interest was waning to the North-East; and the encouragement given to manufactures by a long series of protective enactments had fostered there a new interest, which depended on protection, and lived at the expense of the consumers of manufactured goods. Accordingly, we find that in 1828 the New England States were in favour of protection; Daniel Webster declaring that "this has now become the established policy of the nation; the Eastern States have adapted themselves thereto; and it harmonizes with their best interests that it should be maintained." On the other hand, South Carolina took the lead in vehement opposition; and a petition to her Legislature complained, in language very forcible, but substan-

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.)
The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Cluskey. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgment of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Pacificus and Helvetius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

tially just, that, "We exist as a member of the Union merely as an object of taxation. The Northern and Middle States are to be enriched by the plunder of the South. The citizens of South Carolina will be condemned to work as the tributaries of the Northern and Middle sections of the Union. It is so now; and it is triumphantly determined to extend the system indefinitely." At present this opposition did not go further than words; and the tariff bill passed both Houses of Congress by small majorities, and was accepted by the President.

But during the next few years, party and sectional antagonism was much embittered by personal disputes. The election of 1828-9 was almost a personal feud between General Jackson on the one hand, and Messrs. Adams and Clay on the other. It resulted in the triumph of the former; a man of violent and imperious temper, of uncertain political principles, and incapable of keeping on good terms with the ablest of those who surrounded him. He was already on the worst terms with Henry Clay, a man superior to him in every quality which makes men liked by their associates, or trusted by the best of their countrymen. He had not been long in office before he contrived to quarrel bitterly with John C. Calhoun, the Vice-President; than whom no man had more authority with the Southern Democrats, and who was the only American of that day, except Adams and Clay, who would have been accepted as an equal by the statesmen of Europe. These personal quarrels embittered the debates of Congress, and contributed not a little to that exasperation of feeling which, in 1832, actually seemed to endanger the existence of the Union. In that year a new modification of the tariff took place, exceedingly hostile to the interests and the wishes of the South. The State of South Carolina, always foremost in any affray, acted on this occasion with even more than her usual impetuosity. She passed laws nullifying the tariff; and when General Jackson threatened coercion, she took measures for armed resistance. The quarrel was finally appeased by the interposition of the State of Virginia, and the passage of a compromise tariff drawn up by Henry Clay—always a decided Protectionist; but discerning men could hardly fail to see in the collision of 1832 an omen of that disruption which nothing but the most anxious efforts of all the foremost statesmen of all parties, and the moderation of the majority of the Southern States, could have availed to postpone till 1860.

It must be admitted that, though General Jackson showed a lamentable want of discretion in the insolence of his tone and the extravagance of his menaces, he had a better cause, and acted with much more regard to law and to his oath of office than did his successor. He did not take upon himself to proclaim a civil war; nor did he make himself ridiculous by affecting to "read the Riot Act" to Sovereign States. He asked authority from Congress for the measures he deemed it necessary to adopt; it was left for Abraham Lincoln, in violation alike of the spirit and of the letter of the Constitution, to make war of his own mere motion and on his own responsibility. And it can hardly be contended that nullification was legally defensible. A Sovereign State has a right to secede from a Confederacy; but being a member thereof, and reaping the advantages of that position, she is bound to abide strictly by the Federal Constitution. The constitutionality of the Tariff was a question for the Supreme Court, and not for a State Legislature. To justify the action of South Carolina in 1832 would be to excuse the breach of faith committed by those Northern States which, for so many years, persistently "nullified" that important article of the Federal compact which provides for the rendition of fugitive slaves.

General Jackson's administration is notorious in the history of the United States for several acts of high-handed authority, grateful at the time to large numbers of the people, but of disastrous effect as precedents for usurpation on the part of the Executive, and as lessons of contempt for Congress and the Constitution. He used his veto with indiscriminate readiness to stop all measures of which he disapproved. He contrived to destroy the Bank of the United States, first by putting his veto on the renewal of its charter, and secondly by withdrawing from its custody, in despite of his Ministers and of Congress, the deposits lodged therein on account of the Government. We do not propose to discuss the intrinsic wisdom of any of these steps; but it is impossible not to characterise them as unwarrantable assertions of an individual will against the deliberate authority of the Legislature. The destruction of the Bank brought down on the President a direct vote of censure in the Senate, to which he objected as unconstitutional, and which was afterwards expunged from the Senatorial

journals on the motion of Colonel Benton, of Missouri. Under his successor, the duty of taking charge of the receipts and expenditure of the Government was delegated to an official board called the Sub-treasury. But the worst and most unconstitutional portion of President Jackson's conduct was the introduction of the system of wholesale removals from office, of which we have already spoken at length; a practice which first ruined the public service of the United States, and then degraded the Presidential elections into little better than a mere scramble for places. It is worthy of remark that, in the Constitutional Convention, this practice was condemned beforehand as one which no President would dream of adopting, and which, if adopted, would justly subject him to impeachment.

Popular as General Jackson undoubtedly was with the masses, he constantly met with indignant opposition from Congress, and especially from the Senate; and he was, as has been said, at variance with all, or almost all, the leading statesmen of the time. That he contrived to overcome their antagonism, to secure at last an uncontrolled ascendancy, to retire in triumph and to nominate his successor, must be attributed chiefly to the circumstances which rendered it impossible to unite the various sections, hostile to his person or his policy, into a single Opposition party. Mr. Clay had the confidence of the largest section, known first as National Republicans, and afterwards as Whigs—a party, indeed, which may be said to have consisted of his own personal adherents. But it was impossible for his followers to act heartily with those of Calhoun; for the latter was the representative of a Free-trade policy, and had carried his adherence to that policy to the verge of civil war, while Clay was a staunch advocate of a protective tariff. Another and very absurd dissension divided the Opposition. The disappearance of a person who had promised to publish a book revealing the secrets of the Freemasons, gave rise to a wild outcry against the Masonic order; and a party was actually founded which had no other principle, bond of union, or rallying cry than hostility to Masonry. As Henry Clay was a Mason, it was impossible for this party to unite with the National Republicans; and amid this division of its opponents, the party of General Jackson was able to do much as it pleased. It carried its candidate for the Presidency, in 1837, by a vast majority in the electoral colleges; General Jackson's second election having hardly met with an effective opposition.

During the Presidency of General Jackson a bill was passed providing for the distribution of a portion of the revenues arising from the sale of public lands among the States. It received the President's veto. A subsequent measure, providing for the deposit with the States of the surplus then in the Treasury, supported both by Clay and Calhoun, was carried by large majorities, and received the reluctant sanction of General Jackson.

His departure from office left the Government of the United States to be disputed among several factions, all defined rather by personal predilections than by political principles. But, out of the chaos, the Whig party was beginning to form itself, and assume the place of the disbanded Federalists; the Democrats reclosed their broken ranks, and resolutely maintained their hold on the good things of office.

OVERHAULING A BRITISH SHIP IN DANISH WATERS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

ST. THOMAS, February 23, 1863.

Sir,—On last Friday morning, the 20th instant, while in sight of the Island of St. Thomas, and within less than two miles of Dog Island, which is one of the smaller islands adjoining St. Thomas, and probably a little over two miles from the Frenchman's Cap, an island opposite the harbour, the steamer Peterhoff, of and from London to Matamoros, on which vessel I am a passenger, was overhauled by the U.S. war steamer, Alabama. We were steaming for the harbour at the rate of about seven knots, with the English flag and a signal for a pilot up, when the Alabama hove in sight steaming directly across our path. Soon after she caught sight of us she fired two shots across our bow, when the captain of the Peterhoff dipped his signal, and reduced the speed to one half, still keeping on his course. While the Alabama was approaching us we watched her very closely with our glasses, and could see that she had all her guns manned and kept her bow-chaser, a large Parrott gun, trained on us continually as our relative positions were changed by the approach of the Alabama to us. When she was within about half a mile, or less, from us, we stopped our engines, and she did the same, and lowered a boat, which came alongside of us. The boat contained six men and an officer, and the latter came on board to examine our papers, which seemed to be satisfactory, as

he left us very soon and returned to his ship. While the officer was on board, his ship lay about a quarter of a mile from us, showing her broadside and bow-chasers, all manned and trained on us. The Alabama had left this port but a short time before overhauling us, and we were so near her that the shots which she fired were heard at this place. When we got in and the occurrence came to be known, there was quite an excitement here about the infringement of "Danish waters;" but I don't think anything will be done by the authorities, as the Yankees are at present very good customers of this place, and have one or more men-of-war always in the harbour. When we arrived we found the Vanderbilt in the harbour coaling; the ship Shepherd Knapp, an old merchantman, changed to a man-of-war in the harbour, and, as I mentioned before, the Alabama had just left. On the same night the Vanderbilt went out, it was said, in search of the Florida—which had burned a large East India ship near here a few days previously—but, as is here generally believed, to keep out of her way if possible. The Vanderbilt was at Port Royal, Jamaica, while the Alabama was in that port repairing damages after sinking the Hatteras off Galveston. The officers of the Vanderbilt report that they saw the Alabama in the harbour, but did not go in themselves, because they would not have been allowed to stay there longer than twenty-four hours, and that time was too short for them to take in enough coal. They did not say, however, whether they wanted the coal to fight the Alabama with, or to run away from her, so they came here and took coal.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN EARL RUSSELL & THE HON. J. M. MASON.

PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

No. 1, is from Mr. Mason, inclosing a list of twenty-eight vessels which arrived at Havannah and Matanzas from Confederate ports during the months of January and February, 1862.

No. 2, is Lord Russell's acknowledgment of the receipt of this despatch.

No. 3.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received July 7.)

54, Devonshire Street, Portland Place,
London, July 7, 1862.

My Lord,—I am instructed by a recent despatch from the Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America, to bring to the attention of your Lordship, what would seem to be an addition engrafted by her Majesty's Government on the principle of the law of blockade, as established by the Convention of Paris in 1856, and accepted by the Confederate States of America, at the invitation of her Majesty's Government.

In the instructions to me the text of the Convention of Paris is quoted in the following words:—

"Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

And the despatch of the Secretary of State then proceeds:

"The Confederate States, after being recognised as a belligerent Power by the Governments of France and Great Britain, were informally requested by both those Powers to accede to this declaration, as being a correct exposition of international law. Thus invited, this Government yielded its assent."

"Great then was the surprise of the President, at finding in the published correspondence before alluded to" (referring to the papers laid before Parliament, touching the American blockade), "the following expressions of Earl Russell in his letter to Lord Lyons of the 15th of February last.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, are of opinion that assuming that the blockade was duly notified, and also that a number of ships is stationed, and remains at the entrance of a port sufficient, really, to prevent access to it, or to create an evident danger of entering or leaving it; and that the ships do not voluntarily permit egress or ingress, the fact that various ships may have successfully escaped through it (as in the particular instance referred to) will not of itself prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law."

"You will perceive that the words in italics are an addition to the definition of the Treaty of Paris of 1856."

"If such be the interpretation placed by Great Britain on the Treaty of 1856, it is but just that this Government should be so officially informed. Certain it is that this Government did not, nor could it anticipate, that the very doctrine in relation to blockade formerly maintained by Great Britain, and which all Europe supposed to be abandoned by the Treaty of 1856, would again be asserted by that Government."

"The language of her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs may not have been intended to bear the construction now attributed to it, but it is evidently susceptible of this interpretation, and we cannot be too cautious in guarding our rights in a matter which must in the future, as well as the present, so deeply involve the interests of the Confederacy."

As a warrant for the assertion in the despatch of the Secretary, that the superadded words promulgated a doctrine in relation to blockade, formerly maintained by Great Britain, I am referred by him to the text of the Treaty between Great Britain and Russia in 1801, as follows:—

"That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only where there is, by the disposition of the Power which attacks it with ships stationary or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering."—Article 111, Section 4.

The force and effect of these superadded words, it must be plain to your Lordship, has materially and most prejudicially affected, and must continue so to affect, during the existing war, the interests of the Confederate States; nor could this be better shown than by the illustration adopted in the letter referred to, from your Lordship to Lord Lyons, that:

"The fact that various ships may have escaped through it

(the blockade) will not, of itself, prevent the blockade from being an effectual one by international law."

It may be readily admitted that the fact that various ships entering or leaving a port have successfully escaped a blockading squadron, does not show that there may not have been an *evident danger* in so entering or leaving it; but it certainly does show that the blockade was not, in the language of the Treaty of Paris, "maintained by a force sufficient, really, to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

I have, therefore, the honour to request, for the information of my Government, that your Lordship will be good enough to enable me to solve the doubt entertained by the President of the Confederate States as to the construction placed by the Government of her Majesty on the text of the Convention of Paris, as accepted by the Government of the Confederate States in the terms hereinbefore cited, that is to say, whether a blockade is to be considered effective when maintained at an enemy's port by a force sufficient to create an "evident danger of entering or leaving it; and not alone, where sufficient, "really to prevent access."

On the subject of the alleged blockade, I have received from the Department of State of the Confederate States, and am instructed to lay before your Lordship, as her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the accompanying lists of vessels entered and cleared at the port of Charleston, South Carolina, in the months of November and December, 1861, and of January, February, and March, 1862; at the port of Savannah, Georgia, for the months of October, November, and December, 1861; at Galveston, Texas, for the months of December, 1861, and January and February, 1862; at New Orleans, Louisiana, for the months of November and December, 1861, and February, 1862; at Pensicola, Florida, for the months of December, 1861, and January and February, 1862; at Apalachicola, Florida, for the months of December, 1861, and January, 1862; and at Port Lavaca, Texas, in January, 1862.

The doctrines of international law certainly are, that war does not put an end to commerce between a belligerent and neutrals, except at ports and places actually blockaded; and yet in the strange and anomalous pretensions of the United States, apparently acquiesced in by neutral Powers, all commerce between neutrals and the Confederate States is prohibited along an entire coast-line of some 2,500 miles. Armed vessels cruise along the coast, and capture all neutrals that fall in their way, on the allegation that the entire coast is under blockade. The Confederate States, as is known, have never been commercial, their carrying trade being almost entirely in the hands of other nations. Were it otherwise, little effect would be produced upon their commerce by this misnamed blockade. As it is, the few ships and other vessels armed by them have, from the beginning of the war, been actively and profitably employed in carrying their products to foreign ports, and in bringing back supplies. Not one in ten, in the large number of voyages so made, it is believed, has been captured; and had that respect been exacted for neutral rights which the law of nations provides, commerce between Europe and the Confederate States would have been, comparatively, but little interrupted. And in this view, I am instructed to inquire, whether it may not be practicable to require of the blockading Power to specify, from time to time, the ports claimed to be actually blockaded. Besides the larger ports (few in number in the Confederate States) there are numbers of smaller towns, accessible from the sea, where commerce continues to be carried on with foreign nations in the few vessels possessed by Confederate owners, and were blockaded ports designated these latter would at once be open to the commerce of the world in anything not contraband. How far this would be advantageous to neutral Powers it remains for them to determine. The article of cotton alone taken from such ports which are not, and have not been blockaded, but commerce with which is intercepted by armed cruisers, occasionally passing along the coast, would go far to supply the pressing demand of European manufacturers.

In this connection I am instructed emphatically to disclaim any policy in the Confederate States' Government to prohibit or discourage the export of cotton. It has been the policy of the enemy to propagate such belief, and perhaps, to some extent, it may have obtained credence in Europe. On the contrary, I am instructed to assure her Majesty's Government that if Europe is without American cotton, it is because Europe has not thought it proper to send her ships to America for cotton. Were the blockading Power required strictly to designate the ports and places blockaded, and to maintain the same by adequate force from those other ports thus clearly ascertained to be open to trade, any amount of cotton required would be freely offered in exchange for the manufactures of Europe. There is no lack of this great article of export in the interior of the Southern States. It has not been brought to the seaboard because there was little demand for exportation, and it would otherwise be subject to depredation by the enemy. Wherever they approach, it is destroyed by fire, to prevent its falling into their hands; but let the blockaded ports be designated, as required by public law, and it will freely flow to the coast at other points thereby opened to the trade of the world.

There is one subject further in connection with this alleged blockade to which I am directed to call the attention of her Majesty's Government. It is, that vessels of war of the United States are stationed off the mouth of the Rio Grande, with orders not to permit shipments of cotton to be made from the Mexican port of Matamoros. It is claimed that cotton taken from the Confederate States to Matamoros is lawful subject of capture. In proof of this I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of an extract of a letter from J. A. Quintero, the commercial agent of the Confederate States at Matamoros, to the Secretary of State of the Confederate States.

I need not say to your Lordship that although a maritime blockade may, in some sense, be frustrated by the carriage of merchandise, through the medium of interior communication, from a blockaded to a neutral port, when shipped from the latter it is no breach of blockade; yet this is now done at the mouth of the Rio Grande, a river forming the boundary between Mexico and the Confederate States of Texas.

I am, &c.,

(Signed)

J. M. MASON.

[Lists of 171 vessels that had entered and cleared at Southern ports at the close of 1861 and beginning of 1862 accompany this despatch.]

No. 1 is Mr. Layard's acknowledgment of the receipt of the despatch.

No. 5.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received July 17.)

54, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, London, July 17, 1862.

My Lord,—In late proceedings of Parliament, and in reply to inquiries made in each House, as to the intention of her Majesty's

Government to tender offices of mediation to the contending Powers in North America, it was replied, in substance, by Lord Palmerston and your Lordship, that her Majesty's Government had no such intention at present, because although this Government would be ever ready to offer such mediation, whenever it might be considered that such interposition would be of avail, it was believed by the Government that, in the present inflamed or irritated temper of the belligerents, any such offer might be misinterpreted, and might have an effect contrary to what was intended.

I will not undertake, of course, to express any opinion of the correctness of this view so far as it may apply to the Government or people of the United States; but as the terms would seem to have been applied equally to the Government or people of the Confederate States of America, I feel warranted in the declaration, that whilst it is the unalterable purpose of that Government and people to maintain the independence they have achieved, whilst under no circumstances or contingencies will they ever again come under a common Government with those now constituting the United States; and although they do not in any form invite such interposition, yet they can see nothing in their position which could make either offensive or irritating a tender of such offices on the part of Her Majesty's Government, as might lead to a termination of the war, a war hopelessly carried on against them, and which is attended by a wanton waste of human life, at which humanity shudders. On the contrary, I can entertain no doubt that such offer would be received by the Government of the Confederate States of America, with that high consideration and respect due to the benign purpose in which it would have its origin.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. M. MASON.

No. 6.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign Office, July 24th, 1862.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, respecting the intention expressed by Her Majesty's Government to refrain from any present offer of mediation between the contending parties in North America, and I have to state to you, in reply, that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, any proposal to the United States to recognise the Southern Confederacy would irritate the United States, and any proposal to the Confederate States to return to the Union would irritate the Confederates.

This was the meaning of my declarations in Parliament upon the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

RUSSELL.

No. 7.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received July 24.)

54, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, London.

July, 24, 1862.

My Lord,—In the interview I had the honour to have with your Lordship in February last, I laid before your Lordship, under instructions from the Government of the Confederate States, the views entertained by that Government, leading to the belief that it was, of right, entitled to be recognised as a separate and independent Power, and to be received as an equal in the great family of nations.

I then represented to your Lordship that the dissolution of the Union of the States of North America, by the withdrawal therefrom of certain of the Confederates, was not to be considered as a revolution, in the ordinary acceptation of that term; far less was it to be considered as an act of insurrection or rebellion; that it was, both in form and in fact, but the termination of a Confederacy which, during a long course of years, had violated the terms of the Federal compact by the exercise of unwarranted powers, oppressive and degrading to the minority section. That the seceding parties had so withdrawn as organized political communities, and had formed a new Confederacy, comprising then, as now, thirteen separate and sovereign States, embracing an area of 870,610 square miles, and with a population of 12,000,000. This new Confederacy has now been in complete and successful operation, as a Government, for a period of nearly eighteen months; has proved itself capable of successful defence against every attempt to subdue or destroy it; and in a war, conducted by its late Confederates, on a scale to tax their utmost power, has presented everywhere a united people, determined at every cost to maintain the independence they had affirmed.

Since that interview more than five months have elapsed, and during that period events have but the more fully confirmed the views I then had the honour to present to your Lordship. The resources, strength, and power in the Confederate States developed by those events, I think, authorise me to assume, as the judgment of the intelligence of all Europe, that the separation of the States of North America is final; that under no possible circumstances can the late Federal Union be restored; that the new Confederacy has evinced both the capacity and the determination to maintain its independence, and, therefore, with other Powers the question of recognising that independence is simply a question of time.

The Confederate States ask no aid from, nor intervention by, foreign Powers. They are entirely content that the strict neutrality which has been proclaimed between the belligerents shall be adhered to, however unequally it may operate, because of fortuitous circumstances, upon them.

But if the principles and the morals of the public law be, when a nation has established before the world both its capacity and its ability to maintain the Government it has ordained, that a duty devolves on other nations to recognise such fact, then I submit that the Government of the Confederate States of America, having sustained itself, unimpaired, through trials greater than most nations have been called to endure, and far greater than any it has yet to meet, has furnished to the world a sufficient proof of stability, strength, and resources, to entitle it to a place amongst the independent nations of the earth.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. M. MASON.

No. 8.

Mr. Mason asks for a personal interview.

No. 9.

Lord Russell explains the delay in answering Mr. Mason's despatch, and declines an interview.

No. 10.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received August 1.)

54, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, August 1, 1862.

My Lord,—In the interview I had the honour to propose in my late note, I had intended briefly to submit the following views, which I thought might not be without weight, in the consideration to be given by her Majesty's Government to the re-

quest for recognition of the Confederate States, submitted in my letter of the 24th July ultimo. I ask leave now to present them as supplemental to that letter.

If it be true, as there assumed, that in the settled judgment of England the separation of the States is final, then the failure of so great a Power to recognise the fact in a formal manner, imparts an opposite belief, and must operate as an incentive to the United States to protract the contest.

In a war, such as that pending in America, where a party in possession of the Government is striving to subdue those, who for reasons sufficient to themselves, have withdrawn from it, the contest will be carried on in the heat of blood, and of popular excitement long after its object has become hopeless in the eyes of disinterested parties.

The Government itself may feel that its power is inadequate to bring back the recusant States, and yet be unable at once to control the fierce elements which surround it whilst the war rages. Such, it is confidently believed, is the actual condition of affairs in America.

It is impossible in the experience of eighteen months of no ordinary trial—in the small results attained—and in the manifest exhaustion of its resources, that any hope remains with the Government of the United States either of bringing about a restoration of the dissevered Union, or of subjugating those who have renounced it. And yet the failure of foreign Powers formally to recognise this actual condition of things, disables those in authority from conceding that fact at home.

Again, it is known that there is a large and increasing sentiment in the United States in accordance with these views, a sentiment which has its origin in the hard teachings of the war as it has progressed.

It was believed (or so confidently affirmed) that there was a large party in the Southern States devoted to the Union, whose presence and power would be manifested there as soon as the public force of the United States was present to sustain it. I need not say how fully the experience of the war has dispelled this delusion.

Again, it was believed, and confidently relied on, that in the social structure of the Southern States there was a large population of the dominant race indifferent, if not hostile, to the basis on which that social structure rests, in which they were not interested, and who would be found the allies of those whose mission was supposed to be in some way to break it up; but the same experience has shown that the whole population of the South is united, as one people, in arms to resist the invader.

Nothing remains then on which to rest any hope of conquest but a reliance on the superior numbers and the supposed greater resources of the Northern States. I think the results of the last (or pending) campaign has proved how idle such expectations were, against the advantages of a people fighting at home, and bringing into a common stock of resistance, as a free will offering, all that they possessed, whether of blood or treasure. A spectacle now historically before the world.

It is in human experience that there must be those in the United States who cannot shut their eyes to such facts, and yet, in the despotic power now assumed there by the Government, to give expression to any doubt would be to court the hospitalities of the dungeon.

One word from the Government of her Majesty would encourage those people to speak, and the civilized world would respond to the truths they would utter, "that for whatever purpose the war was begun, it was continued now only in a vindictive and unreasoning spirit, shocking alike to humanity and civilization." That potent word would simply be to announce a fact, which a frenzied mind could only dispute, that the Southern States, now in a separate Confederacy, had established before the world its competency to maintain the Government of its adoption, and its determination to abide by it.

To withhold it would not only seem in derogation of truth, but would be to encourage the continuance of a war, hopeless in its object, ruinous alike to the parties engaged in it, and to the prosperity and welfare of Europe.

(Signed)

J. M. MASON.

No. 11.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign Office, August 2, 1862.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 24th of July and 1st inst., in which you repeat the considerations which, in the opinion of the Government of the so-called Confederate States, entitle that Government to be recognised of right as a separate and independent Power, and to be received as an equal in the great family of nations.

In again urging these views you represent, as before, that the withdrawal of certain of the Confederates from the Union of the States of North America is not to be considered as a revolution, in the ordinary acceptation of that term, far less an act of insurrection or rebellion, but as the termination of a Confederacy which had, during a long course of years, violated the terms of the Federal compact.

I beg leave to say in the outset that upon this question of a right of withdrawal, as upon that of the previous conduct of the United States, her Majesty's Government have never presumed to form a judgment. The interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, and the character of the proceedings of the President and Congress of the United States under that Constitution, must be determined, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, by the States and people in North America who inherited, and have till recently upheld that Constitution. Her Majesty's Government decline altogether the responsibility of assuming to be judges in such a controversy.

You state that the Confederacy has a population of 12,000,000; that it has proved itself for eighteen months capable of successful defence against every attempt to subdue or destroy it; that in the judgment of the intelligence of all Europe the separation is final; and that under no possible circumstances can the late Federal Union be restored.

On the other hand, the Secretary of State of the United States has affirmed, in an official despatch, that a large portion of the once disaffected population has been restored to the Union, and now evinces its loyalty and firm adherence to the Government, that the white population now in insurrection is under 5,000,000, and that the Southern Confederacy owes its main strength to hope of assistance from Europe.

In the face of the fluctuating events of the war; the alternations of victory and defeat; the capture of New Orleans; the advance of the Federals to Corinth, to Memphis, and the banks of the Mississippi as far as Vicksburg, contrasted, on the other hand, with the failure of the attack on Charleston, and the retreat from before Richmond; placed too, between allegations so contradictory on the part of the contending Powers;—her Majesty's Government are still determined to wait.

In order to be entitled to a place among the independent

nations of the earth, a State ought to have not only strength and resources for a time, but afford promise of stability and permanence. Should the Confederate States of America win that place among nations, it might be right for other nations justly to acknowledge an independence achieved by victory, and maintained by a successful resistance to all attempts to overthrow it. That time, however, has not, in the judgment of her Majesty's Government, yet arrived. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, can only hope that a peaceful termination of the present bloody and destructive contest may not be distant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 12.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received January 3.)
24, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,
January , 1863.

My Lord,—In a communication which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, dated on the 7th July ultimo, I said:—

"I am instructed by a recent despatch from the Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America to bring to the attention of your Lordship what would seem to be an addition engrafted by her Majesty's Government on the principle of the law of blockade, as established by the Convention of Paris in 1856, and accepted by the Confederate States of America at the invitation of her Majesty's Government."

The "addition" to the principle of blockade referred to, is stated in my communication to have appeared in a letter from your Lordship to Lord Lyons, on the 15th of February preceding, then recently laid before Parliament.

I stated further in that communication, quoting from the instructions of the President,—

"If such be the interpretation placed by Great Britain on the Treaty of 1856, it is but just that this Government should be so officially informed."

And after pointing out the force and effect ascribed by the President to this modification of the principle of blockade, to the prejudice of the interests of the Confederate States, my communication to your Lordship proceeded as follows:—

"I have therefore the honour to request, for the information of my Government, that your Lordship will be good enough to solve the doubt entertained by the President of the Confederate States as to the construction placed by the Government of her Majesty on the text of the Convention of Paris, as accepted by the Government of the Confederate States in the terms hereinbefore cited, that is to say, whether a blockade is to be considered as effective when maintained at an enemy's port by a force sufficient to create an evident danger of entering or leaving it," and not alone where sufficient "really to prevent access."

To that communication I was honoured only by a reply from the Honourable A. H. Layard, dated at the Foreign Office on the 10th of July, informing me that he was directed by your Lordship to acknowledge its receipt; nor have I since been honoured by any communication from your Lordship furnishing an answer to the specific and important inquiry thus made under instructions from my Government.

On the 4th of August following I transmitted to the Secretary of State of the Confederate States a copy of my communication to your Lordship of the 7th of July, together with a copy of the reply of Mr. Layard; and asked for further instructions made necessary by the silence of the Foreign Office, in regard to the inquiries thus submitted.

I have now, within a few days past, received a despatch from the Secretary of State in reply to mine of the 4th of August, the tenor of which I am directed to communicate to your Lordship.

I am instructed to say that, from the papers thus submitted, it would appear to the President that the Government of her Majesty, after having invited the Government of the Confederate States to concur in the adoption of certain principles of international law, and after having obtained its assent assumed in official despatches to derogate from the principles thus adopted, to the prejudice of the interests and rights of the Confederacy; and that upon being approached, in respectful and temperate terms, with a request for explanation on a matter of such deep concern to the Confederation, that Cabinet refuses a reply.

That her Majesty's Government can have no just ground for refusing the explanation asked, because of the absence of the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States by the other nations of the world. It was not in the character of a recognised independent nation, but in that of a recognised belligerent, that the two leading Powers of Western Europe approached the Government of those States with a proposition for the adoption of certain principles of public law, at rules which shall govern the mutual relations between the people of the Confederacy as belligerents, and the nations of Europe as neutrals, during the pending war.

Two of these rules were for the special benefit of Great Britain as one of those neutral Powers. It was agreed that her flag should cover enemy's goods, and that her goods should be safe under the enemy's flag. The former of these two rules conceded to her, as a neutral, rights which she had sternly refused when herself a belligerent, with a single temporary waiver thereof in her late war with Russia. To these stipulations in her favour, the Government of the Confederate States will adhere with scrupulous fidelity. On the part of her Majesty's Government, it was agreed that no blockade should be considered binding unless "maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy;" and yet on the first occasion which arose for the application of this, the only stipulation that could be of practical benefit to the Confederate States during the war, her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in an official despatch published to the world, appends a qualification which in effect destroys its whole value, and when appealed to for an explanation of this apparent breach of an existing solemn agreement between the neutral and the belligerent declines an answer.

In view of these facts, I am instructed by the President to address your Lordship, as her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, this formal protest on the part of the Government of the Confederate States against the apparent (if not executed) purpose of her Majesty's Government to change or modify, to the prejudice of the Confederacy, the doctrine in relation to blockade to which the faith of her Majesty's Government is, by that of the Confederate States, considered to be pledged.

I am further instructed to say, that the President abstains from the present from taking any further action than by his protest thus presented; and to accompany it by the expression of his regret that such painful impressions should be produced on his mind, by so unexpected a result from the first agreement or understanding between the Government of the Confederate States and that of her Majesty.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) J. M. MASON.

No. 13.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign Office, February 10, 1863.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th of January, referring to the letter which you addressed to me on the 7th of July last, respecting the interpretation placed by her Majesty's Government on the Declaration with regard to blockades appended to the Treaty of Paris.

I have, in the first place, to assure you that her Majesty's Government would much regret if you should feel that any want of respect was intended by the circumstance of a mere acknowledgment of your letter having hitherto been addressed to you.

With regard to the question contained in it, I have to say that her Majesty's Government see no reason to qualify the language employed in my despatch to Lord Lyons, of the 15th of February last. It appears to her Majesty's Government to be sufficiently clear that the Declaration of Paris could not be intended to mean that a port must be so blockaded as really to prevent access in all winds, and independently of whether the communication might be carried on in a dark night, or by means of small low steamers or coasting craft creeping along the shore; in short, that it was necessary that communication with a port under blockade should be utterly and absolutely impossible under any circumstances.

In further illustration of this remark, I may say there is no doubt that a blockade would be in legal existence although a sudden storm or change of wind occasionally blew off the blockading squadron. This is a change to which, in the nature of things, every blockade is liable. Such an accident does not suspend, much less break, a blockade. Whereas, on the contrary, the driving off a blockading force by a superior force does break a blockade, which must be renewed *de novo*, in the usual form, to be binding upon neutrals.

The Declaration of Paris was, in truth, directed against what were once termed "paper blockades;" that is, blockades not sustained by a notoriously inadequate naval force, such as the occasional appearance of a man of war in the offing, or the like.

The adequacy of the force to maintain the blockade must indeed always, to a certain extent, be one of fact and evidence; but it does not appear that in any of the numerous cases brought before the Prize Courts in America, the inadequacy of the force has been urged by those who would have been most interested in urging it against the legality of the seizure.

The interpretation, therefore, placed by her Majesty's Government on the Declaration of Paris was, that a blockade, in order to be respected by neutrals, must be practically effective. At the time I wrote my despatch to Lord Lyons, her Majesty's Government were of opinion that the blockade of the Southern ports could not be otherwise than so regarded; and, certainly, the manner in which it has since been enforced, gives to neutral Governments no excuse for asserting that the blockade has not been efficiently maintained.

It is proper to add that the same view of the meaning and effect of the Article of the Declaration of Paris on the subject of blockades, which is above explained, was taken by the Representative of the United States at the Court of St. James's (Mr. Dallas), during the communications which passed between the two Governments some years before the present war, with a view to the accession of the United States to that Declaration.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 14.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received February 16.)
24, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,
February 16th, 1863.

My Lord,—I deem it incumbent on me to ask the attention of Her Majesty's Government to recent intelligence received here, in regard to the blockade at Galveston, in the State of Texas, and at Charleston, in the State of South Carolina.

First, as respects Galveston, it appears that the blockading squadron of the United States was driven off from that port and harbour, by a superior Confederate force, on the 1st day of January last; one ship of that squadron was captured, the flagship destroyed, and the rest escaped, making their way, it is said, to some point of the Southern coast occupied by the United States' forces. Whatever blockade of the port of Galveston, therefore, may have previously existed, I submit, was effectually raised and destroyed by the superior forces of the party blockaded.

Again, as respects the port of Charleston; through the ordinary channels of intelligence, we have information, uncontradicted, that the alleged blockade of that port was, in like manner, raised and destroyed, by a superior Confederate force, at a very early hour on the 31st of January ultimo; two ships of the blockading squadron having been sunk, a third escaped disabled, and what remained of the squadron afloat was entirely driven off the coast.

I have the honour to submit, therefore, that any alleged pre-existing blockade of the ports aforesaid, was terminated at Galveston the 1st day of January last, and at Charleston on the 31st of the same month; a principle clearly stated in a letter I have had the honour to receive from your Lordship, dated on the 10th instant, in the following words:—"The driving off a blockading force, by a superior force, does break a blockade, which must be renewed *de novo*, in the usual form, to be binding upon neutrals;"—a principle uniformly admitted by all text-writers on public law, and established by decisions of Courts of Admiralty.

I am aware that official information of either of these events may not yet have reached the Government of her Majesty, but the consequences attending the removal of the blockade (whether to be renewed or not) are so important to the commercial interests involved, that I could lose no time in asking that such measures may be taken by her Majesty's Government, in relation thereto, as will best tend to the resumption of a commercial intercourse so long placed under restraint.

I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 10th of February instant, to which I shall have the honour of sending a reply in the course of a day or two; and am, &c.

(Signed) J. M. MASON.

No. 15.

Lord Russell acknowledges receipt of the above letter.

No. 16.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received February 18.)
24, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,
London, February 18, 1863.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th of February instant, in answer to mine of the 3rd of January last, but referring more especially to inquiries which I had the honour to address to your Lordship,

under the instruction of the Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America, on the 7th of July last, concerning the interpretation placed by her Majesty's Government on the declaration of the principle of blockade agreed to in the Convention of Paris.

I shall, as early as practicable, communicate the letter of your Lordship to the Government at Richmond, but will anticipate here the satisfaction with which the President will receive the assurance of your Lordship that no want of respect was intended by a mere acknowledgment, without other reply, to the inquiries contained in my letter of July.

In regard to so much of the letter of your Lordship as relates to the interpretation placed by the Government of her Majesty on that part of the Declaration of Paris which prescribes the law of blockade, I am constrained to say that I am well assured the President cannot find in it a source of like satisfaction. It is considered by him that the terms used in that Convention are too precise and definite to admit of being qualified—or, perhaps, it may be more appropriate to say revoked—by the super-additions thereto contained in your Lordship's exposition of them.

The terms of that Convention are, that the blockading force must be sufficient really to prevent access to the coast. No exception is made in regard to dark nights, favourable winds, the size or model of vessels successfully evading it, or the character of the coast or waters blockaded; and yet it would seem from your Lordship's letter that all these are to be taken into consideration, on a question whether the blockade is or is not to be respected.

It is declared in that letter that—

"It appears to her Majesty's Government to be sufficiently clear that the Declaration of Paris could not have been intended to mean that a port must be so blockaded in all winds, and independently of whether the communication might be carried on of a dark night, or by means of small low steamers, or coasting craft, creeping along the shore."

As a general rule, the ports and harbours of the Confederate States are obstructed by bars, which do not admit the passage of large vessels. What might be considered a "small" or a "low" steamer, coming in from sea to the port of New York, would, at one of those Southern ports, be rated a vessel of very fair size when referred to the ordinary stage of water on its bar; yet I look in vain in the terms of the Convention referred to, for any authority to expound them in subordination to the depth of water, or the size or mould of vessels finding ready and comparatively safe access to the harbour.

In acceding to the terms of that Treaty, great advantages are yielded to a maritime neutral, with like immunities to a maritime belligerent. The property of the neutral is safe under the flag of the belligerent, and the property of the belligerent equally as safe under the flag of the neutral. The only equivalent to the belligerent, not maritime, but dependent on other nations as carriers, is this strictly-defined principle of the law of blockade, which the Confederate States presumed was extended to them, when, at the request of Her Majesty's Government, they became parties to those stipulations of the Convention of Paris of 1856. It results that, after yielding full equivalents, the stipulation in regard to the blockade, reserved as the only one beneficial to them, would seem illusory.

In regard to the character of this blockade, to which your Lordship again adverts in the remark that the manner in which it has been enforced gives neutral Governments no excuse for asserting that it has not been efficiently maintained, although I have not been instructed to make any further representations to her Majesty's Government on that subject since its decision to treat it as effective, I cannot refrain from adding, that for many months past the frequent arrival and departure of vessels (most of them steamers) from several of those ports have been matters of notoriety. A single steamer has evaded the blockade successfully, and most generally from Charleston, more than thirty times. And within a few days past it has been brought to my knowledge that two steamers arrived in January last, and within ten days of each other, at Wilmington (North Carolina) from ports in Europe, one of 400 and the other of 500 tons burthen, both of which have since sailed from Wilmington, and arrived with their cargoes at foreign ports. I cite these only as the latest authenticated instances. And as another remarkable fact, it is officially reported by the Collector at Charleston, that the revenue accruing at that port from duties on imported merchandise during the past year, under the blockade, was more than double the receipts of any one year previous to the separation of the States; and this although the duties under the Confederate Government are much lower than those exacted by the United States.

As regards other portions of your Lordship's letter, I may freely admit, as it is there stated, that a blockade would be in legal existence although a sudden storm or change of wind might occasionally blow off the blockading squadron. Yet, with entire respect, I do not see how such principle affects the question of the efficiency of such blockade whilst the squadron is on the coast. And again, whilst I am not informed whether or no a defence resting on the inadequacy of the blockading force has been urged in cases of capture before the Prize Courts in America, I can well see how futile such defence would be when presented on behalf of a neutral ship, whose Government had not only not objected to, but had admitted, the sufficiency of the blockade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. M. MASON.

No. 17.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign Office, February 19, 1863.

Sir,—With reference to my letter of the 16th instant acknowledging the receipt of your letter of that day, calling attention to the accounts which had reached this country tending to show that the blockading of the ports of Galveston and Charleston had been put an end to by the action of the Confederate naval forces, I have the honour now to state to you that the information which her Majesty's Government have derived from your letter and from the public journals on this subject is not sufficiently accurate to admit of their forming an opinion, and they will accordingly, by the first opportunity, instruct Lord Lyons to report fully on the matter.

When his Lordship's report has been received and considered, I shall have the honour of making a further communication to you on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 18.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign Office, February 27, 1863.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your further letter of the 18th instant on the subject of the interpreta-

tion placed by her Majesty's Government on the declaration of the principle of blockade made in 1856 by the Conference at Paris.

I have already, in my previous letters, fully explained to you the views of Her Majesty's Government on this matter; and I have nothing further to add in reply to your last letter, except to observe that I have not intended to state that any number of vessels of a certain build or tonnage might be left at liberty freely to enter a blockaded port without violating the blockade, but that the occasional escape of small vessels on dark nights, or under other particular circumstances, from the vigilance of a competent blockading fleet, did not evince that laxity in the belligerent which enured, according to international law, to the raising of a blockade.

I am, &c.,
(Signed)

RUSSELL.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, March 17.

The past week has been an odd jumble of war panics, bourse canards, masquerading, election gossip, court festivities, and influenza. The misgivings of the public that we may be slowly but surely drifting towards a war, has been rather strengthened than otherwise by the publication of sundry despatches in the *Moniteur* about Poland. The most important of those despatches is that of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in which his Excellency states, as clearly as a diplomatist can, that, though professedly unwilling to go to war on behalf of Poland, France may be compelled to do so by the "pressure of public opinion."

It is unquestionably true that the feeling in favour of the Poles is unanimous; all the papers write on the subject with great vigour; but as for going to war, I believe that the middle classes generally would rather see Poland at the bottom of the Atlantic, than assent to another crusade on behalf of "nationalities."

Theodore Hooke used to sneer at what he called the "right of the Poles to stick up for themselves," sacrificing truth to smartness. It must be conceded that the atrocities of the Russian rule have made it unendurable. At all events, France and Europe wish to obtain for the Poles, that they should no longer be exposed to the knout, to wholesale transportation to Siberia, to murder, rapine, and all the abuses of misgovernment, by which their barbarous conquerors strive to establish their rule over their more civilized victims. It is premature to say that this may not yet be effected by diplomacy; and whether France will go to war in spite of Europe to enforce the wishes of Europe, is too complicated a question to offer an opinion upon at its present stage. All that is necessary for the present, is to take note that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has represented it as a possibility, and that the Senate commences a debate on the subject this day, in the course of which the views of the Government will probably be fully stated by M. Billault.

Concerning the elections, the representatives of the Bourgeoisie, whom the London weekly organ of rabid democracy stigmatizes as "Orleanists," have determined no longer to hold aloof, and boldly to descend into the electoral arena, and take the oath imposed on all candidates of "fidelity to the Emperor and obedience to the Constitution." Their resolution seems to have thrown the *Constitutionnel*, *Pays*, *Nation*, and other semi-official prints into convulsions. These papers openly charge men like the Duke de Broglie, Guizot, Thiers, Montalembert, with meditating deliberate perjury, and dwell with an emphasis, which is not without piquancy, on the enormity of breaking a political oath. Considering that both the Emperor and M. de Persigny have invited this movement by pronouncing the constitution capable of improvement, and appealing to all men of enlightenment and good faith to aid in the task of reform, the impertinence of these small scribblers is not worthy a moment's serious attention. So far as Orleanism is concerned, its interests would be better served by the present *regime* being made more stringent. Every liberal concession that the Emperor may grant, whatever additional guarantee may be given to the freedom of the subject, every sacrifice of arbitrary power by the Government consolidates the dynasty, and deals a deadly blow against *les anciens parties*.

The little Prince Imperial has just completed his seventh year, and there have been great rejoicings at the Tuileries in consequence. A certain number of small boys are attached to every regiment in the service, attired in uniform and regularly drilled. They are mostly orphans—the sons of old soldiers fallen in action, or of non-commissioned officers, or officers in the regiment themselves. A couple of battalions of these young soldiers were mustered in the court-yard of the Tuileries, armed with miniature muskets, provided with miniature knapsacks, and looking for all the world like a Lilliputian army. They went through the manual exercise, marching, &c., and acquitted themselves to perfection. The little Prince did duty as sergeant, and appeared to understand his duty perfectly well. From the ease with which he discharged, loaded, and primed

his musket, it is evident that every pains have been taken to "teach his young idea how to shoot." Last night the Prince and all his youthful comrades went to the Cirque to see a military pantomime, purporting to represent the Battle of Marengo, and had a rich treat of gunpowder, dancing and cakes after the play.

You will have heard with regret of the accident to Miss Slidell. Your readers will be happy to learn that all danger is considered at an end.

The English here are in a state of intense disgust at the apathy of the Embassy in taking no steps to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The Ambassador was absent it is true, but he left a *chargé d'affaires* behind him, and a very little expense would have prevented the English colony in Paris cutting such a very sorry figure by the side of their countrymen in every second-rate continental town.

THE CONFEDERATE LOAN.

THE prospectus was issued on Wednesday afternoon, for the Seven per cent. Loan of the Confederate States. The total amount to be distributed in London, Liverpool, Paris, Amsterdam, and Frankfort is £3,000,000, and the price is fixed at 90. The dividends are to be paid in sterling on the 1st of March and 1st of September, and the principal, unless the bonds are given up in exchange for cotton, is to be paid off in sterling at par in twenty years by half-yearly drawings, commencing in March next year. The holders of the bonds may at any time, on sixty days' notice, have them exchanged for cotton, at the rate of 6d. per lb., which is equal to about 5½d., allowing for the fact of the £100 bond having been issued at 90, in instalments extending to the 15th of October, with 7 per cent. discount for prepayment. If the cotton be demanded while war still prevails, it will be delivered in the interior within ten miles of a railway, or stream navigable to the ocean, and the parties must take the risk of getting it through the blockade. If it be not demanded until peace shall have been established, it will be delivered free of all charges at the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans. The contractors for the loan are Messrs. Emile Erlanger and Co., of Paris, and the several agents are Messrs. J. H. Schröder and Co., London; Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm, and Co., Liverpool; Messrs. B. H. Schröder and Co., Amsterdam; and Mr. Raphael Erlanger, Frankfort. Transactions immediately took place at 2½ to 3 premium.

PROGRESS OF DESPOTISM IN THE NORTH.

The week will be a memorable one in the annals of America. It has sealed the doom of the liberties of the North, unless there shall occur in due time a counter-revolution to restore a Constitutional Government. Three extreme measures have been passed which were intended to make Mr. Lincoln dictator, and have accomplished their purpose. By the first he is authorized to suspend the operation of the law of *Habeas corpus* whenever he shall deem fit, expedient, or necessary. He or his secretaries may cause to be imprisoned and kept in prison, without trial, for an indefinite length of time, any person, high or low, in any of the States of the Union. He may order a military force to seize the Governor of New York or Connecticut, or any other sovereign commonwealth. He may arrest and hold in Forts La Fayette, Warren, or McHenry, the members of any Legislature whose proceedings he may adjudge to be treasonable or dangerous. He may seize a judge upon the judgment-seat, and carry him off to prison, as his secretaries did Judge Carmichael, of Maryland, and hold him there as a common malefactor, without specifying the offence committed. He may silence any tongue, or pen, or printing press in the country, and no judge or jury shall question the legality of his act. It is true that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War "are directed to furnish to the judges, as soon as may be practicable, the names of the persons arrested, that they may be presented to the grand jury for indictment;" but the President and his secretaries are alone to decide on the "practicability" of such a step; and, if they are of opinion that it is unwise or unsafe to liberate or bring to trial any such prisoners during the two remaining years of the Presidential term, there is nothing in the act of Congress to compel them to make an earlier decision. This proviso, therefore, counts for nothing. And in order that the President may have the power to carry this gigantic tyranny into effect, and become *de facto* the strongest despot in the world, Congress has passed a Conscription Act, which calls out, at the discretion of the President, as to numbers, the whole able-bodied male population of the country between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. The first call of 600,000 men is to be made, with what success will not be known until after the 10th of July, when the Act comes into operation. The Democratic party was powerless to defeat the measure. It was so obviously necessary that the Government should have the means of recruiting its fast-disappearing armies, which, in two months, will be reduced to one-half of their actual strength by the expiry of the term of service of the two years and nine months volunteers, that any real opposition would have been considered factions. The Democrats, therefore, made up their minds to accept the measure and propose two important, though not essential, amendments. The framer of the Bill had, in a parenthetical proviso, given power to the Provost-Marshal to arrest "all persons suspected of treasonable practices." In order that there might be no mistake, Messrs. Vallandigham, Vocees, Cox, and other Democrats, supported the omission of the words and the restriction of the powers of the Provost-Marshal to the conscripts to be enrolled under the Act. After a spirited debate, in which the galleries for the first time during the session applauded a Democratic speaker for asserting the liberties of his country against the encroachments of irresponsible military power, the amendment was carried. Another amendment, to insert the word "white" before the words "male able-bodied citizens" was rejected; so that under the New Conscrip Law

the negroes will be liable to serve side by side with the white race in the future armies of the Republic. Should this lead to difficulty the President has the remedy in his own hands, and has simply to order the enrolment officers not to call upon the negroes for military duty, to obviate the danger of mutiny among the whites that might otherwise result. There needed but one other measure to complete the charmed circle of Imperialism, and that was provided by the Currency and Banking Acts of Mr. Secretary Chase, which, after a series of amendments and reconsideration in both Houses, and a Committee of Conference of the two, have been finally passed. In one way or the other, by loan, and by the issue of greenbacks, the Government is authorised to issue about \$1,100,000,000, a sum that, before the rise in gold, would have represented about £220,000,000 sterling; but that, with gold at 72 per cent. premium, only represents about £137,000,000. Mr. Chase has also carried his favourite projects of taxing the existing banks upon their circulation, and of introducing a uniform Federal currency of greenbacks that are not to be taxed. These are stupendous measures. The three form a perfect unity, solid, substantial, and artistically dovetailed one into the other. Were Mr. Lincoln a man of genius, a great soldier, an astute and far-seeing diplomatist, or an ambitious and designing intriguer, having the will to make himself King, Emperor, Czar, hereditary President, Lord Protector, or anything else, they would afford him the means of putting a speedy and ignominious end to the Republic. But these powers have not been given to him for such purposes. The Republican party know their man, and think that they can trust him. Neither have they been conferred upon him in order that he may more effectually carry on the war for the subjugation of the South. He is no more the man for that purpose than he is the man of whom to make an Emperor. In this respect, too, the Republicans know him, and have taken the measure of his capacity. The restoration of the Union is felt to be impossible, not only by the President, but by every prominent man in public life. Both the Union and the Constitution upon which it was founded are defunct. The Southern Congress destroyed the Union; the Northern Congress has destroyed the Constitution. The revolution has completed its first cycle. North and South are two for evermore, and are as incapable for the future of being united under one government as England and France or Ireland and Italy. These stringent measures have a more logical foundation than any baseless hope of the re-annexation of the South. They are intended for the subjugation and the consolidation of the North. The danger has long been appreciated in all its magnitude by the reason as well as by the instinct of the Northern people, and the process of disintegration would not stop with Southern independence, but would extend to the North and West, and if the principles of Secession were once admitted for any part of the late Union, it could not be successfully resisted for any other. Hence the President has been invested with these extraordinary powers in order that he may nip in the bud any attempt on the part of the Western or Middle States either to throw in their fortunes with those of the South, or to set up for themselves. It is not the South that troubles the sleep of the magnates of Washington, but the West. The symptoms are in the highest degree alarming. The President's own State of Illinois is a hotbed of disaffection. Indiana is no better. Ohio is dissatisfied. Missouri is only held down by the sword. In fact, there is imminent danger throughout the whole of the more fertile regions of the West of an organised outbreak against the Government of Washington. To confront that danger, and not to meet the armies of Mr. Jefferson Davis, is the real object of the Conscription Act and its kindred and correlative measures. In this intention the Government is right to defend itself. It has been constantly said that the life of the nation was at stake in its contest with the South. If the North is ever to become a nation—one in purpose, in interest, in sympathy, and in destiny—now is the time to prevent the centrifugal action of the discordant and dissentient States, and a dissolution of the whole body politic. The North passionately desires to live as a nation. On this point there can be no mistake. The people are not ordinarily very serious or very earnest about anything, but the veneration for the flag amounts to a fanaticism, and their ambition to be the greatest naval and military Power in the world is so huge as to deprive them, when under its influence, of all the reason that usually governs their actions. Under this paramount impulse it tolerates the extreme powers that are vested in the President, and that it would not have vested in an abler and more ambitious man, and blinds itself to the danger—palpable to every calm observer—that the liberties which it so patiently and hopefully resigns may never again be recovered without a series of violent convulsions—anarchies, despotisms—that are awful to imagine as the destiny of a race so intelligent and so worthy of freedom.—*Times' New York Correspondent.*

A STRANGE CAREER.—A few days since, the death was announced of Mr. John Gully, at the age of eighty years. The deceased gentleman commenced life as a butcher, but soon turned his attention to pugilism, and gained some reputation in the ring, which, fifty years ago, was esteemed somewhat higher than it is at present. After beating several of the best men of his day, and bearing a vast amount of punishment with exemplary fortitude, he refused any further fictitious encounters, and became a book-maker and horse-trainer. His success, induced by his shrewdness, and, above all, by his honourable dealing, enabled him to invest largely in valuable horse-flesh, and to purchase a small estate. Then came the strangest phase of all. The ex-butcher, pugilist, horse-trainer, and betting man, became a member of the British House of Commons, and though it is no compliment to him to say he did not disgrace his antecedents, which were certainly none of the most hopeful for a legislator, it is much to his credit that in an assembly of gentlemen he had many friends and no enemies. Upon retiring from parliamentary life, he devoted his time to the care of his property, but to the last taking an interest in sporting matters. He was a remarkable instance of how strong common sense and sterling honesty will, in this aristocratic country, enable a man to rise to an independent position from the lowest ranks of life.

AN EX-CONVICT AT ST. JAMES'S.—Accidents will happen, notwithstanding the most precise regulations. At the late levee held by the Prince of Wales on behalf of her Majesty, a Mr. Samuel Tillet, who had taken an active part in the Australian department of the International Exhibition of 1862, was presented by the Duke of Wellington. A few days afterwards the presentation was cancelled by an announcement in the *London Gazette*. Mr. Tillet, it transpired, was about ten years ago convicted of fraud and swindling, and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude by Chief Baron Pollock. He was released on a ticket-of-leave before he had completed his term of imprisonment. That he should have been able to get presented at Court is hardly so surprising, as that for the sake of that honour he should incur the almost certain risk of exposure.

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 26, 1863.

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Not only are the Federals determined to whip the South, and the nations of Europe, but they intend to whip creation itself. The *New York Herald* of March 11, in the edition specially prepared for this benighted continent, favours its readers with an illustration of "The Great Union River," that is to be formed by the genius of Yankeedom. The magnificent enterprise is announced with a tremendous flourish of sensation headings. What can be more imposing than such declarations as "Xerxes, Cyrus, Julius Cæsar, Hannibal; Alexander, and Napoleon, to be outdone!"—"The natural course of great rivers to be changed!"—"The Father of Waters to be set aside, and another river—the great Union river—opened to the Gulf of Mexico!" Let us be thankful the Federals have not determined to submerge Great Britain in the Atlantic, or to suspend the law of gravity. The Great Union River is nearly as exciting as the nuptials of Tom Thumb, and it may answer the purpose of keeping people from thinking of the difficulties that threaten every moment to engulf them in national ruin. The most curious phase in this scheme is that the North triumphs as though it were accomplished. After the sensation headings we have quoted, the *New York Herald* gives some details of the enterprise. It exultingly exclaims, "Napoleon, in his maxims, recommends the using of streams as a means of either offence or defence, but there is no record of his turning a river for hundreds of miles from its natural bed." At present, however, the fame of Napoleon is not eclipsed, for until now even the little ditch which was to leave Vicksburg high and dry, is a failure.

We have this week more than the usual supply of war rumours. Three several stories have been told about General Van Dorn. There is an irrepressible feeling of uneasiness caused by that General's victory at Springfield on the 5th of March. As we suggested in our last number, the Confederate triumph was complete. Three Federal regiments were cut to pieces or captured, only the cavalry escaped, and the artillery and stores fell into the hands of the victors. To quiet the public mind, it was reported that General Van Dorn's forces had retreated South; then that a battle was imminent at Spring Hill; and lastly that the Confederates had been defeated with heavy loss. It is evident that the Federal authorities know nothing of the movements of General Van Dorn since the 5th, or, for reasons of their own, keep their knowledge a secret.

There is a rumour that a battle has been fought on the Yazoo River, in which the Federals captured seven thousand Confederates, together with Yazoo City and

some Confederate transports. The New York press credits this report, because it is pleasant to do so, and we are not in a position to deny it. Then there is a rumour that the Confederates have captured Forts Donelson and Henry, but the New York press does not generally credit it because it is unpleasant to do so, and we are not in a position to affirm it. There is a further rumour that an engagement was progressing at Port Hudson, and this was admitted to be doubtful because the result was not indicated. Perhaps these rumours, though that about the Yazoo expedition is pertinaciously repeated in every telegram, may be nearly as devoid of foundation as that which notified the destruction of the Florida, and in reference to which we are now told, "The wreck seen off Havannah was not that of the Florida, as supposed." It may seem curious that such a mistake could arise, since it would be easy to tell whether the wrecked ship was or was not the Florida; but the mystery is explained in the Havannah correspondence of the Northern associated press. The captain of the American schooner Ocean Herald, who saw the wreck, also described something to the windward of her, and fearing the Confederates, did not approach her. So, as the captain was afraid to use his eyes, he had recourse to his imagination.

But we have a few war facts as well as war rumours. On the 3rd inst., the Federal fleet bombarded Fort M'Alister, and the attack lasted twenty hours, when the Federals retired. The result of the engagement, according to the Yankee accounts, is gratifying to both the belligerents—the Confederate fort was not taken, and the Federals were not hurt. The Federal vessels were struck several times, "but not injured," yet the game is considered so unpleasant or so hopeless that the attack is not to be renewed. Why do Federal Monitors retreat before they are hurt? In the case of the Montauk the turret was injured, and possibly some such explanation may hereafter be given of the withdrawal from before Fort M'Alister.

On the 9th inst., the Confederate cavalry passed the Federal lines, appeared at Fairfax Court House, and captured General Stoughton, his guard, baggage and 110 horses. Amongst the booty was the Federal order book, and from this the Confederates learnt the counter-sign, and so repassed the Federal outposts at Centreville without opposition. When the Confederates were at a safe distance, Federal cavalry were sent in pursuit. On the 11th General Hooker was at Washington, holding a conference with the Cabinet; and no doubt the above incident afforded President Lincoln an admirable opportunity for telling funny anecdotes, and cracking west county jokes. It is provocative of mirth for the Confederates to capture a Federal general within his lines, and to use the Federal countersign to carry him off.

As a compensation for this affair, the indefatigable Northern reporters assert that expeditions from the Army of the Potomac "have visited all the ferries on the Rappahannock, eighty miles below the Federal lines, broken up numerous smuggling nests, and captured a quantity of contraband stores." This kind of amateur police work just now suits the Army of the Potomac better than fighting the Confederates.

It is also reported by the New York papers that on the 7th the Federal cavalry attacked the Confederates at Unionville, ten miles from Murfreesboro, Tennessee, capturing their camp equipage and a number of prisoners.

The condition of the Federal army before Vicksburg is nearly as forlorn as that of the Army of the Potomac. It is reduced, if not demoralized, by sickness. An official report states that nearly every tent is an hospital, that on the 26th of February there were 12,000 sick, of

whom numbers were dying daily, and that there were not more than 20,000 men fit for duty. Every day disease was spreading, and the rate of mortality increasing. What else could have been expected from encamping an army on swampy ground? The Federals, besides putting aside the Mississippi and changing the course of great rivers, should change the climate of the South, so as to make it more salubrious to Northern soldiers.

The Federal Commodore Porter has done something at last. He has not captured a fortified town, or gained a naval victory, but he has issued a proclamation. He notifies that all parties caught firing upon unarmed vessels, burning cotton, or levying contributions, shall be hanged. But the Southerners will continue to burn their cotton whenever there is a chance of its falling into the hands of the Northern invader. Commodore Porter is not quite so dashing as Mr. Lincoln in his threats, for he does not propose to hang "all parties" before they are caught.

It is reported that there has been a great rise in the Cold Water River, from cutting the levels on the Mississippi, and that Federal gunboats were able to pass over it in spite of the obstructions placed in its bed by the Confederates.

The capture of the steamer Peterhoff from London, to Matamoras, off St. Thomas, is announced, and a private letter from St. Thomas gives us some interesting particulars of the affair. Our correspondent says, the Federals have four vessels in port, and that they make use of the harbour as a rendezvous, coming in and going out as they please. They do not care for the Danish authorities, and there is not an English steamer at that station to keep them in order. When the telegraph signals a steamer off the port the Federals go out, overhauled her, and then return. The Peterhoff put in for coal, but before doing so she had been boarded and overhauled. Having coaled, the Peterhoff, at noon, on the 26th of February, put to sea. Our correspondent says, "Just as she left the Vanderbilt steamed after her, boarded her a short distance off, and sent a prize crew on board. Opinions are divided as to what was done to her. Some say that she was sent to Key West or New York, while others maintain that the crew of nineteen men and one officer were put on board to see that she did really go to Matamoras—this last supposition is simply absurd, and my idea is that she is regularly captured. Her voyage is a *bond fide* legitimate one, there being no intention of running the blockade. There is a report in town derived from good authority, that Admiral Wilkes, finding he had gone too far in the capture of the Peterhoff, has gone to Key West, in Vanderbilt, to release her, either before she gets to Key West, or else on her arrival there. The Vanderbilt has certainly left with Wilkes on board." The Peterhoff had a British mail on board. Comment on this proceeding is needless. The affair is to be submitted to-morrow to Lord Russell. We shall see whether his lordship's "liberal construction" of the law of nations, when the Federals are concerned, will sanction this outrage. On the 9th inst., another British steamer, the Douro, was captured off Cape Fear, by the Federal gunboat Quaker City. It is easier and safer capturing British merchantmen than looking after Confederate cruisers. The British steamer, Queen of the Wave, has run aground at Charleston.

President Davis has set apart, to-morrow, the 27th of March, to be observed in the Confederate States as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. The following is the President's proclamation:—

It is meet that, as people who acknowledge the supremacy of the living God, we should be ever mindful of our depen-

dence on Him, and should remember that to Him alone can we trust our deliverance, that to Him is due the devout thankfulness for signal mercies bestowed on us, and that by prayer alone can we hope to receive continued manifestation of that protecting care which has hitherto shielded us in the midst of trials and dangers. In obedience to this precept we have from time to time been gathered together with prayers and thanksgiving, and He has been graciously pleased to hear our supplications, and to grant abundant exhibitions of His favour to our arms and our people.

Through many conflicts we have now attained a place among nations which commands their respect; and let the enemies who encompass us around and seek our destruction see that the Lord of Hosts has again taught them the lesson of his inspired word, "that the battle is not to the strong," but to whomsoever he willeth to exalt. Again an enemy, with loud boasting of power, of their armed men and mailed ships, threaten us with subjugation, and with evil machinations seek, even in our homes and at our own firesides, to pervert our men servants and our maid servants into accomplices of their wicked designs.

Under these circumstances it is my privilege to invite you once more to meet together and prostrate yourselves in humble supplication to Him who has been our constant and never failing support in the past, and to whose protection and guidance we trust for the future. To this end, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, setting apart Friday the 27th day of March, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

I do also invite the people of the said States to repair on that day to their usual places of public worship, there to join in prayer to Almighty God that He will continue his merciful protection over our cause; that He will scatter our enemies and set at naught their evil designs, and that He will graciously restore to our beloved country the blessings of peace and security.

In faith whereof I have hereunto set my hand, at the city of Richmond, on the 27th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1863.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President—J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

President Lincoln has signed the Bill authorising the issue of Letters of Marque, but whether he will act upon it, at least for the present, is not certain. The Republican faction and that wise body the New York Chamber of Commerce requests him to put it in force immediately, whilst not a few urge him not to pursue a course that is likely to involve a foreign war in addition to the one already on hand. Mr. Lincoln is in a critical position. His despotic power over the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the United States is not to be a dead letter. He is forthwith to assert his authority and put forth his strength, and if he fails he is to be punished. Already the *New York Herald* threatens him with imprisonment. This journal says (March 11th):—

The verdict of the people will be so overwhelming against him, with the repetition this year of anything like the military blunders, disappointments and disasters of last year, that Congress will be compelled to respond to the public judgment of the country. The House of Representatives, from the pressure of public opinion, will be constrained to institute articles of impeachment against him, and the Senate, though controlled by a majority of his own party, will not be able to refuse a trial or to resist a judgment of "inability" on the part of the President "to discharge the powers and duties of his office." In the event of such a judgment, the duties of his office "will devolve upon the Vice President," and Mr. Hamlin has the reputation of a man of great experience in public life, and of more than ordinary administrative ability.

The German Working Men's Association of Chicago protest against the \$300 charged in the Conscription Bill, and remind Mr. Lincoln that he was elected by the working men, and he must give wealth no privilege over labour.

Mr. Lincoln has issued a proclamation ordering all soldiers "enlisted or drafted," and now absent from their regiments without leave, to return by the 1st of April. If they do so they are not to be punished, except by loss of pay; if they do not obey the edict they are to be treated as deserters. Some of the drafted deserters cannot very well return to their regiments, because they have never joined them. Mr. Lincoln has not much faith in the efficacy of his order, for he refers to "evil disposed and disloyal persons," who have "enticed and provoked soldiers to desert and absent themselves from their regiments," and he calls upon "patriotic and faithful citizens" to resist "such dangerous and treasonous crimes." This is incidentally a remarkable official confession of Northern disunity.

A private letter from New Orleans, written by a highly respected and well-known gentleman, enables us to give a full account of the Secession Demonstration that lately took place in that city. A cartel steamer was about leaving with 382 exchanged Confederate prisoners. No notice was given to the public through the papers, but the people at large got wind of it, and at least 20,000 persons, mostly ladies, congregated on the Levee to see them off and bid them God speed. It so annoyed the Federal authorities that they ordered out four full companies of cavalry and artillery, with orders to disperse the crowd. A Federal captain got up on a barrel and announced that he would arrest and send to the Custom House the first woman who waved a handkerchief—in an instant at least a thousand handkerchiefs were waving in the air, accompanied with shouts of "God bless the Confederate boys,

God bless the Confederate boys." The Yankee officer concluded there was too much unanimity in the crowd to carry out his threat, and got down and walked off. Nothing has occurred since the capture of the city which has been so annoying to the Federals as this affair, and they took a paltry revenge.

Between 300 and 400 ladies with children, and perhaps a dozen gentlemen, had gone on board the *Laurie Hill* steamer, lying convenient to the cartel steamer, and therefore a good position to see what was going on; both steamers lay in front of Admiral Farragut's flag-ship, which was anchored in the stream. Of course there was a good deal of waving of handkerchiefs on the part of the ladies on the *Laurie Hill*. This boat had steam up for the purpose of going down the river some fifteen miles to coal, and Admiral Farragut sent word to her captain to start without giving any warning, and she actually did start, taking all the ladies and children with her, and kept them prisoners on board until 12 o'clock the next day, when she returned to the Levee. That the act was premeditated is known from the fact that a file of soldiers, armed, was sent on board a few minutes before the lines were cast off. The anxiety in the city during their absence was immense. Admiral Farragut is bold enough when his enemies are defenceless women and children.

Messrs. Vallandigham and Pendleton, of Ohio, have made addresses to the Democratic Association, in which they advocate a restoration of the Union, but protest that it cannot be restored by war. Mr. Seymour, the Democratic candidate for the governorship of Connecticut, has made a similar declaration.

The property of the Hon. John Slidell, in New Orleans, is to be, or probably by this time has been, confiscated. The local papers thus refer to the matter:—

The first case that has come up in this city regularly under the confiscation act was brought before the provisional court yesterday by Mr. Lamont, the vigilant prosecuting attorney, who filed an information against John Slidell for the seizure of his property, and calling for its confiscation under the act of Congress declaring the property of rebels forfeited to the Government. The information, after setting forth the authority on which it is based, to wit, the acts of Congress, and that John Slidell is at present in rebellion against the Government and in the service of the so-called Confederate States as minister or commissioner to France, proceeds to denounce his property as forfeited and subject to confiscation for the support of the army engaged in putting down the rebellion, and asks for its seizure and sale, after due proceedings, according to law.

The negroes are a source of continued trouble to the North. Officers refuse to command them, soldiers refuse to serve in the same armies, and the Legislatures are called upon to devise measures to keep the black race out of the States. The anti-negro riots at Detroit were serious. A negro charged with an outrage on a white girl was being taken to prison by some soldiers, when the citizens interfered, for the purpose of enacting summary vengeance on the accused. The soldiers defended their prisoner, and a riot ensued. Many—at least ten or fifteen—innocent coloured persons, were murdered; thirty-two negro houses were burnt or otherwise destroyed, and 200 people rendered homeless. Well may the poor negro in the North long to be in Dixie.

We learn from the New York telegrams that resolutions have been introduced into the Confederate Congress to inquire into the expediency of repealing the resolution declaring that a neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

Amongst the miscellaneous news is the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Cassius M. Clay as Minister to Russia, an appointment which is not particularly complimentary to the Imperial friend of the North. A collision between the military and the citizens at Utah is considered imminent. Brigham Young has been arrested under the Polygamy Act, but was released on giving bond to appear for trial. Has it just been discovered that Brigham Young has from fifty to a hundred wives?

The Provost-Marshal of Baltimore not only fears the face of an enemy, but even a likeness thereof. He has forbidden the sale of photographic portraits of distinguished Confederates. He has also ordered the seizure of secession music. Unless his spies are active, or, probably, in spite of their activity, the young ladies of Baltimore are likely to continue to sing secession songs.

General Hunter and the officers of General Forster's command are still at enmity. The chief of General Forster's staff has been ordered North.

In New York the price of gold is subject to violent fluctuations. On the 7th gold was at 52½; on the 10th at 63; on the 13th at 59½; and on the 14th, it is said under the influence of a report that, "Mr. Chase had received an offer from Europe for \$100,000,000, 84 per

cent. bonds, at a higher rate than par," the price receded to 57½. On the 14th, Mr. Chase was in New York, trying to negotiate a loan for \$100,000,000, \$50,000,000, in twenty years' bonds, and \$50,000,000 in Short bonds.

ENGLAND.

Lancashire still shows an increase of pauperism in some districts, and a decrease in others; the latter predominating. Last week the net diminution in the number of dependants on the rates was about 2,450. There is, however, reason to fear that this does not represent a *bona fide* diminution of the distress, but rather the dispersal of the sufferers. This is in itself a misfortune. If we are to expect that, on the return of peace, cotton will be forthcoming in adequate quantities to furnish work for all who have hitherto been employed, then the best thing we can do is to provide temporarily for their subsistence; knowing that their value as spinners and weavers in a cotton factory is twice as great as ever will be their value in any other capacity. If on the contrary, we are to expect that for many years to come we shall not have more than two-thirds or three-fourths of an average supply, what we have to do is, in the most efficient, cheap, and satisfactory manner to provide the sufferers with employment and homes elsewhere. If the distress is to be permanent, judiciously-organised emigration is the only possible remedy.

The town of Stalybridge has been the scene of a riot, disgraceful alike to the people and to the magistrates. The Relief Committee had determined to adopt a course very wisely and generally pursued in other towns, and grant alms (at the rate of 3s. a head) in tickets instead of money. They also proposed to pay late, or as the phrase is, to keep a day's money in hand. This intention was communicated to the scholars, chiefly adults, in the different schools established during the distress, and gave rise to wild excitement among the recipients of the public charity. The tickets can only be exchanged for food, fuel, and clothing; they cannot be used to procure drink; and this is the grievance of the multitude, while the few respectable artisans who object to tickets do so on the mistaken ground that a suspicion of their character is implied by the distribution of relief in such a form. The supposed author of the obnoxious proposal was assailed with showers of stones as he passed through the streets in a cab on Friday afternoon; and later in the evening his house was assailed by a mob, which smashed the windows and destroyed a great deal of valuable furniture. The police were helpless, having once come into collision with the rabble, and been severely beaten. The mob were masters of the town for some hours, during which they destroyed some shops, and plundered the stores of clothing kept by the Relief Committee for distribution. The factory girls, especially the Irish, were active in encouraging the work of destruction and robbery; indeed, we suspect that the latter feature in the riot may be held to stamp its authors and ringleaders as Irishmen or professional agitators. An English mob seldom or never steals. The Stalybridge mob, however, continued its depredations till it was checked by the appearance of a troop of the 14th Hussars, summoned from Ashton. These rode through the streets, waving their swords, but doing no harm; and the rabble dispersed before them. An English mob is the most cowardly assemblage in the world. Any individual in it is probably as brave as a citizen of any foreign country; but the mass of ten thousand such individuals will break and fly before fifty dragoons. Conscience makes cowards of them; they know that they are breaking the law and committing an outrage against right, and they are cowed at once by the appearance of a force which, if resisted, would certainly be beaten. A large quantity of stolen clothing was recovered, and the culprits were in many cases arrested, but a good deal was destroyed. About sixty arrests were made; and the next day twenty-nine of the principal culprits were sent to Chester, to take their trial at the next assizes for riot. This we conceive to be a mistake. They will get off too easily, and the effect of their punishment on the people will not be wholesome. All found in possession of stolen goods should have been indicted as robbers, and if convicted should be punished for robbery, the minor offence of riot being merged in this more heinous crime. The accomplices of the committed criminals made attempts to rescue their comrades, and stoned the police; but they were cowed by the presence of the military escort. Some further outrages were committed on Saturday. But in the afternoon of that day a larger body of soldiers arrived, and they kept the mob in terror, and preserved the peace. It is a great pity that the silly tenderness of English authorities prevents the military from effectually checking the outrages of the mob. It would be far better that rioters and plunderers

should be shot, than that honest men should be mauled, stoned, and robbed. The consequences of lenity have been visible in the continuance of disorders and in the audacity of the rioters, large numbers of whom have marched to Ashton and other neighbouring towns, endeavouring to excite disturbances there. There is no need to dwell on the wickedness and ingratitude of these proceedings, as directed against the benefactors and fellow-sufferers of the offenders. But in justice to the latter it must be said that in no other country would eighteen months of misery and dependance have been patiently endured by half a million of people, fully aware that it was in the power of their Government to give them work and bread.

A meeting of Polish sympathizers was held at Manchester on Tuesday. The principal speakers were Mr. Hennessy, M.P., and General Count Ladislas Zamoycki. The former expressed himself satisfied with the results of his motion in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston had refused to declare the policy of the Government, and by doing so had left politicians of all parties free to speak their mind without reference to the views of the Ministry. He contended that by her violation of the treaties of Vienna, Russia had forfeited all claims on Poland, and that this interpretation of the international law, applicable to the case, had been confirmed by Lord Palmerston's own language. He did not think the defeat of Langiewicz fatal to the cause of Poland. That General had only commanded in a district of 1,600 square miles; the whole area of the insurrection was 150,000 square miles. It was the duty of all Englishmen to strengthen the hands of the English Government, and urge it to act in unison with France and Austria on behalf of Poland. On a motion that diplomatic intercourse with Russia should be suspended during the continuance of her present system of tyranny in Poland, Count Zamoycki was called upon to address the meeting. He said that he did not desire for Poland any foreign interference by force of arms. All he wished was that England should send a Queen's Messenger in his official dress to carry the announcement to the National Government, that it was recognised by this country. He enumerated the elements of hostility to Russia among her neighbours on all sides, and expressed his conviction that the action of Europe must follow that of England. All these demonstrations are very well in their way. But unless those who take part in them are prepared to recommend war with Russia, they can hardly hope to make any impression on her Government; and if they do mean war, it is for them to show in what manner going to war with Russia could be made to serve the cause of the Poles. For the one thing we cannot do, is to land an army in a country which has no frontier within two hundred miles of the sea. The meeting, before it separated, adopted a petition to the House of Commons urging that her Majesty should be requested to take such measures as she may think fit to secure to the Poles their national rights. Of course, her Majesty always takes such measures as she—or her Ministry—thinks fit. But we should exceedingly like to know what measures these sympathizers wish that she should take? It would be ten times easier to compel the United States to make peace on Southern terms than to force Russia to make any concessions to the Poles.

Parliament has not been very busy this week. The most important event that has taken place there was the debate on American affairs in the House of Lords, confined to the speech of Lord Campbell, and the reply of Earl Russell, of which we have spoken at length elsewhere. Mr. Hubbard's motion for a revision and re-adjustment of the Income Tax, was not quite so unreasonable as Mr. Gladstone would have us believe. The particular scheme which he advocated may not be practicable; but it is not right that we should go on taxing as income that which is not income, but repayment of capital—as in the case of terminable annuities—or taxing at the same rate the precarious income of the man who lives by labour, and the certain and permanent income of the man who lives on land or invested capital. Nevertheless, as no one is prepared with a feasible plan of income tax reform, nothing could be done; and a House in which not one member in ten approves the income tax in its present shape, decided by a large majority against making any endeavours to improve it.

For the first time since her widowhood, the Queen has consented this day to receive deputations from various corporate bodies, to present loyal addresses of congratulation on the marriage of the Prince of Wales. Her retirement has certainly been a cause of regret to the people at large, and this, her first appearance to her subjects since the death of the Prince Consort, will give general satisfaction. *Punch* aptly expressed the universal

feeling the other day, when, referring to the Queen's language on the occasion of her accession, he said,—

"Nay, let my people see me." Kind
Was she whom then our cheers were greeting.
Now, would that Lady bear in mind
That words like these will bear repeating?

EUROPE.

In his speech in the Senate upon the Polish question, M. Billault, referring to the anxiety which the Emperor has always shown to act with the other great Powers in all important questions, and giving instances of his policy, used these words, which are worthy of particular record: "In the great fratricidal struggle which agitates the New World, you have seen the Emperor aiming at a common agreement amongst all the European Powers, but without ceasing to take account of the susceptibilities of the American people. If he has not hitherto been seconded, he will not the less persist in his attitude; ever desirous of promoting what is good, generous, and liberal."

The diplomatic intervention upon which all the hopes of Poland now hang, makes but little progress. France, whilst waiting the issue of the appeal made by Earl Russell to the Powers-signatories of the Treaty of Vienna, has apparently been sounding Austria, upon whose action everything depends. The Western Powers, mindful of the ill-success of their interference in 1831, are unwilling to make demands which they can only give effect to by threats of war, before which Russia would be scarcely inclined to yield, because she knows how difficult it would be for them to give Poland any real help. It is Austria alone which can exert any effectual pressure upon Russia; and Austria, with all her present genuine liberalism, remembers the tenure by which she holds Galicia; remembers, too, that, grossly as Russia has violated the treaties of 1815, she has broken them herself in a far more flagrant manner. Russia, with the pretence of an insurrection to justify her, has denied the Poles the Constitution promised them, but the character of which was left, as M. Billault observed, entirely to her good pleasure; but Austria, despite the declaration of that treaty, that the City of Cracow should be free, independent, and neutral in perpetuity, has incorporated it in her dominions, and has spent enormous sums in rendering the citadel impregnable. Austria can scarcely, therefore, unite with England and France in demanding from Russia the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaties of 1815, and without the co-operation of Austria, England and France can hardly, as we have said, exert any effectual pressure upon Russia.

The insurrection in Poland has received a check. The battle which we last week observed was imminent, was being fought at the time our paper appeared. The little army of Langiewicz was defeated and dispersed, the General—holding, it must be presumed, that for the time all was lost in the district which, for the last two months, has been the scene of his exploits—crossed the Vistula with a few companions, in the hope of making his way along the Austrian territory to some province in which the contest might still be sustained. He was, however, recognised, and conducted by a detachment of Austrian Hussars to Tarnow, and thence transferred to the citadel of Cracow. His followers rallied after he had left them, but only to sustain another defeat; and the remains of the one army of which Poland could boast are now fugitives in Galicia, or closely pursued into the woods of Sandomir by the Russian columns. These are all the facts with which we are acquainted. Several versions of the fight, professing to give details, have been already published; but they are irreconcilably contradictory in their account of the how, when, and where. The importance of this defeat has been very differently appreciated. At first it was considered almost equivalent to the suppression of the insurrection; then came a reaction, and the friends of Poland now attempt to make out that it is but an unimportant check. The truth, as usual, lies between these two extremes. It is quite idle to contend that the defeat and dispersal of the one army which had succeeded in making head against considerable bodies of Russian troops, which alone was tolerably equipped, and moreover held a country of immense importance to the insurgents, because admirably situated for obtaining supplies, would not be a very serious loss to the insurgent cause, even if Langiewicz had held no more responsible position than the other patriot chiefs. But the defeat of the dictator, the practical annihilation of his authority, the deprivation to the insurrection of all the skill which he had shown, and the enthusiasm he had known how to create, add greatly to the value of the triumph to the Russian Government. On the other hand, the insurrection is, no doubt, still extending in the other provinces of Congress Poland and in Lithuania. It seems quite certain, although the reports,

all of which come from pro-Polish sources, are extremely contradictory; that in the Government of Kalisz, lately the scene of Microslawski's leadership, especially in the vicinity of Konin and Kolo on the Wara, the insurgents are in considerable force. A telegram from Posen announces that two engagements have taken place at Apatnawa, in both of which the Poles were completely victorious. Eighty waggons filled with Russian wounded have been taken to Konin. The same telegram states that a further engagement has occurred at Makorowo, the result of which has not yet transpired. This is probably the engagement referred to in another telegram as having occurred near Konin, in which the Russians sustained serious losses, four officers and sixty privates having been killed, whilst Prince Wittgenstein was wounded and taken prisoner. The capture of the Prince was no very material gain for the insurgents. He does not seem to have been in command, and Princes are as plentiful as blackberries in the Russian army. In the Government of Lublin the town of Kreszow has been taken by the insurgents, under Czechoroski, who seized the Government Treasury. This same band has, however, since sustained several defeats, and most of its numbers have sought a refuge in Galicia. In Volhynia and Podolia the insurrection is said to be extending, and this indefinite statement, which is met by another to the effect that both these provinces are perfectly quiet, receives confirmation from the definite report that the insurgents have seized the Government Treasury at Kremenets. A sure sign that if Lithuania is not in insurrection the Russian Government fears that it soon will be, is supplied by a ukase which abolishes immediately, "for certain local reasons," all relations of an obligatory character existing between the peasantry and the landed proprietors in the governments of Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Vitebsk. From May the peasants are to pay their rents to the Government, which will itself pay the proprietors the price of emancipation. The object of this measure is evidently to secure the sympathy of the peasants—it is likely enough to be successful, for the fact now becomes clear, that nowhere have the peasantry taken an active part in the movement. Wherever the insurrection is, however, it will continue for all the defeat of Langiewicz, unless the Russian Government has the wisdom to declare an amnesty, and offer a constitution. The men who have taken up arms will only lay them down with their lives, for death would be better than Siberia. The defeat of the Dictator, however, whilst it is not likely to bring about the speedy restoration of "order," shows that, left to themselves, the Poles have no chance of throwing off the Muscovite yoke. A guerilla fight they may keep up for a long time, but such a fight does not seriously threaten the Russian domination. As soon as they unite together, form an army, and oppose large bodies of Russian troops, they must succumb. No valour can supply the want of muskets and cannon.

The Central Revolutionary Committee of Warsaw has lost no time in resuming the authority which it had placed in the hands of Langiewicz. The worst part of the fate of the Dictator will probably be his enforced inactivity. The Austrian Government will not give him up to Russia, but on the other hand it will not let him resume the contest. He is at present in the citadel of Cracow, but is not treated as a prisoner.

A Russian column is said to have violated the Prussian territory, by making use of a convenient road, part of which passed through Prussia. The report is, however, denied by the organs of the Russian Government. It is also alleged that the Cossacks have upon several occasions crossed the Austrian frontier, but these allegations have also been denied.

Very little intelligence reaches this country from Warsaw. The Russian Government seems to have abandoned the manufacture of bulletins. It carries its reticence so far that, whereas it used formerly to make every encounter with the rebels, whatever its issue, into an important victory, it has now neglected to publish any particulars of the really important successes gained over Langiewicz. Beyond an unimportant telegram received by the Russian Embassy at Paris, which refers only to one of the engagements, nothing has been heard from Russian sources of the greatest triumph Russia has achieved. We are sorry to say that this abstinence does not render the accounts we have much less contradictory. The Polish versions are only to be accepted when they admit defeat. The rout of Langiewicz was at first reported to be a complete victory.

The old bane of the Polish cause, intestine dissension, again made its appearance. Microslawski has published a statement, according to which he was, at the

outbreak of the insurrection, invested with the dictatorship by the Central Revolutionary Committee, and accepting the commission repaired at once to the scene of action. Whilst a serious attack of illness compelled him to seek a quiet refuge, Langiewicz outraged the act of the Provisional Government, and assumed the dictatorship. Mieroslawski at once left Poland in a huff, and thinking more about this personal satisfaction than the cause of his country, holds up Langiewicz to odium. It may be quite true that the Revolutionary Committee, in the first instance, invested Mieroslawski with the dictatorship, but it is quite certain that they subsequently invited Langiewicz to assume the post, and that the country recognised him in that character.

There is one innovation upon the old-fashioned system of campaigning introduced in this insurrection which must be extremely agreeable to the generals in command; young and beautiful ladies serve as their *aides-de-camps*. Miss—we use the word in our ignorance of the Polish title of the lady—Pustowaskow, who has served Langiewicz in that capacity, and acquired a great deal of renown by her heroism, followed the fortunes of her chief, trusted herself to the boat which carried him across the Vistula, with him was carried to Tarnow by the Austrian Hussars, and has been transferred with him to the citadel of Cracow. We hope this “romantic incident,” as the penny-a-liner would call it, may have the legitimate romantic and happy termination.

The debate upon Poland in the French Senate terminated in the adoption of the proposition of the Committee to pass to the order of the day, by 109 votes against 17. The interest and importance of the discussion centre in the speeches of Prince Napoleon and M. Billault, the “talking” Minister. The Prince thoroughly fulfilled all the expectations of the public, he advocated the cause of Poland with singular eloquence and extreme indiscretion. He began by declaring that he had not intended to speak, all the elements of discussion being wanting, but the report of the Committee compelled him to do so. He threw aside the treaty argument altogether. The treaties of 1815, he said, ought never to be mentioned in a French Chamber but with execration. He sketched with great bitterness the proceedings of the Emperor Nicholas and the present Czar—“the best means of defending whom, he said, would be to say nothing about him, for it was impossible to speak of him without blaming him.” He attacked the Marquis Wielopolski very strongly, comparing him to that monster of every Frenchman’s fancy, Sir Hudson Lowe, and he made the Czar directly responsible for all the brutalities of his soldiers. He then proceeded to a general denunciation of Russia. She had made difficulties about recognising the Emperor—he denied that she had rendered France any service since the peace. “I know not whether we ought not to feel more shocked than sympathetic, when after the Crimean war they came to kiss the hand that had smote them.” Nothing, he said, was to be apprehended from England: she was timid. Even in the Crimean war she was dragged into the contest by France. He quoted the opinion of the first Emperor, as given in the “Memorial of St. Helena,” in favour of the reconstitution of Poland, but he said nothing, of course, of the refusal which the Emperor always gave to take any steps for that purpose when he had the power to do so—quoted the opinion of the present Emperor, and declared that if the Senate voted the order of the day, it would declare its approval of the speech of M. Billault to the *Corps Legislatif*, would call upon the Government to follow a line of conduct which would place it below the Restoration and the Government of July. The order of the day would be a vote against Poland—against the sentiment which carried Napoleon III. to the Presidency and the Empire. Never were circumstances so favourable for putting an end to this formidable question. The Emperor was in the full vigour of his age and genius; his Government enjoyed great prestige abroad and strength at home; it was a favourable moment to undertake a great cause. “I now come to the great objection. We are told, You want war. To that I reply, No; but I do not want peace. I am no advocate for war, but do not weaken the Government by advising peace. Act, then, immediately. In what way? I do not—I cannot know. But act at any rate, the insurrection will last if it is encouraged.”

If the Emperor could have been identified with the speech of his cousin, war would indeed have seemed near. Its purpose was clearly war, and the language applied to the Emperor Alexander was precisely of the character to generate great irritation. M. Billault did not allow such an impression to grow up. He at once, in asking an adjournment, stigmatized the language of the Prince as imprudent and dangerous, and on the following day he made a speech which seemed intended,

by its studied moderation and extreme goodwill towards Russia, to remove any possible apprehension that the Prince was the spokesman of the Emperor. He dwelt upon the great difficulties of the question. Men charged with the great interests of policy and humanity could not embrace such formidable questions except with mature deliberation. If the Russian Government gives Poland little, it keeps her oppressed; if it gives her much the Poles use the power they get to reconquer what is wanting to them;—the solution must be sought in studying and reconciling interests, not in violence or hyperboles, but in the conscience of statesmen who say to themselves that there are interests to satisfy, and sufferings to alleviate. All the eloquent protests of France and England had proved vain in 1831 and 1846. On the whole, this policy of many words and very few deeds was no other than a dangerous excitement for the unhappy country—causing irritation to sovereigns and governments, and proving the impotence of those who used it to effect anything. Undoubtedly there is much to write now, but in a different manner. We must examine the different interests, see who will be with us, who against us, who behind us. Russia has acted with great friendliness to France; in the Italian war, at the time of the annexation of Savoy and Nice; again in the recognition of the Italian kingdom. We must not throw, as has been done, bitter words in the face of a friendly sovereign, which the heart does not forget. The task of the Czar, like that of all reformers, is not an easy one; but is it possible that a Government which made the dayspring of liberty appear in its own country, would refuse it to a neighbouring one? We lost no time in acting upon the Cabinet of St. Petersburg; we strove hard to make it feel the dangers, the difficulties, and even the cruelties of the situation. We received friendly replies; we were even told, that even in presence of an armed revolt no concessions would be withdrawn; the word amnesty was even pronounced. The Minister then traced the change which the Emperor had effected in the relations of France to Europe; showed how he had dissipated the distrust and gained the esteem alike of sovereigns and peoples. He had regulated the revolution, separated the wheat from the tares. He has been studious not to act alone. M. Billault then gave some instances. To do nothing apart, to avoid reviving old jealousies, to make reason and convictions prevail, such is the policy of the Empire; and its results are that France is powerful, loved by nearly all, and feared by those who love her not. Should that policy be abandoned to revive against us the Holy Alliance? The Polish question is a European one, which interests other nations as much as it does us. In seeking to group them around us, shall we not have a better chance of avoiding either a great conflict or an abortive effort? England is at present taking an initiative. In this question, upon the groundwork of which we are unanimous, there are two ways of proceeding, one line of conduct, ardent, energetic, and imprudent—wounding right and left, taking account of no interests or obstacles, caring little for the absence of support, and compromising the common cause; the other policy, firm, sagacious, prudent, seeking to profit by all opportunities, provoking no conflicts, neglecting no chances, advancing with a sure step towards a solution. You have to choose between the two. The object of the proposition of the Committee is not to sacrifice Poland, but to remedy her position by a prudent, efficacious policy. By the order of the day you show your sympathy with Poland, and at the same time show your absolute confidence in the intentions of the Empire.

This admirable speech seems to have greatly nettled Prince Napoleon, and his irritation betrayed him into a remark which was entirely unworthy of his position. As he was concluding, M. Billault replied to the Prince’s declaration, that the order of the day was opposed to the feeling which placed the Emperor on the throne. “What,” he said, “was that feeling? France was weary of anarchy and revolutionary changes, she was weary of a *régime* under which her glory, her prosperity, her memories, her religious traditions, were all going down as into an abyss.” Here the Prince interrupted, “That is the reason you voted against Napoleon. You voted against General Cavaignac.” M. Billault could only reply, “I did vote against the President, but during the last ten years I have served him with honour and fidelity.” Perhaps this incident has had something to do with the letter which the Emperor has addressed to the Minister. Napoleon III. is not the sovereign to allow his Ministers to be treated with indignity. In very complimentary terms the Emperor assures the Minister of his thorough satisfaction with his speech. “You have been able,” he says, “to reconcile the expression of my sympathies with a cause dear to France, with the regards due to foreign

sovereigns and governments. Your words were on all points in accordance with my meaning. I reject any other interpretation of my sentiments.” This is an emphatic repudiation of Prince Napoleon. The Emperor’s letter makes it perfectly certain that he is not disposed to go to war for Poland.

The 17th of March, 1813, is perhaps the most remarkable day in Prussian history. It is the date of that noble *Aufruf an mein Volk*, in which Frederick William III. summoned his people to the war of liberation. The nation responded as one man. It had suffered with its King, and with him it was resolved at every sacrifice to regain its independence. The armies which Prussia brought into the field were not comprised of professional soldiers, they were most emphatically armies of citizens. King William I., himself a soldier of the war of liberation, celebrated on this 17th of March the fiftieth anniversary of the day upon which his father, identifying himself with his people and his people with Germany, raised their enthusiasm for him to so great a pitch. Unhappily he celebrated it almost alone. The people took little or no part in what should have been a national festivity. From all parts of the country the Knights of the Iron Cross—an order instituted for the war, and bestowed for especial bravery on the battle field—to the number of two thousand, made their way as the guests of the King to Berlin. As many more combatants in the wars of 1813-15, but undecorated, assembled there likewise. The King laid the foundation stone of a monument to his father, and afterwards entertained the veterans—halt, maimed, and blind—in the Royal Palace. It was a proud day for the old soldiers, when their King and fellow-soldier gathered them around him. It ought to have been a great festival in Prussia; but the Prussian people have quarrelled with their King, and therefore chose to abstain from all participation in the celebration of a day of which they profess to be even prouder than he, and from all tributes of respect to veterans whose great deeds they are always recounting. We confess that we cannot see the wisdom of their resolution. It smacks too much of that childish folly which refuses to eat its supper, in the hope of spiting its parents or schoolmaster. The Berliners would not have compromised their principles in giving the veterans a hearty reception, or in illuminating their houses. They would do neither, because they consider that the King’s scheme for reorganising the army is calculated to destroy the *Landwehr*, the great institution of the war of liberation, and because the persons on the committee for arranging the festival were, for the most part, notorious for reactionary tendencies.

King William has very graciously received a deputation of the Chamber charged with the offer of birthday congratulations. Some previous deputations have had to complain of very cool treatment, and the change, therefore, gives rise to all sorts of comments. His Majesty, however, went further and told the deputation that he hoped to remove existing differences. Pending questions, he said, might meet a solution within the current year, as he knew that the country and its representatives had always been faithful to the king. This conciliatory language offers a strong contrast to the scolding tone his Majesty has adopted in previous communications with the Chamber, and sanguine people may see in it some evidence of his Majesty’s willingness to compromise the dispute. At any rate, it is a striking repudiation of the language of his ministers, who have been employing the *Staats Anzeiger* to accuse the Deputies of disloyalty and democracy.

Signor Farini, the President of the Council and chief of the Italian Ministry, has resigned. His health has long been very much broken, and it was feared, when he accepted office, that he could not retain it long. His retirement, although his illness has prevented him from taking a very active part in public business, must prove a loss to the Cabinet. He was the only member who enjoyed a considerable reputation on this side of the Alps. All his colleagues are second or third-rate men, whose names were never heard whilst Cavour lived. But Farini, as well by the active part he took in 1848, by his administration of the Duchies in 1859, and his history, translated by Mr. Gladstone, was well known, both in France and England. Signor Pasolini, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the framer of the present Ministry, has also retired. Signor Minghetti, the Finance Minister, will add to those functions the Presidency of the Council, thus becoming the chief of the Cabinet. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs is Visconti Venosa, lately Secretary-General of that Department. These changes well represent the stage in which Italy has arrived. Foreign politics are to her at this moment a matter of but small importance. The reor-

ganization and consolidation of her provinces, the reform of the law, the development of her resources, and the settlement of her finances are the vital questions for her, and the Ministers of Finance and the Interior ought to be the guiding spirits of her Government.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Dalhousie asked whether the Government intended to take any steps towards the amalgamation of the City and Metropolitan Police Forces; urging the disasters of the 7th and 10th of this month as a conclusive proof that the civic authorities ought no longer to be allowed a separate and independent jurisdiction.—Earl Granville answered, on behalf of the Government, that an inquiry had been ordered by the Home Department; pending which nothing would be done.—The Duke of Cambridge said that he had offered military assistance to the City magistrates, but it had been refused; and it was with difficulty that he had obtained leave to send a small force of artillery soldiers, as there were none of the Life Guards available. He defended the Rifle Brigade from the censures cast on it during a debate in the House of Commons, declaring that it had obeyed orders, and that the responsibility for the inconveniences that had arisen in its march lay with the civic authorities, who had neglected their duty. It was not his part to say what ought to be done in regard to the organization of the police; but he thought there ought to be some power capable on great occasions of taking charge of the whole of London.—Lord Taunton, as chairman of a commission which had inquired a few years ago into the constitution of the City corporation, expressed his decided belief that the metropolitan and the City police forces ought at once to be amalgamated.—Lord Overstone was of a similar opinion, and said he felt persuaded that if the Government would firmly take up the question of that amalgamation they would be supported by the public generally, and by a vast majority of both Houses of Parliament. The subject then dropped and their lordships adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to a question from Mr. Longfield, as to what progress had been made towards a settlement of the dispute between the Government of Great Britain and the late United States of America as to the island of San Juan; if any correspondence between the two Governments had recently taken place on that subject, and if there were any objection to lay the same before the House; Mr. Layard stated that since the civil war in America the communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on this subject had been suspended; and those which took place some time ago were incomplete, so that it would be inexpedient to lay them on the table of the House.

Mr. Gregory explained that in his remarks during the Greek debate he had intended no slight to Mr. Elliott, whom he believed to be a deserving public servant. On the motion to go into committee on the Tobacco Duties' Bill, Mr. Gladstone expressed a hope that Mr. Ayrton would not press his motion for a select committee, which would be contrary to the usage of the House and the interests of the trade.—Mr. Ayrton persisted, asserting that the reduction of the duty on foreign cigars would ruin the British manufacturers. His proposal was negatived by 170 to 87; and the House went into committee.—Mr. Gladstone proposed a few modifications in the rates of duty, of no great importance, which were carried after a considerable discussion, in the course of which Mr. Ayrton observed that the duty on foreign cigars was now 9s. per lb. That was a prohibitory duty, except in two instances, namely, in respect to the slave-trade cigar of Cuba and the Royal monopoly cigar of Manilla. The Havannah growers not producing a quantity of tobacco equal to the demand, of course controlled the market; and as it would be difficult for them to conduct their business if they were not able to deal with the whole quantity they grew, they imposed on the purchasers in the markets of this country the condition that, in buying one box of the best cigars they must buy another box of the second best, and another box of the worst. That was an important consideration, because the English dealer in being compelled to buy the last description, bought that which he must sell at a loss.—The Bill passed through committee.—The House resumed, and then went into Committee on the Bill for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections. Some amendments were proposed, chiefly with a view of rendering the measure more stringent; but the House is disposed to deal leniently with offences of which nearly all its members have at one time or another been guilty, vicariously, if not in person; and the Government scheme was allowed to pass substantially unaltered. The only changes made were the adoption of a clause, moved by Mr. Puller, rendering any person convicted of bribery, treating, or undue influence at an election, or against whom judgment shall have been obtained for any penal sum recoverable under the Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts in respect of any such offence, incapable of being elected or sitting in Parliament for five years; and a clause moved by Mr. Hunt, providing for the payment of the costs of Commissions of Inquiry by the county, borough, or place where the commission was held to inquire into the extensive prevalence of bribery, treating, or other corrupt practices at an election, in cases where the commissioners shall have reported that such practices did extensively prevail.

Some formal business was transacted, and the House rose.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of any interest was transacted.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At the request of Mr. Ferrand, Lord Palmerston promised a Government night after Easter for the discussion of the condition of Lancashire. In answer to Mr. Hennessy, Lord Palmerston explained the circumstances under which a Polish refugee arrested in Warsaw had come into possession of a British passport.—Sir George Grey explained that the police officers sent to Warsaw had had their expenses paid by the Russian Government. In answer to Mr. C. Bentinck, the First Commissioner of Works said that an inquiry had been instituted into the causes of decay of the frescoes in the Houses of Parliament. No satisfactory result had been arrived at, but it had been decided that the water-glass system of painting should be used in future. In answer to Mr. Lyall, the Under Secretary for the Colonies stated that steps would be taken to impose upon Ceylon a larger proportion than at present, of the costs incurred by the Imperial Government for the defence of the island.—Mr. Baxter moved: "1. That in the opinion of this House, in cases where ordinary traffic supports several lines of steamers, the present system of granting subsidies for carrying the trans-oceanic mails ought to be dispensed with." "2. That this House is not prepared to grant a sum of money to the Atlantic Royal Mail Company for conveying the mails between Galway and North America." On finding that he was not at liberty to press two resolutions on the order for going into Committee of Supply, he withdrew the former. The history of the Galway Packet contract is one which would do no discredit to the Government of the United States. Certain Irish gentlemen got up a company, which was to establish a direct communication between Galway and America; and when Lord Derby's government was in power, they applied to it for a postal subsidy. It appeared then the Company had strong Parliamentary influence in Ireland, and the request was granted. When the Liberals came into power, they denounced the affair as a job, and on some pretence, well or ill-founded, that the Company had failed to fulfil its obligations, they rescinded the contract. This drew upon them the indignation of the Irish members, who have ever since been agitating for a renewal of the contract, and who now contrive to convince Lord Palmerston of the propriety of complying with their request. Some of the independent Liberals who committed themselves very deeply on this question when it was made ground of attack on Lord Derby's government, are very indignant at Lord Palmerston's change of policy; and Mr. Baxter made himself the mouth-piece of their displeasure. He gave a caustic history of the whole transaction, and quoted the very strong language in which it had been characterized by Lord Russell. Mr. Gregory, member for Galway, defended the Company, showing that by this time much time would be saved in communication with America.—Mr. Bentinck said that this was a job. It was intended at first to make political capital for Lord Derby's government. It was now intended to make political capital for Lord Palmerston. He objected to postal subsidies altogether, as taxing the public for the benefit of the commercial classes.—Mr. Whiteside defended the contract. With two millions of Irishmen in America it was absurd to say that letters between the two countries ought to be taken to Liverpool on their way. Sir Rowland Hill had recommended the establishment of a packet station in the west of Ireland. By the adoption of this line, passengers would be saved a considerable sea voyage, and would escape the dangerous navigation of the channel. He opposed the motion.—Lord Palmerston said that his hon. friend the member for Montrose, in expressing his belief that the Government had resolved on granting that contract because they should thereby obtain the support of the Irish members in that House, had pronounced upon them a double censure. He had in the first place impeached their political morality, and he had impeached in the second place their political sagacity. It must be manifest to every reasonable observer that any such hope of gaining the support of the Irish members would be utterly extravagant. The resolution was rejected; 109 to 46.

Mr. Whiteside complained of the inefficiency of the Irish police, and cited the case of Mr. Braddel, who had been assassinated in the town of Tipperary in broad daylight, and whose murderer had never been taken.—Mr. Bagwell said that the military organisation of the Irish constabulary unfitted them for police duties.—Mr. O'Hara called attention to the case of Michael O'Connor, convicted of the abduction of Elizabeth Davey, who had been discharged on his own recognisances to appear for judgment when called upon.—Sir R. Peel said, in reference to the case of Michael O'Connor, that he had ultimately become married to Elizabeth Davey, and that the subject seemed to call for no further notice. With respect to the case of the murder of Mr. Braddel, he had to state that the police had done everything in their power to bring his assassin to justice. But their efforts had hitherto been baffled in consequence, in a great measure, of the sympathy evinced towards Hayes by the peasantry. He (Sir R. Peel) thought it probable that that great criminal was still in Ireland, and he hoped that his capture would yet be effected. He regarded the Irish police as a most admirable and efficient force, and it was not the intention of the Government to change their constitution. The right hon. baronet next proceeded to state, in reference to the question which had been addressed to him by Mr. Dawson at an earlier period of the evening, that he could not under present circumstances see his way to a settlement of the marriage law in Ireland; but he should hold himself free to re-consider the subject next session if his bill for the registration of births and deaths in that country should in the meantime work satisfactorily.

The House soon after went into Committee of Supply.

Sir G. C. Lewis, in moving a vote of £321,884 for the

volunteers, said there was increase in the vote, compared with that of last year, to the amount of £199,000; and that increase was owing mainly to a capitation grant, to the amount of £154,576, which it was now proposed for the first time should be given to that force.—Lord Lovaine said that the scale on which they had gone on from year to year increasing the volunteer vote had become rather alarming. He moved that the vote be reduced by £154,576, the amount of the proposed capitation grant. He could not help regarding that grant as an unnecessary extravagance.—Mr. W. Williams said he believed that was the most economical item in the whole of our national expenditure. For the sum of £321,000, we had a force of 150,000 men available for the defence of the country.—After some further conversation, in the course of which a strong admiration of the efficiency and economy of the volunteer force was generally expressed, Sir G. C. Lewis stated that the muster-roll of the force comprised 157,000 men, and that 137,000 of them might be considered effectives.—The vote was agreed to, as were several others. The remaining business was then gone through, and the House adjourned.

MONDAY, MARCH 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

[A full report of Lord Campbell's speech on recognition, and the reply of Earl Russell, will be found in another part of our paper.]

In answer to Lord Torrington, the Duke of Somerset said that Government would resist the passage of a proposed railway through Greenwich, until they had ascertained that the Royal Observatory would not be damaged thereby.

MONDAY, MARCH 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald asked the noble Lord at the head of the Government whether the Government had accepted or were prepared to accept the proposal stated by President Lincoln in his annual Message to have been made to them by his direction, and which he understood was made as far back as October last, respecting the establishment of a convention between this country and the Government of the United States in order to examine and adjust complaints of the violation of neutral rights.

Lord Palmerston said,—Communications have passed between the two Governments in relation to a convention on this subject. Her Majesty's Government have no objection in principle to such an arrangement, but difficulties have arisen in regard to details. Those difficulties are not yet removed; but I am not without hopes that the two Governments may come to an understanding on the matter. (Hear, hear.)

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Hennessy, who had given notice of his intention to make an inquiry of the Government as to the nature of the obligations with respect to Poland, involved in the Treaty of Vienna, prefaced his inquiry by some observations upon the state of the insurrection in that country,—of which the recent news did not lead him, he said, to take a disheartening view,—and proceeded to argue that if Russia had violated the Treaty of Vienna so as to inflict injury upon the Poles, and to endanger the peace of Europe, there was superadded to the bare right to interfere (which had been admitted by Lord Palmerston in a late debate) a moral obligation. He insisted that Russia had violated the treaty so as to entail those consequences, and that there was, therefore, a moral obligation binding the British Government to interfere by diplomatic action, in concert with other Powers. He asked, in conclusion, whether, in the opinion of the Government, such moral obligation did not exist.—Lord Palmerston said he adhered to the answer he had given to Mr. Hennessy in the late debate—namely, that, although this country had a right to interfere, no engagement had been entered into by Great Britain in the Treaty of Vienna which imposed upon this country the obligation of interfering by force of arms to compel the execution of the treaty. Mr. Hennessy, he observed, had now shifted his ground, and talked of a moral obligation. When the proper time came for laying the papers upon the subject before the House, it would be seen that, as far as the obligation went to make friendly representations on behalf of the Poles, that obligation had been fulfilled.

After some miscellaneous questions had been put and answered, the House went into Committee of Supply. The discussion of the Army Estimates, and some business of no public interest occupied the remainder of the evening. Mr. Gladstone announced that the Budget would be brought in on the 16th of April.

TUESDAY, MARCH 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Shaftesbury, Earl Russell said that two Polish students had been arrested in Prussia, and that Russia had demanded their surrender. But the French ambassador had claimed them as naturalized subjects of France, and it was to be hoped that his claim would be acceded to. In reply to Lord Lyveden, the Duke of Argyll said that Government did not intend to alter the constitution of the Indian Council.

Earl Grey presented petitions from inhabitants of Australia praying for alterations of the boundaries of the Australian colonies.

The Duke of Newcastle said that the applications made for the formation of distinct colonies in Australia were so numerous that it would be impossible to comply with them all until the different districts should become more settled and more populous. The progress of explorations, however, had of late been so rapid, that he believed it would in a short time be desirable to create the territory to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria into two new colonies, one on the Albert River and the other on the Victoria River. But, in the meantime, the former district would be annexed to Queensland, and the latter to South Australia.

The subject then dropped, and their lordships adjourned.

TUESDAY, MARCH 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Cave moved for a copy of any communications received from Her Majesty's Consul in the French colony of Réunion respecting the condition and treatment of the Coolies imported thither from British India. In our own colonies we took good care of such immigrants, and our Consul in Réunion was appointed for the special purpose of protecting them; but he (Mr. Cave) had made inquiries with regard to the treatment of the Coolies there, and had been informed that their condition was a modified form of slavery. This statement had been confirmed in a debate which had taken place in the Vice-Regal Council at Calcutta. He thought we ought to suspend the immigration of Coolies to Réunion.—Mr. Layard said it appeared from the reports of the British Consul upon the spot that a decided improvement had of late taken place in the condition of those labourers; and the Consul and her Majesty's Government were neglecting no opportunity of securing for them a just and kindly treatment. He did not think it would be desirable that the whole of the papers in question should be produced; but he would submit them all to the examination of his hon. friend, and he would then try to come to an understanding with him in reference to those portions of them which it would be proper to make public.—Sir M. Farquhar and Sir J. Elphinstone supported Mr. Cave, arguing that it was our duty to take efficient means for the protection of immigrants from India. The motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. Hubbard moved a resolution that the incidence of an income-tax touching the products of invested property should fall upon net income, and that the net amounts of industrial earnings should, previous to assessment, be subject to such an abatement as may equitably adjust the burden thrown upon intelligence and skill as compared with property. He contended that the unpopularity of the tax arose from its not being founded upon any principle; that, whether it was to become a permanent source of revenue, or to be reserved for exigencies, it was equally the duty of the House to base the tax upon a definite and acknowledged principle. After adverting to the objections which had been made to the practicability and the soundness of the theory embodied in his resolution, he entered minutely into details as to the mode in which, under his theory, the tax would operate upon various species of property, replying as he went on to the arguments which had been urged against it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, especially that it was hostile to the landed interest; and he fortified the proposition contained in the latter part of his resolution by authority and examples. In conclusion, he maintained the practicability of his theory; he denied that it would create, as alleged, new inequalities and grievances, and he repudiated the charge of aiming at class legislation, meaning, he said, nothing more than to put before the House a simple principle as a basis for the tax.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Leatham, who reviewed and replied to the arguments with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met Mr. Hubbard's propositions last session.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed that Mr. Hubbard appeared as a reformer of the income-tax and the advocate of a particular plan—not as a reformer of the income-tax in general—casting aside the plans of previous reformers. His plan he had supposed to be, in all essential points, perfect and invulnerable, whereas he (Mr. Gladstone) pronounced it impracticable and visionary. He did not stand upon the perfect structure of the income-tax; but its inequalities and anomalies had at least this advantage—that they were in some degree understood, and the back was adapted to the burden. If, however, the plan proposed by Mr. Hubbard was adopted, it would only shift the tax from one set of anomalies to another, and for one class of evils substitute a greater. He reminded the House of the inquiries which the subject had repeatedly undergone and that opponents of the tax, when they looked at it closely, discovered that, though not perfect, it was not prudent to initiate changes that would encourage hopes and expectations, not to be realised. Observing that Mr. Hubbard's plan had been rejected by his own committee, and his motion negatived last session by a large majority, Mr. Gladstone examined the details and operation of the scheme, and repeated what he had said on the last discussion, that it really proposed to put the hand into the pocket of one man and transfer the money taken from it into the pocket of another, adducing examples in confirmation of the argument. He protested against the principle of Mr. Hubbard's plan, which, when examined by his own committee, had been seen to be dangerous, encouraging vague and illusory expectations.—Mr. Hubbard having replied, the House divided, when the motion was negatived by 118 to 70.

Mr. Scholefield moved the second reading of a Bill to amend the law of partnership. His object was to extend the principle of limited liability to private partnerships; allowing sleeping partners to share in the profits, without incurring liability beyond the amount of their investments, under certain stringent conditions; and making possible the introduction of the French practice of partnership *en commandite*. If the Bill were read a second time, he should move that it be referred to a Select Committee.—Mr. Buchanan moved the Bill be read a second time that day six months.—Mr. M. Gibson observed that, as the general principle of limited liability had been deliberately adopted by the Legislature, it was unnecessary to argue the general question; what the House had to consider was, how it was proposed to apply the general principle in this particular measure, and with what safeguards. Although he was of opinion that there were many details in the Bill which must be materially altered, its principle was consistent with the general principle adopted by Parliament, and, as it was proposed to refer the Bill to a select committee, he should vote for the second reading.—After some further debate the second reading was carried by 56 to 39. Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The sitting was occupied by an adjourned debate on the Irish Salmon Fisheries Bill, which was again adjourned.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, March 24.

The past week has been a stirring one. The Polish debate in the Senate has contributed to keep up the agitation the Polish insurrection has created. Count Walewski, himself a Pole by birth, and one of the soldiers in the insurrection of 1831, and Prince Napoleon stigmatised, in powerful speeches, the atrocities committed by the Russians; and the Prince, forgetful of the old maxim, *quis nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*, delivered a stinging personal attack against the Czar for his proclamation thanking his army for the manner in which they had done their duty—a proclamation which, coming after the massacres at Miechow and other places, utterly belies the liberal feelings ascribed to its author by his admirers both in France and England. Prince Napoleon's oration was, in fact, a Philippic against the Emperor Alexander, and though the Prince stated that he did not want war, every word he spoke was in favour of a resort to the *ultima ratio*. M. Billault, with his usual skill, contrived to say nothing explicit. Probably to modify the effect of the speech of the Emperor's cousin, he spoke somewhat kindly of the Russian autocrat, and abstained from giving any encouragement to Poland. The general impression left by his address was, that it probably meant nothing.

Whilst Paris was discussing the speeches in the Senate, and canvassing the probabilities of the Emperor going to war to help the Poles out of their difficulty, the news came of the defeat of Langiewicz, which gave rise to the belief that it was all over with the rebellion—a belief which turns out to have been somewhat premature, as, simultaneously with the disasters to the Dictator, in other parts of the kingdom the insurgents seem to have come off victorious from several encounters, which the telegraph reports with its usual unintelligible conciseness. Whilst, however, we were all deploring the sudden collapse of the insurgents, and congratulating ourselves on a war having become impossible, the Emperor's letter to M. Billault appeared in the *Moniteur*, disavowing Prince Napoleon, and pronouncing the said M. Billault to be the sole oracle that had truly described his Majesty's policy. The publication of this letter is generally ascribed to the urgent requests of the Russian Embassy, who viewed the speech of Prince Napoleon in the light of an insult requiring disavowal. You will not be surprised to hear that, in the present excited state of public feeling, the letter has been very severely criticised, and that the most popular man in Paris just now is Prince Napoleon, who seems, in his able, headstrong, and injudicious address, to have seized with rare *à propos* the views of the masses and made them his own.

The Poles, meanwhile, continue to fight, and their friends and sympathizers here continue to prognosticate their success, and to call on the Government to stretch a helping hand to suffering Poland. But it strikes me that Europe will confine herself to barren marks of sympathy, unless some violent movement of public opinion forces the Governments of England and France into action.

It is proved beyond doubt that Russian troops pass to and fro over Prussian territory, but in spite of all the late talk of the papers about the violation of the principles of non-intervention, breach of neutrality, &c., &c., it is not likely that the displeasure of England and France will go beyond a mere diplomatic note.

Here, the American question appears at a standstill. The Yankees and their friends are, of course, horrified at the success of the Confederate loan. At Havre, Rouen, and other commercial centres I learn that the subscriptions flowed in quite as fast as they have done in London and Liverpool.

Lovers of scandal have been edified by the trial of Messrs. Garcia and Calzado for cheating at cards. It disclosed a very pretty state of society. The defendants are both notorious men. Garcia is that celebrated gambler, the terror at all Germanic roulette tables, who won four millions in two years, and lost every farthing the third. He appears since then to have been *recouping* himself at private tables. Calzado, who started in life, I believe, as a drummer in a Spanish regiment, and who is reported to have made an enormous fortune in Cuba and Mexico, chiefly by gambling, seems to have been a kind of sleeping partner of Garcia, lending him money "to try his luck;" but no clear evidence of the fact was adduced, and the case against him rests solely on suspicion. The scene which led to the trial took place at the house of an antiquated Phryne, Madame Barucci, whose notoriety seems to be her chief attraction. The damsel had bought

a mansion in the Champs Elysées, the most expensive part of expensive Paris, and to celebrate her coming into possession gave a party, to which a "select circle" of demi-reps and turfmen were invited. Among the company was one "Angel de Miranda," who, though admitting that he knew all about Calzado and Garcia, states that he lost to them in the course of the evening something like £5,000! The very natural question being put to him, how it happened that he played for such large sums (as much as 60,000 francs depended on a single coup) with men whom he distrusted, this "Angel" replied that "he did not think anything like foul play could occur at a respectable house like that of Madame Barucci."

The game was interrupted by one of the bystanders, who declared that the cards had been tampered with. They were examined, and new cards, which Garcia admitted to have brought with him, were found mixed with the old ones. A most discrepitable scene ensued. Garcia was made to refund, and was hunted from room to room, bank-notes flying about in every direction. About £6,000 was collected in this way, of which sum Miranda received nearly two-thirds. The only thing to show that Calzado was in a league with Garcia, was his reluctance to allow himself to be searched, and the fact of a roll of bank-notes falling out of the leg of his trousers. However, the court did not give him the benefit of the doubt, and he was sentenced to thirteen months' imprisonment. Garcia did not appear to take his trial; judging shrewdly enough that the climate of Italy at this time of the year is preferable to that of Paris, he quietly went off the very day after the Barucci *soirée* to Monaco, where there is a roulette table, the distractions offered by which will probably enable him to hear with equanimity that the Paris tribunal have sentenced him, by default, to spend five years of his valuable life in gaol.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

RICHMOND, February 10, 1863.

A short missive will suffice to inform you of all that has occurred of decided interest, since the date of my last letter, in Congressional proceedings, or in military and naval operations.

For two weeks past the Confederate Senate has been occupied in the discussion of the Bill for the organization of the Supreme Court. The Bill was reported by Mr. Hill, of Georgia, from the Judiciary Committee, and coming up for consideration in its due course, after some amendments of an unimportant character, was read by sections, which sections, five in number, were passed singly, in their order. Pending the question on the passage of the Bill, Mr. Clay, of Alabama, offered an amendment, as an independent sixth section, repealing the 45th and 46th sections of the Judiciary Act of the Provisional Congress. The main point involved in this amendment was the construction which had been placed upon the 45th and 46th sections of the Judiciary Act, whereby an appellate jurisdiction over the Courts of the several States was lodged in the Supreme Court. Upon this point arose a long and animated debate, which has not yet terminated. Messrs. Wigfall of Texas, Semmes of Louisiana, Yancey of Alabama, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, supported the amendment in speeches of much earnestness and ability, and Mr. Yancey in certain passages rose even to eloquence. The amendment was opposed with equal force and learning by Messrs. Hill, of Georgia, Phelan, of Mississippi, Henry, of Tennessee, and Maxwell, of Florida. Mr. Yancey's rhetoric and fervour were expended in an eulogium upon South Carolina. Mr. Henry, on the other side, passed a panegyric upon the incorruptibility and lofty independence of the juridical character, quoting from Lord Macaulay to show that the bench had always upheld the liberties of the people. The whole theory of State Rights, as opposed to power vested anywhere outside the individual commonwealths, and exercising authority over them, was expounded by its peculiar and most jealous defenders. The debate will probably be continued through another week. Mr. Wigfall will again occupy the floor tomorrow, and it is expected that Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, Mr. Sparrow, of Louisiana, and other Senators, will submit their views upon the vexed question before the vote is taken on the amendment. This discussion of a matter of so much importance to the future of the Confederacy, has excited a large popular interest, despite the distractions of the war, and the abstruse nature of the points at issue, and would have attracted large audiences, were not the accommodations of the Senate Chamber so very narrow. There are no seats for visitors, and the *locus standi* of the apartment without the railing is sufficient to admit of more than fifty persons hearing and seeing the speakers. Every day this limited space has been densely filled for many minutes before the Senate was called to order.

It is related of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that when, upon a certain occasion, she inquired of one of her ministers what had recently passed in Parliament, the courtier replied, "Please your Majesty, six weeks." If any one, observant of the proceedings of the House of Representatives for the past fortnight, were asked in general terms what had been before that body, he would probably reply, "Mr. Foote, of Tennessee." Whenever your correspondent has looked in upon the deliberations of the House, he has found that gentleman upon his legs. Mr. Foote is ever rising to a privileged question, or making a motion of inquiry, or asking for correspondence or what not; so that if a stranger, Lord Harlington for example, who had dropped in some fine day, no matter when, to take a view of the lower branch of the Confederate Legislature, should judge the House of Representatives according to the old maxim of "*Ex Pede Herculem*," he would not unreasonably conclude that it was the most garrulous assembly upon earth. It is to be regretted that the "honourable gentleman from Tennessee" will persist in consuming so much of the time of the House, for he thereby mars his capacities for usefulness, which are of no mean order. Well-informed upon all subjects, uniformly accurate of speech, and at times exceedingly impressive in the enunciation of his views, perfectly fearless in his exposure of abuses, and with a very striking personal appearance, the grey-bearded old statesman might exercise a powerful influence over his fellow members, would he but consent to talk less than he does. A few days ago he attempted in Committee of the whole, to induce the Committee to strike out from the General Appropriation Bill the clause providing for the maintenance of our Foreign Commissioners, and sustained the attempt by remarks very pointed and sensible, which might perhaps have had their weight coming from a more reticent member; but the Committee refused to strike out, and the Bill was passed and reported to the House in this respect just as it was printed. For several days the House has been mostly in secret session, and no whisper of what engages their attention is heard out of doors.

Dr. Holland, of Texas, who is on the staff of General Magruder, and participated in the capture of the Harriet Lane, arrived in this city ten days ago, bringing with him the official report of that brilliant achievement, and the signal book taken on the vessel. Captain Wainwright, who commanded the Harriet Lane, and who fell dead upon the deck, refusing to surrender like a gallant gentleman, well knowing the value of the signal book, and the immense mischief that would result to the navy and marine of his country should it fall into our hands, had secured it by placing it in the breast-pocket of his uniform coat. He was shot down pistol and cutlass in hand, after having declared that he would not yield himself a prisoner, by Leon Smith, the brave sailor who managed the naval portion of the enterprise. Smith fired at Wainwright twice with a navy revolver. The first ball penetrated the signal book, but was arrested by the under plate of the metallic cover in which the book was kept; the second ball entered the skull, producing death in a few moments. Captain Wainwright was a lieutenant of the United States' steamer Merrimac, at the time she made her trial trip across the Atlantic, and lay for some time in Southampton Water, seven years ago. Leon Smith was a captain of a passenger steamer, the General Rusk, plying between the ports of New Orleans and Galveston before the blockade of the Southern ports, and is a brother of Caleb B. Smith, recently Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of President Lincoln. No sooner had General Magruder secured the Harriet Lane than he determined to send her out to assist the Alabama and Florida in preying upon the Yankee commerce in the Gulf. A crew was hastily collected in Galveston, Leon Smith was placed in command, and the Harriet Lane steamed gallantly from the harbour, as it afterwards proved not one moment too soon; for early the next day four large vessels of war, sent by Faragut from New Orleans, appeared off the bar to prevent her departure. Smith has not been idle since he went out, if we can place any reliance upon reports that reach us from the Gulf. Nor has General Magruder been inactive on land in the meantime. Unwilling to allow the cobwebs to be woven across the throats of his guns, as Mr. Tennyson says, he despatched an expedition under Major O. M. Watkins to Sabine Pass, the outlet of the Sabine River, which divides Louisiana from Texas, for the purpose of breaking the blockade at that point, with the assistance of certain rams in Sabine Lake. The expedition was a complete success. The enemy's fleet was dispersed. Thirteen pieces of ordnance stores, valued at one million of dollars, and one hundred and nine prisoners fell into his hands, and at the latest advices, the Confederate rams were lying in the Gulf off the mouth of the Pass, "waiting for new comers."

A *furore* of delight possessed the Confederate Capital a week ago, at the intelligence flashed to us from Charleston that the blockade was effectually brought to an end off that port, by the daring adventure of Commodore Ingraham with the iron-clads Chicora and Palmetto States; and if we had been a more demonstrative people than we are, and had moreover been sufficiently rich in the means of illumination, the town might have blazed with lights of joy. As it was, we may be said to have gone off half-cocked. Enthusiastic gentlemen rushed to the State Library to consult Vattel, Wheaton, Polson, Wildman, and Phillimore on the rights of the blockaded and what constituted a legal infraction. Extras from the offices of the daily papers enlivened the tedium of the *dies non*, and the decorous congregations assembled in Richmond's fifty places of worship were thinking more of Charleston and its rams on that excited Sunday than of psalter or sermon. The next morning we all read in the telegraphic columns of the paper that the Yankee fleet dispersed by Ingraham had returned to their accustomed positions, and that the port of Charleston was again closed. A good deal might be said, by authority of writers on international law, in support of the proposition that a blockade once broken for ever so short a time by a superior force, must so remain until due notice has been given to neutral nations for its re-establishment; and if the European Powers were desirous of terminating a blockade, which was never entitled to respect under the dicta of the Congress of Paris, the temporary raising of it at three points on the Southern coast would afford them an excellent opportunity for so doing. In what I have said, I am very far from desiring to underestimate the importance of the blow so bravely struck by Commodore Ingraham. The example set by Magruder at Galveston, and energetically imitated by the Charlestonians, may and will be followed up hereafter; and it may be assumed without undue confidence, that by the 1st of June the blockade will be virtually "played out," as the Yankees say, without the intervention of foreigners. The turreted invulnerables of the Monitor and Papaie pattern cannot lie off our ports, for the reason that the first heavy sea will send them to the bottom. All the fast-sailing steamers of the Federal navy will be needed in the Spanish Main for the protection of Yankee commerce, while the old wooden hulks of the *ancien regime*, ineffective always to prevent such vessels as the Antonica and the Giraffe from entering or leaving any given harbour, are exposed continually to the midnight attack of the Confederate rams.

Undeniably, however, this is contingent upon the issue of the mighty efforts that will be made by the Yankees within the next four weeks to possess themselves of Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile. An immense fleet of their vessels was at anchor in the harbour of Port Royal on Saturday, February 7th, comprising fifty-two transports, fifteen large war steamers, and five iron-clads. While I write, the grim Monitor batteries may be moving up Moffitt's Channel, and the bright bay, whose waters have slept so peacefully in the sunlight these twenty months or more, since the Yankee flag was lowered upon the walls of Sumter, may resound with the roar of a yet louder and more fearful cannonade. The defences of Charleston are thought strong by competent engineers, but it is an untried experiment how successfully they may resist the attacks of these new destructives built by the blacksmiths, mailed monsters without a crack in their harness, unimpressible to the heaviest ordnance, and Titanic in their capacity for mischief. It would excite no consternation here if Charleston should fall—such an event has been thought possible any time since Christmas, and the Yankees would be no nearer the subjugation of the South possessing the whole sandy strip of our coast-line, with the smouldering ruins of what once were prosperous cities, than they were on the 15th day of April, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln issued his first proclamation for troops to put down the "rebellion."

We are encouraged, however, to hope that our forts and floating batteries in Charleston harbour may be able to withstand the onset of the Yankee armada, from the result of the bombardment of Genesis Point near Savannah last week. "When an irresistible meets an immovable what will be the consequence?" was the old puzzle in physics which amused us in school—the attack on Genesis's Point enables us to answer *Nil*. The great *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, the Montauk*, battered away for four hours at the fort without other damage than carrying away a small portion of the parapet, and wounding one or two of the garrison. Our batteries were ordered to fire only solid shot, which they did with great deliberation and accuracy, the missiles bounding from the sides of the monster like the bullets of Jules Gérard or Gordon Cumming from the hide of a rhinoceros. At length a ponderous mass of iron hurled from an eleven-inch gun struck the turret of

the *Montauk*, and was battered into a thousand fragments by the impact. The commander of the fort, supposing it to have been a shell, asked why his orders to fire nothing but solid shot had been disregarded. What damage was done to the *Montauk* is not positively known, but from that moment she ceased firing and hauled off down the stream.

Your advices from New York have, no doubt, already made you acquainted with the displacement of Burnside and the elevation of "Fighting Joe Hooker" to the chief command of the "Army of the Potomac." The new leader begins well. He tells his troops that the enemy is inferior to them in equipment, intelligence, and valour (!)—a piece of information for which they must be duly thankful, and which must fill Abraham Lincoln's soul with satisfaction and enliven his memory with jokes. It is just possible that Old Abe, who is of an eminently practical turn of mind, would prefer to have some better assurance of the superior valour of his armies than the mere say-so of "Fighting Joe," and we cannot but think that his boastful announcement will provoke a little bit of a *sourire* upon the impassive countenance of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and other "intelligent" observers of our American quarrel, in Europe. But, as General Hooker accepts his position upon the express condition that he shall take Richmond in the same old "ninety days," he may perhaps be indulged in endeavouring to infuse courage into his troops by what means best he may. Mark, I do not say they lack courage, but it is undeniable that they are overshadowed by a presentiment of doom in marching against the veterans of Lee, Longstreet, and Stonewall Jackson, and the better opinion of Washington City is, that the whole "Army of the Potomac" is a devoted band. The advanced movement was to have been made two weeks ago, and the army was put in motion for the Rappahannock to cross the stream four miles above Fredericksburg, but the foremost ranks had not reached the bank by four hundred yards when the order was given to countermarch. The whole column was hopelessly bemired. The waggons were so deeply sunk in the red mud of Stafford that it became necessary to abandon them. Horses and mules, in many instances, left their hoofs in the clay as they were extricated, and in others, were killed in the traces as they stood, extrication being impossible. At one time it seemed likely that the "army of the Potomac" would share the fate of those armies in the Miltonic record, which sank whole betwixt Damietta and Mount Cansus. The weather since this ineffectual effort of the Yankees to move forward has not been such as to improve the condition of the roads. It has rained for twenty-four hours together in torrents. Snow has fallen to the depth of eight inches. The mercury has been as low as 8° of Fahrenheit in this city. To-day we have the temperature of spring and the wind from the sweet south, breathing of the violets of South Carolina. Such sudden alternations of heat and cold, with such an excess of moisture, have not been calculated to make the highways more practicable for the transportation of artillery. A dry season of three or four weeks would probably bring Hooker on, and then ——— *nous verrons ce que nous verrons*.

There was a skirmish between considerable numbers on the 31st of January at Blackwater, not far from Suffolk, on the line of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. The Federals, 15,000 strong, under General Corcoran, formerly of the "bloody 69th" Regiment of New York Volunteers, attacked the Confederate troops under General Roger A. Pryor, numbering about 8,000. A sanguinary fight ensued, which resulted in the complete repulse of the Yankees, General Pryor remaining in possession of the field. Our loss was fifty in killed and wounded;—the enemy's, 500. All the buildings in Suffolk, the churches, the court-house, &c., were converted into hospitals for the reception of the disabled Yankees. General Corcoran, having been largely reinforced, General Pryor fell back to a stronger position, where he awaited another attack, which, up to this moment, has not been made.

I am happy to apprise you of the decided abatement of the small-pox, and of the improved sanitary condition of the city, in respect of other maladies that have been fatally prevalent during the winter.

We have news to-day of the loss of three transports in Red River, and there is a rumour of a revolution in Kentucky, with fighting in the streets of Louisville, which, if it be true, you will learn by more direct channels of intelligence than are at our command. The point to which we are now looking with intensest interest is Vicksburg. The Mississippi has so far proved a rebel river, and will not desert its bed for the Yankee canal, and we have strong hopes that the heroic little city will yet hold its own.

General Sterling Price is in Richmond at present, but will go West in a few days with enlarged powers for usefulness in Missouri. He was serenaded last night at the Spotswood Hotel, and made a speech which was received with great enthusiasm.

The new Richmond theatre was opened to the public for the first time last evening. It is a showy and very tasteful little building, with abundance of ornament in gold, seats for about twelve hundred persons, and a *foyer* handsomely furnished with lounges and mirrors. The play presented last evening was Shakespeare's *A You Like It* and a very appropriate ode, written for the occasion by Henry Timrod, of South Carolina, was recited to an immense audience; so that you see we are not without our amusements in the midst of war's alarms.

A SOUTHERNER.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1863.

Lord Campbell's Speech in the House of Lords.

It is fitting that all great questions which agitate the public mind should find expression in that highest arena of debate, which is assumed to represent the wisdom, the intelligence, and the dignity of the nation. Even where no legislative action is contemplated, and no executive action to be prompted, the Parliamentary discussion of any important topic is eminently useful in fixing and maturing public opinion; and in preserving it from an unwholesome stagnation, or in bringing it back to the true points at issue. Thus, though Lord Campbell's speech in the House of Lords on Monday night had no other immediate result than to elicit from Earl Russell a reiteration of his policy of procrastination, the cause of the Confederate States cannot but gain both within the doors of the House and outside, by the bold and manly advocacy of their claim to recognition. If a complete mastery of a subject, lucidity of arrangement, closeness of reasoning, and sobriety of statements, can promote any cause before any tribunal, then has Lord Campbell earned a lasting title to gratitude from the eight millions of a foreign and yet not alien people, on whose behalf he addressed the peers of this realm, and through them the British public. Not a salient point of the argument was omitted; each in its appropriate place was brought out in full relief; and the whole linked together by easy and natural transitions, so as to form a compact body of facts and deductions, which no attempt has yet been made to controvert.

Lord Campbell opened by stating that his object was not to review the past policy of the Government on American affairs, but to direct attention to the divergence which had lately appeared between this policy and that of England's nearest ally, the Emperor of the French. He thought that the time was approaching, and but for the serious state of Polish affairs might, perhaps, already have arrived, when the action of France would force this country to a decision, and when, without a definite conviction in Parliament or outside, the Government would be taken at a disadvantage. He distinguished between the modes of action which had been tried or proposed—mediation or interference, and that only effective mode which was still untried—acknowledgment of the Southern belligerents, either by sending an ambassador, by negotiating a treaty, or by instructing the Consuls to receive *exequaturs* from the Confederate Government. He disposed of the objection that such acknowledgment would be fruitless by referring to the persistent efforts which one of the belligerents had made to obtain it, by sending envoys to the great capitals of Europe, and the extreme measures to which the other had resorted to prevent it, by intercepting these envoys even at the risk of a war with England. He then explained the practical effects of recognition in disabusing the minds of the Northern people of fallacious hopes, and placing both parties in a position to negotiate. He next examined the various precedents of the recognition of an

insurgent Power, and demonstrated, notably by the example of Portugal, where recognition was accorded by the unanimous action of all the then Great Powers of Europe a twelve-month after the declaration of independence, twenty years before material aid was granted, and almost twice that period before the substantial struggle for reconquest had ceased—that the true principle involved in the exercise of this grave international act was not, as had been recently asserted, that all substantial struggle should have ceased, but that all substantial hope of reconquest on the part of the former sovereign should, in the opinion of neutrals, have been exhausted. The other and novel interpretation of international law was contrary to humanity; since it tended to needlessly protract a hopeless struggle; because no Government had ever consented to its own humiliation by being the first to relinquish its pretensions, and that the Government of the United States could no more be expected to recognise the independence of the Confederate States before other nations had set the example, than a patient could be expected to perform the operation of amputation upon himself. He established the binding force of the precedent of Portugal by the concurrent testimony of all the masters of the science of international law, corroborated and reaffirmed as it is by the latest and not the least of them, Sir James Mackintosh.

Having thus laid down the true principle, and proved the consistent practice of the right of acknowledgment, Lord Campbell proceeded to the application to the present case. The hopelessness of reconquest, he argued, was proved by the verdict of the financial world in the remarkable success of the Confederate loan, based upon a security which, as the cotton burnings of last year must sufficiently show, depended solely upon the stability of the Confederate Government and its ability to resist invasion. It was further proved by the concurrence of the highest military authorities of our age. In this respect the Emperor Napoleon, and the Princes of the Orleans family, who shared in the campaign of McClellan, seemed to agree. Recent revelations have made known that at the outbreak of the war, General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Union, deemed such reconquest possible only on conditions which he at the time considered impossible. Nor, so far as was known here, had any other Federal commander ever committed himself to a prediction of reconquest; but they had all left that task to the newspapers of the North and to Mr. Seward, who, whatever his other abilities might be, was assuredly not a military authority. He further cited the opinions that had been expressed in the very House which he addressed, of the improbability and impossibility of Southern subjugation. As an additional evidence he contrasted the elements of the contending forces, the vacillation of purpose, the hesitancy and inefficiency, the absence of any predominant military genius, which characterised the North, with the steadfast determination, the valour, and self-sacrifice of the South, and the ability of its leaders; the confidence of the latter with the despair confessed by the former in the enlistment of negro regiments; and after paying a deserved tribute to the Confederate President, he concluded "that a new chapter would be opened in the history of the world if on the great theatre of war in America those qualities to which men had ever pointed with scorn should triumph over those which had hitherto been regarded with admiration."

From the right of acknowledging the Confederate States as resulting from the principles and practices of international law and the facts of the case presented by the two belligerents, the noble Lord proceeded to prove the duty of this country to exercise this right. First, he deemed it a point of honour that a great country like this should not receive benefits without reciprocating them, should not enjoy the essential advantages of recognition in the consular protection allowed to its subjects and their property in the Southern States, without extending to the Southern Government the same advantages, and should either withdraw these Consuls holding their *exequaturs* from a Government with which the

Confederacy is at war, or should duly accredit them to the authority which now, by mere forbearance, permits the exercise of their functions. The next ground for exercising the right of recognition was that of strict impartiality. He agreed with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the sentiment expressed by the latter in a despatch to Mr. Mason, that this Government could not assume to decide a question so much debated on the other side of the Atlantic, viz., the Constitutional right of secession; but he argued that it was, in fact, deciding the question against the seceders, if recognition was withheld from them after the deliberate conviction had been reached, that secession was irrevocably accomplished. He reviewed the many manners in which English neutrality had borne heavily against the South, how through the action of this Government France was held back from recognition, and how, by a subsequent construction, the only beneficial clause of the Paris Convention to which the Southern Government at the instance of those of France and England had been induced to give its adhesion, was rendered practically nugatory; and he quoted from a despatch of Earl Russell to the United States Minister, dated 27th of March, 1862, published by the Washington Government, but not included in the correspondence laid before Parliament, in which the Foreign Secretary reminds Mr. Adams that great allowance had been made to the American Government in the great calamities that have befallen it, and that *the public law has been liberally construed in their favour*. He did not question the wisdom or the policy at that time of thus liberally construing the public law in favour of the stronger belligerent, but he contended that recognition of the weaker, now, when the issue was no longer in doubt, would be but a just reparation, and was due as a compensation and a readjustment of practical impartiality.

The argument of duty, Lord Campbell sharpened with that of interest. The peace of Canada, he argued, was best secured by an alliance with one of the two Powers, which hereafter were to divide the major part of the North American Continent, and for such an alliance, the North, for reasons which he clearly stated, could not be relied on. He appealed to the Peers around him who had represented their country in foreign lands, that diplomacy was inefficient and impossible, near a nation whose passions and prejudices were arrayed against that country, and dwelt upon the necessity that no such obstacles should obstruct the progress of British influence with the new Southern nationality. He briefly referred to the distress in Lancashire, daily finding expression in a more aggravated form, and pointed out the impossibility of relief by supplies of cotton from other sources, so long as an avalanche of three or four million bales of that material was ready, by peace, to be launched upon the market.

In conclusion, the speaker dealt with the only objections that could be urged against the duty, and the interest of exercising the right of recognition. In a few pointed sentences he showed the confusion of issues that had been made on the slavery question, that the only issue which British philanthropy had to consider, was not whether slavery was or was not the cause of this war, but in which of its possible terminations the interest of the slaves was most likely to be promoted. He showed that while Southern independence held out promising hopes for the amelioration of the slave's condition, Southern subjugation threatened him with a far worse lot than had hitherto fallen to him. He even went so far as to predict that while with Southern independence slavery must necessarily be confined within its present limits, the overrunning of the South by Northern conquerors, finding the confiscated lands worthless without negro labour, and the present negro population demoralized and diminished by servile insurrection, would almost certainly lead to the re-opening of the African Slave-Trade, as the only source of the indispensable supply. He showed that while reconquest could not benefit the slave, and assuredly not the Southern white man, whom it would deprive of home and of personal and political rights,

it would be equally fatal to the last remaining liberties of the North, which it must inevitably convert into a military dictatorship. All these considerations of right, duty, interest, and humanity, the speaker urged upon the consideration of their Lordships, ending with the prediction that until they were acted upon in the recognition of the South by neutral Powers, the disastrous war would never end.

Imperfect as is this sketch, the reader will scarcely fail to see that seldom has a speech been made on a great subject in which so much has been said in few words, and so little left unsaid. Of Earl Russell's reply we have not space, and less need to say much. Its irrelevancy to the points raised by Lord Campbell was pithily expressed by one, who, after hearing it, remarked, "If Lord Campbell's speech had had the small pox, Earl Russell's was never near enough to have caught it." Without pretending to meet any of the issues his interpellator had raised, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs contented himself with a somewhat imposing declamation upon the high and sacred motives which had in all former instances animated Great Britain either in mere recognition or in active interference. Had he been an American orator in the Congress at Washington instead of a noble Earl in the midst of the nobility of Great Britain, we should have suspected this part of his reply to be addressed not to Lord Campbell or to the House, but to that far-famed constituency of "Buncombe." A solemn deprecation of interference or becoming parties to the war seemed equally inapplicable to Lord Campbell's speech, as Earl Russell seems himself to have felt, for he had evident difficulty in connecting the two subjects by the gratuitous hypothesis, that his noble friend, or (for this was too little warranted by anything that Lord Campbell had said) "those who looked forward to his motion" had some such interference in their minds. Upon the whole, the Minister proved himself a dexterous debater, for while he carefully avoided inconvenient topics, he managed to balance his words so as not altogether to discourage either belligerent, or commit himself in favour of either. While declaring the present time most inopportune for recognition, he left the Cabinet which he represented free to act at any given period—not the immediate present; and while speaking of the tremendous efforts the North was making for a renewed campaign, he more than implied the probability of their failure. Making allowance for his doubly delicate and difficult position as the Minister of a most important branch of the Government, and the representative on this occasion of a notoriously divided Cabinet, we are not altogether disposed to quarrel with Lord Russell's speech. One passage, however, deserves special notice. It is where he says, borrowing Mr. Seward's phrase, that recognition would be an unfriendly act to the Government of the United States. Lord Russell apparently never considers that non-recognition might also be an unfriendly act to the Government of the Confederate States, and seems to forget that Great Britain never assumed any obligations to the late American Union which were binding towards only one-half of the States composing it, and not towards the other half.

The Struggle in the South-West.

The mysterious plans for the reduction of Vicksburg which have so long been talked of in the North have at length assumed a definite form and purpose. It is now evident that the Yankees have a wholesome dread of the Vicksburg batteries, and that it will be long before another assault upon the city is adventured. So the plan of campaign is reduced to the simple object of starving the garrison out. An attempt at an investment and the stoppage of every avenue by which supplies are furnished is the one hope of the Federal commanders; and, if we are to credit the New York press, the efforts by which this end is to be accomplished transcend everything that has been previously achieved in history. Great rivers are to be diverted from their courses, millions of cultivated acres are to be reconverted into their primeval condition of

desolate swamps, nature's roads will be closed, and then Northern ingenuity will open new channels through interminable lagoons, and sluggish bayous, and noisome marsh. The Mississippi will become a silent highway, and the fate of Tyre and Sidon, Babylon and Nineveh, is the doom which the relentless North holds out to the once populous cities which fringe the southern extremities of the Father of Rivers. The pertinacious defence of Vicksburg and Port Hudson has brought this crowning indignity on the Mississippi. It was not sufficient to dispute his right to flow in his accustomed channels opposite the former fortress. There remained the batteries on the bluffs of Port Hudson. These, too, were to be avoided, and with a resolution worthy of them, the Yankees have set to work to dispense with the Mississippi altogether, and to solve the gordian knot in the South-West by cutting and digging a new outlet to the Atlantic for the trade of the Western States. The following is an outline of this "big" project, supplied by the *New York Herald*:—Some eighty miles above Vicksburg, on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi is Lake Providence. A small stream connects this lake with the Mississippi, and the "levees" on the Louisiana bank having been cut, there is a rush of water by this channel into Lake Providence, which, it is hoped, will carry with it the Federal gunboats. Southward from the lake flows the river Tensas, running about 250 miles almost parallel with the Mississippi, and joining with the Washita River at Harrisonburg, in Louisiana, nearly opposite Natchez. There their united currents take the name of the Black River, and after another 100 miles, discharge themselves into the Red River, about thirty miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. Supposing the route to have been opened for the passage of gunboats or transports, a considerable advantage would have been obtained, Vicksburg would have been safely passed, all the supplies it has hitherto obtained by the Red River from Louisiana and Texas would have been cut off." But this is not enough for the daring intellects that have drawn up the Yankee programme. Unfortunately, fifty miles below the mouth of the Red River is Port Hudson, barring the passage with its frowning batteries, and the Federals have no alternative but to fight or find some other way out of their difficulties. Accordingly the mouth of the Red River is to be blocked up, and the whole volume of water diverted from the Mississippi by Lake Providence and Tensas River, is to force its way into the half Bayou half river, Otehafo bayou, and freeing for itself a broad path through the lagoons, the driftwood, and the black mud, which now impede the navigation of the river, burst forth into the Gulf of Mexico, some hundred miles west of the mouths of the Mississippi. Then Vicksburg, and Natchez, and Baton Rouge, and New Orleans will be cities of the past. Such is the scheme which, if all others fail, is to strike terror into the hearts of the rebellious South, and give another proof to the awe-struck world of the overpowering might of the North.

Passing from the extravagance of fiction to the realm of fact, we find that for the moment the efforts of the Federals are devoted to the starvation of Vicksburg. The "cut-off" will not work. The Mississippi remains wedded to his old course. But the route by Lake Providence to Red River is seriously essayed, and, if it shall prove practicable, much inconvenience will result to the garrison. The Federals will then obtain the command of the Mississippi between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and Vicksburg will only be supplied and provisioned from the State of Mississippi. But it is very doubtful whether the Lake Providence route is practicable, even when the waters are at the highest, and even if the difficulties of the passage of the swamps should be so far overcome as to admit of its navigation, the Confederates with their recent captures ought by this time be in a position to hold their own against any force their opponents could, by so tortuous and dangerous a route, bring against them. However, until the Red River is closed, Vicksburg cannot be starved out, and we may be

sure no effort will be spared to stop up this source of supply. In another direction a similar attempt to isolate the defender of Vicksburg has been attended with more success. It seems that two naval expeditions have been despatched to clear the Yazoo river, the one steaming up from the mouth of the Yazoo, a few miles above Vicksburg, the other starting some 250 miles up the Mississippi by the Yazoo pass. This pass was formerly the communication between the Mississippi river, and the principle watercourses of the State of Mississippi, but of late years it has been blocked and rendered unnavigable, and much of the surrounding land once overflowed by its waters, has been reclaimed and cultivated. The object of the Federals is to gain access by the opening of this pass, and the clearance of the Yazoo river and its principal tributaries, to the rear of Vicksburg. It is hoped that by the breaking down of the levees the whole country will be inundated, and light transports and gunboats of small draught will be able to penetrate quite to the rear of Vicksburg, and so cut off its communication with Jackson, Mississippi. The investment would then be tolerably complete. The expedition by the Yazoo pass had been so far successful that it had passed the most difficult points of navigation; the other, starting from the mouth of the Yazoo, had, according to report, reached Yazoo city, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Confederates stationed there. The victory is probably due to the Federal gunboats. The capture of the City is, however, an important success, although the Federal reports of the capture of 7,000 men is an obvious exaggeration. From Yazoo City to Jackson then is a tolerably good road, and if the Federals are in sufficient numbers, we may possibly hear of a blow struck in this direction. According to the latest accounts, an attempt to land at Haynes' Bluff, a few miles up the Yazoo, was daily reported, and in that case a severe battle may have been fought, possibly deciding the fate of Vicksburg. It is obvious, the Federals cannot remain much longer inactive. The waters must have reached the highest point. The deaths in the camps are already reported at hundreds daily. One account computes the sick in General Grant's camp at 20,000, another places the effective men at the same number. As soon as the waters begin to subside the sickness must increase tenfold. At present there is no limit to the supplies, and no opposition to the reinforcements forwarded by the Federal transports, but as the streams become lower the difficulty of providing subsistence for the large expeditions now operating in the South West will be insurmountable. Unless, however, the strength of the garrison of Vicksburg has been very much overrated, the attack at Haynes' Bluff is not likely to be more successful than the previous attack under General Sherman.

The fate of Tennessee is yet in the balance, and Kentucky is once more threatened by large masses of Confederate troops. General Rosencranz, instead of continuing his threatened advances, is fortifying himself at Murfreesborough, warned probably by the fate of his comrades at Franklin. The Confederates are in force in his front and on his right flank, and a Confederate army is reported to be marching past him into Kentucky. Forts Henry and Donelson are said to be already in the hands of the Confederates, and, if this be true, he will have quite enough to do to hold his own and secure a safe retreat. In Virginia we hear for the twentieth time that General Hooker is preparing for an advance, and that the moment the roads are fit, operations on a grand scale will be resumed—probably not a day too soon for the Confederate generals. Charleston is still only threatened, and, if we may judge by the failure of the bombardment of Fort M'Allister, is tolerably safe. A successful raid upon the Federal head-quarters in Virginia, by which a general and his whole staff have been carried off; the fight on the Yazoo, and two or three cavalry skirmishes, are the most stirring incidents recorded by the last mail. But within a few weeks the conflict must be renewed in its grandest and direst form, and the shock of great armies will have decided the issue of another campaign.

The Money Value of New England Fanaticism.

As is known to all the world, there are a certain number of States in the American Union, occupying but small space on the map of the New World, known by the appellation of New England. In the Southern States the inhabitants of this region are designated by the title of Yankees, and in consequence of the fact, that they were the chief instigators of the present war between the North and the South, the Northern armies are always referred to by Southerners under the general cognomen of Yankees. As a nation, or a community of States, they are highly civilized, intelligent, and endowed with many characteristics which are worthy of respect. Many eminent statesmen, and distinguished men in various other ranks of life, have sprung from this portion of the late Confederacy, but there are certain peculiarities, mental as well as moral, which distinguish them from the other States of the late "great republic." Perhaps the most prominent of these are fanaticism, and a love of gold. These qualities are traceable throughout their entire history; and the two are combined together in such equal proportions that it is almost impossible to decide which one predominates over the heart or the mind.

In estimating properly the qualities of the unadulterated Yankee fanatic, it is necessary to reverse all the rules by which we judge of other men, or we would be obliged to set him down as belonging to the class of cold calculating hypocrites, who wear the mask of virtue, only to conceal their selfish or criminal designs. We are accustomed to regard a fanatic as an earnest, deluded, infatuated man, guided by a sentiment which assimilates in a certain degree to an honesty of purpose, and who at least pursues his "idea" to the bitter end regardless of the personal consequences to himself or others. If he be not so entirely absorbed in his idiosyncrasy, as to be oblivious of all the probabilities or even possibilities of damage or advantage to himself personally, we ordinarily deny his claim to the appellation of fanatic, and dub him an impostor. Judged by this harsh rule, the Yankee would sink to the position of a dissembling hypocrite. And yet, for all that, he is, no doubt, a sincere convert to his own peculiar type of fanaticism.

It would be in vain to search through the historical records or traditions of that peculiar people to find a single instance in which, either individually or collectively, they have indulged themselves in the luxury of any species of fanaticism which did not possess a money value, and promise in its progress or consummation a handsome return upon the profit side of the account current. It has always been so, from the landing of the "May Flower" to the days of Butler the Beast. Looking back to the period when the great-grandfathers of the present generation ruled the destinies of the New World, we discover that the favourite mode adopted by those saintly missionaries of the Cromwellian faith, to convert the heathen, was to subject the native tribes to the restraints of slavery, and afterwards to extend the field of their labours to the prolific coast of South Africa. Having seized upon their victims, and assembled them upon the deck of the slaver, a few psalms, a few prayers, a few admonitions, and the poor woolly-headed sinners were considered as converted to the true faith, and in the direct road to salvation. Having gained their immortal souls, the fortunate blacks might well afford to give up their perishing bodies as a recompense. "For, after all," reasoned the Yankee auctioneer upon the arrival of his cargo at the slave-mart—blasphemously reversing the original order of the words—"what matters it if a man lose the whole world, if he gains his immortal soul?" Who bids more for the body of the redeemed African? Going! Going!! Gone!!! at only 150 per cent. profit upon the absolute merchantable cost, without estimating the labour and toil of plucking him as a brand from the burning!

Under such auspices the Yankee slave dealer

disposed of his human cargo, and in due time retired upon his gains, with the pleasant consciousness of having worthily discharged his duty to God and man. But, at length, the slave markets were closed by the peremptory refusal of the former purchasers to buy any more. Any other religious enthusiasts would have felt some degree of embarrassment in adjusting their fanaticism to the exigencies of the new position. Not so the Yankee of the type we are considering. Never yet has he permitted any other passion to blind him to the exigencies of the pocket. His slave ships were in a fair way to be left rotting in the harbour, and it became necessary to decide promptly what to do. He revolved the subject in his mind, slept on it a single night, and the slave dealer of yesterday awoke the next morning a raving, ranting, run-mad abolitionist. The full enormity of holding "men and brethren" as chattel property never disturbed his conscience before. He pondered deeply, but not long. It was a plain case that the Southern slave owners deserved punishment; but how inflict it in such manner as to redound to the pecuniary well-being of the saints? Very high tariffs on foreign imported merchandise would tend to drive away European competition. Navigation laws might be so constructed as to give the ship-carrying trade of the South to the ship owners and ship builders of the Union, wherever they might be found.

See how that system would work. New England capital was largely employed in manufactures. If the foreign articles should be excluded, the South would be compelled to buy from New England at very high prices; thus putting very great profits into Yankee pockets. But the Southern people were planters and agriculturists, and did not build ships. Of course foreign bottoms being excluded, Yankee ships would, without a competitor, become the carriers of Southern slave products. The system worked like a charm. The Yankee fanatic discovered more and more clearly every day that slavery was contrary to every principle of right, and in direct conflict with the laws of God; and in process of time he became fully satisfied that the only effectual mode by which the "arrogant slave power" could be kept in due subjection, was to absorb all the profits of slave labour for his own uses.

The system was twice blessed. First, in that it diminished the slaveholders' capacity for mischief; and next, that it augmented the facilities of the Yankee for saving souls, and making contributions to the underground railroad, whereby the tide of fugitive Africans from the South might be passed on through the inhospitable States of the North, to the more genial atmosphere of Canada. Notwithstanding his undoubted love and admiration for the negro, he always, with a self-abnegation worthy of all commendation, preferred to book his protégées on to the British province, as an asylum of greater security.

Ingenious romances by ingenious authors, founded upon not impossible, however improbable fictions, touching slavery, the slave, and the slave owner, were always sure cards. To heighten the effect and increase the demand there were interspersed within the pages of these, illustrative wood cuts, representing a poor fellow, very black, and intensely unhappy, undergoing chastisement, as was fully explained, for no offence whatever. Or, what was perhaps even more touching, a beautifully proportioned, full-busted, delicately-formed, long-haired, intellectual, and refined-looking mulattress, of melancholy aspect and tearful eye, standing upon the auction block, offered by her own father to the highest bidder, amongst a crowd of lascivious-looking rascals. When cent. per cent. is the stake, the expansive capacity of the Yankee fanatic's imagination seems wonderful, if we consider what a stern cold block of humanity he appears in the crude state.

But none amongst them are more firmly imbued with the beauties of the scriptural precept, that the labourer in the Lord's vineyard is worthy of his hire, than the priest fanatic. Whoever has entered the Brooklyn church, where the renowned Mr. Beecher utters his blasphemies, must have been

struck with the vast number and beauty of the bouquets, prepared with flowers of every hue and odour, which literally cover the sacred desk, behind which stands the saintly fanatic. These nosegays are deposited there by the matrons and maidens of whom his congregation is chiefly composed. "The flowers are very sweet and very pretty," says the pious recipient. "They fill the whole atmosphere with their delicious perfume; but, alas!" philosophises the preacher, "the winds waft it away, and within a few fleeting hours their tints have faded. They gratify the senses for a brief time, but they do not feed the perishing body!" Is it wonderful that the hint should be sufficient, and that on succeeding occasions golden half-eagles and full eagles should be found dangling in little bags from the bunches of flowers? With such an appreciative audience, is it wonderful that his zeal against slave-holders should grow faster than his zeal for his religious faith; and that at last he should conclude that "a more effectual moral agency than the Bible," was the sharp twang of a "Sharp's rifle?"

War, however, has served to develop the electrical connexion between the pocket nerve and the fanaticism of the Yankee, even more clearly, if that were possible, than the long peace by which it was preceded. If there is one characteristic of the Yankee mind touching the negro more fully developed than another, it is his unconquerable aversion to any personal contact with him after he shall have become a freeman. Still, being in such close proximity to the four millions of Africans in the Southern States, it could not be otherwise than that a certain number should find their way to the land of wooden nutmegs, despite the stringent laws for their exclusion. Yankee ingenuity is scarcely ever at fault in an emergency which will at all admit of a favourable solution. The Governor of Massachusetts has shown himself, however, more clever in expedients than any of his brother fanatics of the New England States. The escaped slaves and freed blacks, who have been attracted to this State as the great head-quarters of Abolitionism, have ever been regarded by the inhabitants generally with a feeling closely akin to loathing. How to get rid of them has ever been a subject of grave consideration. But the Africans have steadily refused to go away voluntarily; and as there was no legal means of driving them away, they still dwelt amongst their inhospitable "brethren," content with the scantiest possible allowance of food and raiment. The shrewd fanatic who is at the head of affairs in the commonwealth whose capitol is Boston, has at length devised a means of performing a patriotic duty, and at the same time clearing the country of the hated "contrabands." He has determined to enrol all the able-bodied male Africans within the limits of his jurisdiction into military companies, and send them off to fight the battles of the Union in the pestilential rice swamps of the Carolinas. See the marvellous acuteness of this most fanatical negro-worshipper. He saves to the extent of his black enlistments the white citizens, and thus fills up the quota of Massachusetts for the Union army. He saves, in a great measure, the enormous bounties necessary to the employment of foreign mercenaries; and he disposes of the always troublesome question of what to do with the black inhabitants, by sending them away under auspices which bid fair to relieve the State altogether from their presence. In accomplishing these purposes, who will doubt that a fanatical admiration of the black man, and hatred of the black man's master in the South, filled the bosom of the sagacious Governor?

But if the smartness of the individual Yankee fanatic challenges our admiration, in what terms may we speak of the sagacity displayed by the Yankee States in the aggregate, in their management of the devastating war? With rare exceptions, produced by local causes, New England alone has been exempt from all the horrors of the desolating conflict which has been waged by the North against the South. No hostile foot has crossed her borders, and but few of her children have trusted their persons upon the field of danger and of death.

Within the brief space of two years the debt of the United States has expanded into such vast proportions, that the mind is scarcely capable of grasping at a glance the amount represented by the long line of figures required to express the sum total of Expenditures. All this vast array of numbers, running up from units to thousands of millions of dollars, represent moneys expended in clothing, equipping, and feeding the vast army, and building ships for the great navy of the United States. In truth, it may be said that this sum also represents a large part of the arms, clothing, and ships of war, of the Confederates. New England shipowners and builders have, in a great measure, supplied the vessels of war and the transports, New England manufacturers the arms and the clothing—and New England contractors have, to a considerable extent, monopolised the larger contract for the supply of the thousands of other articles which are consumed by armies. It would be safe to estimate that three-fourths of the money profits of the war have fallen to the share of New England and New Englanders, domiciled for the time being in other States, while all the burthens have fallen upon the Middle and Western States. The last named have furnished food at ruinously low rates to feed the Northern army, as well as the food for Southern rifles. The former have carried away the profits of the great war, considered in the light of a commercial speculation. Amid all the disasters and miseries which the conflict has brought upon both the North and the South, New England alone, has, without personal risk or danger, garnered a golden harvest. When the war closes, New England alone—her coffers filled with gold, and her inhabitants clothed “with purple and fine linen”—may survey the wide scene of desolation which lies beyond their borders, and return thanks to God that in avenging the black man’s wrongs, they had added so enormously to their worldly stores.

Is it wonderful that under such a state of facts, the thoughts of the great West should begin to turn towards peace; or that the voice of the Yankee fanatic should be still for war? What? succumb to the arrogant demands of the slave power to free itself from the dominion of the saints! Abandon the glorious cause of human rights—stop short in mid career before accomplishing the great task assigned by the Heavenly Father of the black man, while “green backs” are only 70 per cent. discount, and Yankee net profits at least the double of that sum! Perish the traitorous thought! Gird on the sword again, brave Western boys! and while you fight, the Yankee nation will work double time at the looms, to provide wherewith to keep you warm and comfortable. “God will not be let off with half-way work,” exclaims the pulpit fanatic, with an eye to the pecuniary interests of his compatriots. “One more united effort, and God’s work will have been achieved!” Ninety days more, and the rebellion will be crushed! Then “on to Richmond!”

The Confederate Loan.

The proposal for a loan of £3,000,000 sterling, to be issued in bonds at 90 per cent., for which Messrs. Emile Erlanger and Co., of Paris, are the contractors, was formally announced in London by the English agents, Messrs. J. Schroder and Co., on Wednesday evening, the 18th inst. The following prospectus fully explain the conditions:—

The bonds to bear interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum in sterling, from 1st of March, 1863, payable half-yearly in London, Paris, Amsterdam, or Frankfort.

The bonds exchangeable for cotton on application, at the option of the holder, or redeemable at par in sterling in twenty years, by half-yearly drawings, commencing 1st of March, 1864.

Agents for the contractors in London—Messrs. J. Schroder and Co., 145, Leadenhall-street.

This loan has been contracted with Messrs. Emile Erlanger and Co., bankers, of Paris, by the Government of the Confederate States of America, and is specially secured by an undertaking of the Government to deliver cotton to the holders of the bonds, on application after sixty days’ notice, on the footing aforementioned. The nature of the arrangement is fully set forth in Article IV. of the contract made with Messrs. E. Erlanger and Co., which is as follows:—“Each bond shall, at the option of the holder, be convertible at its nominal amount into cotton, at the rate of sixpence sterling for each pound of cotton—say 4,000 lb. of cotton for each bond of £100, or 2,500 francs; and this at any time not later than six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the present belligerents. Notice of the

intention of converting bonds into cotton has to be given to the representatives of the Government in Paris or London, and sixty days after such notice the cotton will be delivered—if peace, at the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans; if war, at points in the interior of the country within ten miles of a railroad or stream navigable to the ocean. The delivery will be made free of all charges and duties, excepting the existing export duty of one-eighth of one cent per lb. The quality of the cotton to be the standard of New Orleans middling. If any cotton is of superior or inferior quality, the difference in value shall be settled by two brokers, one to be appointed by the Government, the other by the bondholder; whenever these two brokers cannot agree on the value an umpire is to be chosen, whose decision shall be final. It is at the same time provided that holders who do not convert their bonds into cotton shall be entitled to retain the bonds, and receive interest at the rate of 7 per cent per annum in sterling, payable half-yearly in London, Paris, Amsterdam, or Frankfort, at the option of the holder, until repayment of the principal at par. An annual sinking fund of 5 per cent. is provided for, whereby 2½ per cent of the bonds unredeemed by cotton shall be drawn by lot half-yearly; the first drawing to take effect on the 1st of March 1864, and to be continued on the 1st of September following, and on the 1st of March and the 1st of September in every succeeding year, so as finally to extinguish the loan in twenty years from the date of the first drawing.

The bonds to be issued at 90 per cent., which is to be paid as follows:—5 per cent on application, 10 per cent on allotment, 10 per cent 1st of May, 10 per cent 1st of June, 10 per cent 1st of July, 15 per cent 1st of August, 15 per cent 1st of September, less dividend 3½ per cent, 15 per cent 1st of October—£90. Subscribers will have the option of paying instalments in advance, on allotment, or on any of the above dates, under discount of 7 per cent per annum on such prepayments; but in default of due payment of the respective instalments, all previous payments will be liable to forfeiture. (By payment under discount, the price of the cotton is reduced to about 5½d. per lb.)

After allotment scrip certificates will be issued to bearers. These certificates, after payment of the last instalment, will be exchanged for bonds to “bearer,” in sums of £100, £200, £500, and £1,000 each, with coupons attached, payable 1st March, 1st September, as stated above. Arrangements have been made for the execution of the bonds in Paris. From the proceeds of the subscription the contractors and their agents are authorised to retain sufficient funds to pay the first two coupons. The drawings for the operation of the sinking fund will be duly advertised previous to the half-yearly redemption. An authenticated copy of the act of ratification of the contract may be inspected either at the offices of Messrs. Freshfields and Newman, the solicitors to the contractors, or of Messrs. Crowder, Maynard, and Co., solicitors to the agents of the contractors in London.

The loan was at a premium of 2½ per cent. on Wednesday evening; and on Thursday it was at 5 per cent. premium. It happened that on the same day (Thursday), other loans and securities generally were depressed. The Italian loan, introduced by Messrs. Rothschild, was at three-eighths discount to one-eighth premium, and the £3,000,000 called for in London was not subscribed. The new Danish loan of £500,000, which consists of bonds paid to contractors for railroads, was at ¼ discount. Russian Scrip was quoted at par. The only Government Scrip at a premium, besides the Confederate, was the Portuguese, which was quoted at 2½ to 3 premium. In the share list of the *Times* of Friday, under the date of Thursday evening, it is stated:—“In the share market to-day the business was again of a very limited amount, and in sympathy with Consols; the variations from yesterday’s closing prices in most of the descriptions, except colonial, tended downwards. * * In American, Virginia (6 per cent) recovered ½, and United States receded 2½.” Notwithstanding various attempts to dissuade the public from taking the loan, the applications by 2 o’clock on Saturday, when the lists were closed, were known in London to be for at least five times the amount asked for. The *Daily News* of Monday last remarks, “It appears that the contractors estimate the total applied for at about £15,000,000; but as they have not yet received the final reports from the Continent, some additions may be made to this heavy amount.”

The astonishing success of this, the first foreign loan of the Confederate States, is by far the greatest triumph they have yet achieved either in arms or by diplomacy. It is a proof that capital, always so sensitive, so instinctively prudent, knowing full well by the experience of the past year that the torch or confiscation awaits the security upon which the loan is based, should the Confederate territory become the spoil of the invader, entertains no longer a doubt of the stability of the Confederate Government, and its ability to preserve the integrity of its dominions. It is, in fact, financial recognition, scarcely, if at all, less important than diplomatic recognition would be. As it is a striking proof of confidence in the fortunes of the young nationality, so also is it a proof of no less implicit confidence in its honour. Great efforts had of late been made to reflect upon the credit of the Confederacy by resuscitating the almost forgotten repudiation of Mississippi, and by connecting with that act the name of President Davis. We have neither the desire nor at present the access to the circumstantial details of the facts, to decide whether or no that repudiation was in any degree justifiable, or what, if any, extenuating circumstances attended it. But this much has been rendered manifest by the recent investigation of the subject, that Mr. Davis, whom the slanderous tongue of Northern hatred has not scrupled to style “the father of repudiation,” was not even in public life when this transaction took place, that he never

gave a vote for it, nor was in anywise connected with it; and that the most he stands charged with is having repelled, while a representative of that State many years afterwards, some hostile and injurious imputations against his constituency. Whatever may have been the delinquency of Mississippi—and of this, we repeat, we are not prepared to judge—the financial world has now given the common sense verdict, that her fault cannot justly affect the credit of the Confederacy of which she is a member, any more than it affected that of the United States while she continued one of them, and was not then the only repudiating State among the number.

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE GROWTH OF THE WHIG PARTY.

General Jackson’s successor inherited all the responsibility of his obnoxious measures, without the personal popularity which had enabled him to carry out the most objectionable portions of his policy in despite of all opposition. Commercial and financial distress, aggravated perhaps by the sudden refusal of the Treasury towards the close of Jackson’s term to receive paper in payment of dues to the Government, contributed to excite popular feeling against Mr. Van Buren, who had completely identified himself with the policy of his predecessor; and he failed to obtain his re-election. Since that time no President of the United States has held office for a second period—a circumstance which may be reckoned among the many signs of a change for the worse in the character of the Government. No doubt there are many arguments against the re-eligibility of a Republican chief magistrate, and a President elected for a period of six or eight years might with propriety be rendered incapable of immediate re-election. But the change, occurring when it did, appears to have arisen rather from a want of authority in the men chosen, and a want of stability in American politics, than from any public conviction of the inexpediency of the earlier practice, sanctioned as it was by the example and express approval of the principal founders of the Union.

It was under Van Buren that the sub-treasury scheme became law; and from that time the chief distinction discernible between the Whigs and Democrats is the attachment of the latter to this measure, and the preference of the former for a national bank. The Whigs, under the able leadership of Henry Clay, were rapidly gaining ground, especially in the Northern States, to whose confidence they were recommended by their protectionist predilections. They were able twice to defeat the sub-treasury bill, with the aid of a certain section of malcontent Democrats, who in time became identified with them; and in 1840 they succeeded in carrying their candidate for the Presidency. On that occasion the Abolitionists for the first time appeared as a distinct party; but their numbers were altogether insignificant. The Whig candidates, Gen. Harrison and Mr. Tyler, were elected by 231 votes out of 294. Exactly a month after his inauguration Gen. Harrison died. Mr. Tyler, who succeeded, of course, to the Presidency, was one of the seceders from the Democratic party, and had been nominated with a view to the conciliation of that section of the coalition. Soon after his accession to office he quarrelled with his Whig Cabinet, and was deserted by them, and formally renounced by the party. The occasion of the dispute was the rejection by the President of a bill for the establishment of a national bank, framed with the concurrence of his ministers, and with the express view of meeting what were understood to be his own wishes. The quarrel did much to break up the growing strength of the Whigs, and secure the next election to their adversaries.

In the meantime, sectional disputes had been growing more and more frequent and angry, and the danger of

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858).

The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Chisly. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years’ View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1829 to 1859. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgment of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Seaton’s Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin’s Letter, Yates’ Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the Letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1812.)

disruption had more than once seemed ominously near. The two chief contests took place on the "Right of Petition," as it was called, and on the annexation of Texas.

In 1833 the enemies of slavery organised the "National Anti-Slavery Society," and began to hold public meetings, at which language was used less violent than that which has become common of late years, but strong enough to provoke warm resentment in the South. There, meetings were held denouncing the Abolitionists, at which, apparently, as is the wont of platform orators, a good deal of angry nonsense was talked; and some State authorities went so far as to offer rewards for the delivery into their hands of certain prominent agitators at the North. This was, of course, a mere piece of bravado, as was the demand of the Governor of Alabama for the extradition of one of the offenders, a citizen of New York; for it could by no means be maintained that the Abolitionists of the North had rendered themselves amenable to the State laws of Alabama or Georgia; but, like all bravado, it was in very bad taste, provoked insulting retorts, and could serve no good purpose whatever. At that time, moreover, the Northern people generally had little sympathy with the fanaticism of the Abolitionists. Their meetings were frequently broken up by force, and their orators occasionally maltreated. But, as no legislative measures were adopted to coerce those who, while living under the law of the Union, were avowedly conspiring against the institutions of several of the States, and proposing to plunder, by one means or other, the citizens of those States of a large portion of their property, the South was still dissatisfied. Nor was its dissatisfaction so unreasonable as it may appear to English readers. When Englishmen agitated for the abolition of slavery, they were labouring to do that which the Government of which they were subjects and constituents had a right to do, and to do it by no other than legal means. For exciting servile insurrection they could have been punished by English law; and their right to endeavour by all peaceful means to induce Parliament to exercise its authority in any way they thought just or desirable could hardly be questioned. But when a citizen of New York agitated against slavery, he was endeavouring to assail an institution over which no Government wherewith he had any concern—neither the Government of his State nor that of the Union—had any jurisdiction. Yet, by whatever means he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose, he could be punished neither by the law of New York nor by that of the United States. And the demand of the South, therefore, was simply this: first, that citizens of one State should not meddle with the institutions of another; and secondly, that if they did so, they should be coerced by the legislature of their own State. The citizens of Massachusetts had no more to do with slavery in South Carolina than Englishmen have to do with serfdom in Russia or with the conscription in France. But he could not fairly claim the same license to discuss Southern slavery, denounce it, and agitate against it, that Englishmen might claim in regard to Russian servitude or French conscriptions; and this because he was the citizen of a State in the most close and intimate alliance with those whose institutions he claimed the right to endeavour to subvert. Towards those States he had at once the duties of a fellow-citizen and the disabilities of an alien. This may seem an anomaly, but it is an anomaly inseparable from the Federal form of Government. It would appear, therefore, that the demand of the South was substantially just, and that the threat of disunion, by which South Carolina tried to enforce compliance, was not unreasonable. As the matter was further discussed, and the contention grew more warm, another dispute arose out of the same question. The South complained that the mail was made the vehicle for the diffusion of incendiary publications in the Slave States, and demanded that Abolitionist prints should be excluded from it. The North, on the other hand, refused to allow to the Postmasters, or to the Postmaster-General a right of censorship over the mails. There was a good deal to be said on both sides. On the one hand, looking at the matter from the point of view of the South, it was certainly wrong that a Federal service should be used as a means of political warfare against the institutions of individual States and the property of their citizens. On the other hand, it was not easy to answer the protest of those who, ignoring the separate sovereignty of the States, declared that no public official could have the right of confining the use of the mails to one class of publications, or one political party.

A yet more angry discussion arose out of the presentation to Congress of petitions against slavery. The Anti-Slavery Society, hard pressed by the constitutional argument, were forced at last to issue a manifesto denying all idea of meddling with slavery in the Slave States, and to confine their action to attacks on its existence in

the district of Columbia (embedded between and formed out of the territory of two Slave States), and in the Territories. But the tone of their petitions, the spirit of their action, and the purport of their arguments, were really directed against slavery in general, and were not unnaturally treated as wilful insults by citizens of the Northern against the representatives of the Southern States. It was as if the House of Commons were constantly assailed by petitions from the boroughs, insulting and reviling the members for the counties. In 1836 the first severe check was given to this kind of petition. In spite of the opposition of Mr. Adams (late president), and others, the House of Representatives determined that Congress had no power over slavery in the States—a question on which, one would have thought, there could be no manner of doubt—and that all petitions relating to slavery should be laid on the table, without being discussed, printed, or referred. Mr. Adams persisted, nevertheless, in presenting petitions, and demanding action upon each, in defiance of this "standing order." A bill to prohibit the transmission of Abolition pamphlets and papers by mail was introduced into the Senate, but failed to pass. The House finally adopted a standing order, in much the same terms as that just mentioned, which precluded the further presentation of abolitionist petitions. This rule remained in force till 1845.

The independence of Texas was recognised by Congress in 1837. In the next year its annexation was proposed by Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives; but the proposal was got rid of by a motion to "lay it on the table"—ayes, 127; noes, 68. In 1843 the question was again agitated; and in 1844 a treaty of annexation, negotiated by Mr. Calhoun as Secretary of State, was rejected by the Senate. Next year the vote of annexation passed the House, with a proviso extending the line of Missouri compromise to the territory belonging to or claimed by Texas—ayes, 112 Democrats and 8 Whigs; noes, 70 Whigs and 28 Democrats. In the Senate, a similar resolution was carried by 27 to 25, every Senator being present; and on the last day of Mr. Tyler's tenure of office, the annexation was approved by him.

In the meantime two questions connected with slavery had excited a good deal of sectional animosity, and had been the theme of angry discussion, both in and out of Congress. The first was the case of the *Amistad*, a Spanish vessel, bound from one Spanish port to another, having on board a cargo of slaves, who seized on the ship and murdered the crew. She fell into the hands of an American man-of-war off the coast of Connecticut. Spain claimed the restoration of the vessel and slaves. This case came before the Supreme Court; Mr. Adams pleaded the cause of the negroes, and Mr. Justice Story pronounced a decree for their liberation.

The other case was that of the American brig *Creole*, for New Orleans from Richmond, with tobacco and slaves. Here again the slaves mutinied, murdered one of the crew, and carried the vessel into Nassau. Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, demanded indemnification; which the British Government refused. On the 21st of March, 1842, Mr. Giddings introduced into the House a series of resolutions taking substantially the view of the case adopted by Great Britain, affirming that, once outside of the State jurisdiction of Virginia, the slaves violated no law of the United States by an attempt to recover their liberty by force; and that the exertion of the Federal power for the protection of the "commerce in human beings" would be subversive of the rights of the Free-States and incompatible with the national honour. A furious storm was excited, by the offensive phraseology, perhaps, rather than by the substance of these resolutions, and a vote of censure on Mr. Giddings was carried by 125 to 69. He resigned his seat, but was immediately re-elected by his constituents in the State of Ohio. It was plain that sectional feeling was becoming more and more preponderant; and that the issue between slavery and abolition would be that on which the fiercest political contests were henceforth to be expected.

The annexation of Texas—substantially a sectional question—was the ground on which the Presidential campaign of 1844 was fought out. Henry Clay, who, on the whole, disapproved of the measure, was the candidate of the Whigs; but his position as a slaveholder deprived him of the support of the Abolitionists. Mr. Van Buren, who was at first the favourite of the Democrats, was withdrawn in favour of James K. Polk, who was known to be more decidedly the partisan of annexation. The electoral vote stood for Clay 105, for Polk 170. The popular vote was for the latter 1,335,000, and for the former 1,297,000. The Abolition candidate, Mr. Burney, polled 64,000 voters; and the perversity of that faction in bringing him forward excited the bitter animadversion of the Whigs. Mr. Polk owed his election principally to this error on their part, and in some

measure also to his protestations of obstinate adherence to the extreme pretensions of the United States in regard to the Oregon territory; pretensions which he finally consented to modify to a very important extent.

At this time parties were very nearly balanced. The Whigs had a preponderance in the Northern States; they had also a certain amount of support in the Southern, and especially in the Border States, due in no small measure to the high personal character and popularity of their leader, Mr. Clay. The Democrats had a strong minority in the North, and a complete ascendancy in the South. The former were in favour of a strongly protective tariff, of a National Bank, and for the most part of restrictions on the development of slavery, and on the admission of new Slave States; but they were not Abolitionists, and were not disposed to violate the Constitution, as they understood it, or to endanger the Union, by provoking a sectional conflict. The Democrats understood better the danger which really threatened the Union, and were, therefore, more eager in their desire to avert it. They insisted on the protection of Southern rights, on a tariff constructed merely for purposes of revenue, and on the sub-treasury scheme. The Abolitionists were as yet insignificant in number, as they have always been in character; but their influence, from this time, was steadily on the increase.

*THE 10th volume of the Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of the great Captain only brings us down to the year 1815. There seems to be no end to Wellington literature, and it is probable that before the close of the century, the governors of the National Library may deem it necessary to devote an entire wing of the Bloomsbury building to books relating to Wellington, and to compile a Wellington catalogue. Not that we think too much has been said and written about the man who was destined to play such an important part in that vast struggle to which we are indebted for the civilization and advancement of the nineteenth century. Opinions differ as to whether the Iron Duke was a greater commander than Napoleon, and some persons will not admit that he was deservedly eminent as a politician and statesman, but no one can dispute that he was endowed with the strength, capacity, and genius for hard work. His contemporaries did not esteem him a busy man, because he always had time for social intercourse, yet we cannot but marvel at the mass of work he got through, and how little he was assisted. The office of Secretary to the Duke must have been, we mean compared to the labour that might have been expected, something like a sinecure. In all the correspondence, from despatches to Government and private letters to Ministers to notes on passing affairs, the one mind is present in every line; and it is plain that when the Duke did not write with his own hand, he was not content with giving general instructions, but sketched out the entire communication for his Secretary. The hard work was to some extent the result of special circumstances. A man may be as gifted, as methodical, and as industriously inclined as was the Duke of Wellington; but if he has not the same opportunity of always finding something worth doing to be done, he will not be able to get through so much business. The volume before us refers to the era when the Duke belonged to Europe as the arbiter of her destinies, and it contains much that is curious—a little that the Orleanists and Bourbons will consider slightly irrelevant, and a few items that may convince M. Thiers, M. Victor Hugo, and the legion of writers who have lately been so fiercely and vindictively fighting the battle of Waterloo on paper, that they have blundered egregiously, and that it is better not to try the experiment of hiding incontrovertible facts with cobweb theories that are blown away with the slightest breath of criticism. After 1815 the Duke was engaged at home in reconciling democracy with aristocracy and republican freedom with royal prerogative; and in no small degree to his industry, influence, and unselfish patriotism, do we owe our internal concord and our constitutional progress. We know it is the fashion to decry the Duke's civil career; but when the dust of another generation has settled on his tomb, when the party conflicts which raged in the beginning of the century are only remembered historically, what he did as a politician and a statesman will be regarded as a fitting sequel to his illustrious conduct as a warrior. Immediately after Waterloo the Duke was the idol of Europe, and doubly the idol of England, yet he became so exceedingly unpopular as to be mobbed in the streets of London. That unpopularity does him infinite honour. He stood, as it were, between the throne and the people; and cheerfully bore much of the odium that would otherwise have been heaped upon royalty. The Duke was opposed to change; he was, in fact, a Tory of the old school; but when change could no longer be justly resisted, he gave way, and unlike Sir Robert Peel, managed to take his party with him. The importance of this policy is incalculable, for whilst it did not foster agitation it made revolution impossible; but if the Duke had cared more for popularity than for duty he would have pursued a different course. He lived to reap the reward of his self-sacrifice. Ere he died he was not only the trusted adviser of the Crown, but once more the idol of the nation, and he was truly entitled to the warm gratitude and entire confidence of the Queen and people. We believe that the succeeding volumes of this work will tend to make Englishmen appreciate better the civil labours of the Duke of Wellington, by making them better and more generally understood.

†THE author of "Such Things Are" has made a strange mistake in the title of that novel. It should have been

* "Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington." Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Vol. X. (London: Murray.)
† "Such Things Are." By the Author of "Recommended to Mercy." (London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.)

called "Such Things Are Not," for assuredly there are no people on earth like unto the fictitious personages in it, and such deeds are not done except on the stages of those minor theatres that do not trouble the Lord Chamberlain for licences, or for permission to perform such exciting dramas as "*Blood for Blood*," or, "*The Mysterious Cow-house*." If the author ever thought of a plot he has evidently forgotten to put it in, or reserved it for another novel that we are promised, and which we suppose is to be a kind of key to the present exceedingly dull and heavy riddle. We confess we cannot understand the book, and the author may think, by way of consolation, that our confused notion of "Such Things Are," is the result of obtuseness, not to say of imbecility. We are in the position of the child taking physic—we do not know the object of the mixture, or what is in it, but we do know that it is uncommodiously nasty. There is a murder, or murders, that "won't out," at least in the present novel; and there is a lord who has done very wicked things, but we do not exactly know what, why, when, or wherefore. A young woman is saved from a watery grave by a coastguardman, marries him, and repents of her bargain; but what she has to do with the story we cannot imagine, unless it shall appear that she has had a hand in the murder or murders. The Waterloo Bridge mystery was not half so puzzling as "Such Things Are." Everybody seems to have done some dreadful deed, or else to know the secret of some other person's crime. A gentleman of strong feeling breaks a blood-vessel, because somebody accuses his wife of having something to do with some murder, or, it may be, because he himself has had something to do with some murder or murders. Another person who threatens to reveal something he knows about somebody else is poisoned, but by whom he is poisoned is not quite clear. It would be unfair not to mention one advantage that "Such Things Are" has over ordinary novels. When young ladies are recruiting at the sea-side, and from stress of weather, are obliged to remain in those uncomfortable pens, commonly called sea-side lodgings, there is a great rush to the circulating library, and much disappointment is experienced by first volumes being out. Now in the case of "Such Things Are," it does not matter which volume is read first, and we are not sure that it will not be advantageous to read it backwards. Moreover as there is no plot, young ladies may skip *ad lib.* without doing the author injustice.

THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD CAMPBELL'S MOTION.

On Monday Lord Campbell's motion, previously postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Lord Russell, was brought before the House. The following is a full report of Lord Campbell's speech on that occasion. For the convenience of the reader we have arranged the different subjects under appropriate heads.

THE SITUATION.

My Lords,—Although I know that no apology is requisite for calling the attention of the House to the papers for which I moved in August last, and which have lately been presented, I am anxious and impatient to point out the exact view with which that motion is submitted to you. I do not wish to raise a question on the course which Government have taken as regards American affairs during the autumn. The question I propose is wholly seated in the future. The facts which led to it are known and easy to recall to you. During the whole of the last Session France and Great Britain were alleged, and were believed to act together on the difficulties which the civil war might generate. Since then they have diverged, or rather in the memorable phrase of a noble friend now absent from his place (Lord Clarendon), have seemed to drift from one another. In November we restrained the French Government in a course which they desired to take; in January the Emperor by himself pursued a second line of action, meant, like the first, to terminate hostilities. That line of action having failed, all thoughts of intervention, mediation, and remonstrance being exploded by the insolent reply of Mr. Seward, the Emperor being anxious still to close the war as he has proved himself, and having paid to the Government of Washington every debt of justice and of courtesy, the question of recognising the insurgents may at any moment come before us as the question of attempting to obtain an armistice was urged upon the country in November. Were it not that for some weeks past Poland has engaged the world, before now it might have reached us. As things stand, it will find us in the worst condition to receive it, without conviction one way or the other in either party of the State by the avowal of their leaders. A fatal error might arise not from an erroneous view, but from the want of any. It is at such a moment, if ever, that Parliamentary debate is useful and admissible; when of two opposite opinions on a question rapidly impending, neither can be said to prevail over the other, and no man on earth guesses by what our conduct will be guided. It is, therefore, with a view to a distinct and practical result that I have given noble lords the opportunity of speaking on America. It could not have been done in any other form, because a resolution to reject the action of the Government would have justly been resisted, and its withdrawal would be most disastrous to the 8,000,000 men whose claims are now before you.

PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF RECOGNITION.

The opinion I am anxious to maintain is that the divergence, of France and Great Britain on America ought not to go further, but to cease, and that when France invites us to acknowledge Southern independence, we should neither hold her back nor let her move alone, but on the contrary, act with her. And by acknowledgment, I mean the course of sending an ambassador to the insurgent, or of receiving his ambassador, or of engaging in a treaty with him, or of seeking *equivalents* from him for the consuls in his territory. The first impression I should wish to combat very briefly is, that the acknowledgment by neutral States of Southern independence would have no practical effects and no important consequences. It seemed to be that of a noble Earl over the way, who lately held the Foreign seals, at the beginning of the Session. But if acknowledgment is wholly immaterial, why has the South continued to demand, and the North so long and pertinaciously endeavoured to avert it? Why are Southern envoys now in London and in Paris, and why was the Government of Washington prepared at every cost but that of war to intercept them? Why have the Envoys, on

arriving, made acknowledgment the simple object of their mission, and why has Mr. Seward sent to the different Powers a volume of despatches to resist it? It has reached me from credible authorities that last year the planters began to grow cotton when acknowledgment was looked for, and ploughed it in when the hope expired. It happened in this manner the planters viewed acknowledgment as the road to peace, were ready to invest their capital in the ordinary way when that road was likely to be opened; and it may well occur to them as having such a tendency. From the Northern mind it would take away the hope of Southern subjugation; from the Government of Washington it would take away the power of describing eleven communities contending for their liberty as rebels. The people of America are influenced by phrases, and will not come to terms with what they have been hounded on to look at as rebellion. But they can see a fact when Europe blazes it before them, and they will be awakened by her judgment to the nature of the foreign war on which their treasure and their happiness are wasted. When Europe has acknowledged it the independence of the South may be debated in the Senate and the House, where no one now can venture to advert to it. A probable result of such a measure, if pursued by France, Great Britain, and other neutral States together, is, that it would weaken in the Executive at Washington its borrowing ability, because their loans are founded on the chances of reconquest; and reconquest would then appear what it is, a vision and a mockery. And it would do so with good reason. Victorious already, animated then, the Southern armies would be doubly irresistible; they would not have, if they retained it now, the power to be vanquished. Another practical effect of recognition would be that the belligerents might then endeavour to negotiate, which it is clear they cannot do at present. A separate result would be to put an end to all the idle dreams of reconstruction and of union which are floating in America, and which serve to prolong the war, because they disincite the North to the only basis upon which the close of it is possible. A yet more serious result the measure promises is freedom to the Government of Washington from the necessity of hopeless war which weighs on it at present. As soon as Europe sanctions its retreat, the greater portion of its evils are annihilated. As long as Europe sanctions its attempt, to renounce it is to suffer an indignity which never fell upon a State engaged in war with insurrection since modern history opened its varied scenes to our notice. Noble lords who recollect how, after it had lasted forty years, the civil war between Spain and Holland was influenced in 1607-9 by the diplomacy of France and England, may be led to think in what form the present struggle might adjust itself. But they will also see that the efforts of the two Powers would have been as vain as they were brilliant and successful, unless Europe had before acknowledged the insurgent. I will not dwell upon the instance. It must engage the study of every minister or sovereign who aspires to the lofty task of closing the hostilities before us.

PRINCIPLE ON WHICH INSURGENT POWERS OUGHT TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED.

The next doctrine which stands in the way of the conclusion I am pointing to, is even more important to consider, because in this House it received a kind of sanction on February 5, from the noble Earl who leads the opposition, and who had the manliness to state that in responding it he differed from the mass of his supporters. It has been laid down that you should recognise insurgent Powers when you are going to give material assistance to their cause, or when the civil war is over, that neutrals should reserve their voice until arms have fallen from the weak and fainting hands of the belligerents. Whether or not such ought to be the principle, it is not, as examples show, that on which the Powers of either world have generally acted. So far from the cessation of hostilities preceding the acknowledgment of neutrals, the acknowledgment of neutrals has in nearly every case preceded the cessation of hostilities. I fully understand that the cases of Belgium under Lord Grey, Greece under the Duke of Wellington, Holland under Queen Elizabeth, ought to be excluded, because in all three material assistance and diplomatic intercourse were blended. But the United States acknowledged Nicaragua under Walker before hostilities had ceased to menace the existence of his Government; they acknowledged the South American Republics rising against Spain before the effort to reduce them was exhausted. When Colonel Mann was sent by the Government of Washington to Hungary, in 1848-9, he was instructed to acknowledge the seceding kingdom, not when hostilities had ceased, but when its independence could be counted on; and he reserved the voice he was invested with, not because he was controlled by the presence of Austrian troops, but by the chances—and he reasoned well—of the insurgents being reconquered. He did not find a settled, but a migratory Government, which fled from post to post, instead of meeting the invaders at its capital. But if we pass to Europe, France acknowledged the United States revolting against England before Lord North renounced his efforts to subdue them. It is idle to assert that Lord North engaged in war on such a provocation. All who read the memorandum drawn up by Mr. Gibbon for the Government, and do not fancy themselves better versed than him in the opinions of the statesmen who instructed him, know that Lord North began war with France on a different provocation. And what if he did not? Is Lord North, after he had marred his reputation by a civil war which all the men who formed the glory of that epoch denounced as wicked and demented, to be held up as a master of public law and an oracle on international proceedings? Is the Minister of the day, no matter what may be his character or what may be his errors, *virtute officii* an heir to the authority of Bynkershoek or Grotius? So much for France. Great Britain was tardy in acknowledging the South American republics. But that tardiness was reprobated by a brilliant and enlightened opposition, of which the noble lord the Secretary of State was not an inconsiderable ornament. And that tardiness was partially imposed by a generous regard for Spain, invaded as she was in 1823. It was justified moreover by the hazard of breaking with the great allies with whom, long after 1815, we had been acting, to whom, in 1823, France had become subservient, and who viewed the cause of the South American republics with aversion. It was not public law or abstract rules, but special facts and policy and prudence which guided the Ministry in that instance. The next and last example I shall give will make one independent of the others I have mentioned. It surpasses all the rest in magnitude and clearness; it tallies with the question now before the world in nearly every point, and it is one in which not a single State but Europe may be said herself to have delivered—and that in times far more monarchical, and therefore more averse to revolution than our own—a judgment on the question of acknowledgment. Great Britain, France, Sweden, Holland, all formed treaties with Portugal, seceding

from the rule of Spain in 1641, a year after the Duke and Duchess of Braganza had proclaimed its independence, a quarter of a century before the Crown of Spain resolved to acquiesce in it. At that time Prussia had not come into existence as a State, Prussia had not begun to mingle in the politics of Europe. Austria was attached to Spain by ties of family, and therefore the four recognising States may be fairly said to have composed a general tribunal of the Continent. So far from having ceased, the Spanish effort to reconquer by intrigue, conspiracies, and arms went on till after 1665, with a variety of fortune. The Duchess of Braganza, who became regent, and on whose fortitude and judgment the success of the insurgents hung, employed the celebrated Schomberg as a general. Don John of Austria led the Spanish armies against Portugal. The battle of Villa Vicosa took away at last the hopes of the invaders. The war lingered on. In 1668, Spain and Portugal negotiated peace with one another. Was Europe acting then against the principles which ought to have directed her? Is there anything in Grotius, Bynkershoek, Vattel, Von Martens, Wheaton to condemn her? I have deemed it no less than a duty to examine all these writers on the question of acknowledgment. But it is not a duty to inflict quotations on your lordships. The references are with me here, and they will be at the command of any member who desires them. A shorter method will enable me to show that the authorities agree in holding the power to maintain its independence, not the close of efforts to subdue it, to be the condition upon which a neutral may acknowledge an insurgent. Sir James Mackintosh, in a celebrated speech of 1824 upon the South American Republics, insists with glowing approbation on the case of Portugal, which I have brought under the notice of your lordships. He does not question, but applauds the conduct of the recognising Powers. He does not hold it up to be avoided as an error, but, on the contrary, to be regarded as a brilliant lesson in his day; and your lordships well know that Sir James Mackintosh was the disciple, the exponent, the successor, and the equal of the great men who have moulded public law into a science. You well know that what he sanctions they have sanctioned, and that when he unreservedly subscribes to what Europe did in 1641, Europe must have acted on their principle. The principle of such men appears to be that the hazard of reconquest is the only bar to acknowledgment when it is likely to accelerate a peace and benefit the country which extends it. Should the insurgent yield after the acknowledgment of neutrals, their judgment is rebuked, their action vain, and they have given useless umbrage to the Power ultimately dominant. But it is not correct according to the law of nations and the history of the world to aver that the struggle must be over; the last army routed; the last shilling spent; the last drop of blood exhausted by the combatants. The vocation of acknowledgment is rather to preserve than to destroy, and by diplomacy to give a quicker passage to the end, which the long and sanguinary road of arms would ultimately point to. When you cannot advise the older state to persevere and when you denounce its efforts, and when you prophesy its failures, and when you cannot recommend the younger state to yield, what can be more cruel or irrational than to prolong hostilities between them? But by the reservation of acknowledgment you do prolong hostilities between them. The effort to reconquer has never been renounced, and scarcely ever been suspended, until neutrals had acknowledged the insurgent, from the civil war between Switzerland and Austria in the Middle Ages down to that which rages at this moment. And such a general result is what the plainest reason would have led us to anticipate. While neutrals countenance his hopes, is the invading Power likely to recede from them? Can he proclaim without suggestion his defeat? Can he embrace without authority his own humiliation? Can he assure bystanders he has sunk, while they by silence still imply he may rally? It is not, therefore, easy to defend the conduct of a neutral who indirectly calls out for battles, and imposes expeditions with a foregone conclusion, that they must be useless for their purpose. But it is said, may you acknowledge an insurgent destined to succeed, while hostile armies are encamped in portions of his territory? My lords, if you may not, you should withdraw your representatives from any country which becomes the seat of war. We ought, at least, to have withdrawn our minister from Spain in 1823, when France unfortunately marched without resistance on its capital. In accordance, therefore, with experience, authorities, and reason, I submit to this House, you may acknowledge the insurgent as soon as no doubt remains upon the issue of the struggle.

IS THE ISSUE DOUBTFUL?

And is the issue doubtful?—The capitalists of London, Frankfurt, Paris, Amsterdam, are not of that opinion. Within the last few days the Southern loan has reached the highest place in our market. £3,000,000 were required, £9,000,000 were subscribed for. The loan is based upon the security of cotton; and it has been well known for a twelvemonth that as far as the invaders march, that security must perish. But what is the opinion of military men upon the issue? The Emperor of the French having been brought up as a soldier—having given a long life to military science, and having recently commanded the greatest armies of the day at Solferino and Magenta—in the despatch of November last did not conceal from the Government of Washington that subjugation was impossible. The Princes of the House of Orleans, who served with General McClellan, are thought to have inspired the excellent account of the campaign which appeared on October 15 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and which has also tended to disperse the vision of reconquest. To the same scale of judgment, General Scott appears, by recent revelations, to contribute. And this, too, is remarkable. Not one military person in the North is known to view reconquest as attainable. Neither Gen. McClellan, Burnside, Rosecranz, McDowell, Halleck, or Buell, have ever publicly declared, so far as it has reached us, that the object of the Government they serve under is feasible. The cheap ignominious task of prophesying triumph, has been wisely left to the voluminous despatch writer, who, whatever he his virtues or accomplishments, is no more qualified to judge the issue of campaigns than he is to guide the movements of battalions. But, after all, it may be granted in the abstract, that reconquest is attainable; to genius nothing is denied. The only question it becomes the neutral Powers to consider is, can it be attained by Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues? It is by Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues, if at all, the South is to be conquered. There is not any person in their armies, such as Britain proudly watched in the Peninsula, able to control a Government behind, or overwhelm an enemy in front of him. If there was, they would recall him. It is, therefore, necessary to inquire what proof, then, of its ability has this aggressive Cabinet developed. Is it in its choice of expeditions or of viceroys? Is it in appointing, superseding, or replacing the commanders it must lean on? Is it in their firm adherence to a principle? At one time they were opposed to the invasion they have plunged into. Is it in their conduct about slavery? At one time they

boasted of their disposition to maintain it. Soon after they desired the Border States to be delivered from it. After that emancipation was declared, but only in the States which were resisting them. The loyal region might preserve the institution—but seceders must renounce it. It ought to flourish where they reign—but not to stand beyond the limits of their sovereignty. But next, a bankrupt treasury would buy it by an outlay equal to the public debt of our country. But after all, a servile war was indispensable, and so were armies to enforce it. A servile war, however, was proclaimed. The proclamation cannot be considered as unprecedented. The model was before them. Lord of Nature, as he deemed himself, Xerxes ordered lashes to be given to the waves. Swelling with omnipotence, Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues dictate insurrection to the slaves of Alabama. Are these the movements of a Government by which the broken fragments of the Union can be welded, a mighty Continent subdued, 8,000,000 free men braced into a unit, robbed of home, of honour, and of freedom? But who are they arrayed against? The House ought not, indeed, to join in the encomiums on the Southern President, which heat and sympathy have prompted. As no one was deemed happy by the ancients until his life had closed, no one will be stamped as great by us until his enterprise has triumphed. But so much may be hazarded of this extraordinary man that, gifted amply by nature, he has made the union of political and military excellence his object, and that as far as Europe has observed, in the midst of danger and of care such as few men have the power to imagine, fewer to sustain, he has exhibited the patience and the enterprise, the ardour and the coolness, the heroism and urbanity, for which it generally happens that nations draw their birth and civil wars accept their destination. And this is most important to remember—if we look back to such conjunctures we do not find an instance in which mind, character, capacity have yielded to the want of all, no matter how well sustained the latter as regards forces, numbers, and revenue. The Roman Commonwealth, in spite of territory, population, armies, and resources, was destroyed from wanting any mind by which the mind of Cæsar could be balanced and encountered. Holland was lost to Spain when the Prince of Orange and Prince Maurice were superior to all the viceroys and the captains the mother country could oppose to them. Her South American dependencies were gone when she had no opponent of Bolivar. Your Lordships do not want to go back to the enlightened pages of Davila or Sully to remind you that the civil wars of France, after every kind of trial and of vicissitude, all closed in the pre-eminence of Henry IV., in head and heart the master of his epoch. The Carlists had not any match for Espartero, the Sardinians had not any equal of Radetzky. The same lesson is impressed on us by the collision of Washington and George III., of Charles I. and Cromwell. It is true indeed that history need not repeat itself, and that events are neither bound by theories or precedents. But such experience at least may forcibly suggest to us that had the Ruler of the world designed Southern subjugation, an instrument more powerful than that of Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues would be seen conducting to his purpose. It is not going beyond the bounds of caution to allege that a new chapter will be opened in the annals of mankind, if on this unrivalled scene the qualities which they regard with scorn are found triumphant over those which they agree to follow and to reverence. But last of all, if Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues could succeed against the leader and the armies which oppose them, could they succeed against their own consciousness—revealed to us by many signs—of incapacity to do so?

GREAT BRITAIN BOUND TO RECOGNISE BY HONOUR.

If noble lords agree, therefore, with the financial world, with military men, and with the Government of Washington itself, that the issue is not doubtful, and if, therefore, Great Britain has the right to acknowledge Southern independence, why ought she to exercise it? The first answer is because honour calls on her to do so, and it rests on a detail which I shall rapidly explain to your Lordships. British Consuls have remained during the war at Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah. They are there for the protection of our subjects, who reside by thousands on the seaboard. In times like these their presence is essential. Were it not for Consuls to identify them, the severe enlistment laws of the Confederacy might at any time descend on our people; or in the sudden turns of war their goods might be destroyed without a clue to ownership or means of compensation. They are also there to witness the blockade, and to report upon its efficacy. And these Consuls draw their *exequaturs* from the Government of Washington. They are a standing derogation to the Power which receives, which shelters, and endures them. We are not inclined to withdraw them. We ought, therefore, to accredit them to the insurgent who permits them to reside, and if we do he is acknowledged. Honour forbids nations as it does men to run up a score of gratitude themselves, and to create a score of just resentment, in its object, to offer insult at the moment they are profiting by favour. In one sense alone do the Confederacy gain by the arrangement; we give them all the grandeur of forbearance; they allow our Consuls to reside, and we withhold the recognition which public law entitles them to ask of us. But is not our aspect with regard to them a poor one? We deny their rights over their territory, and yet at their hands receive the safety of our citizens. The Southern Congress is about to entertain the question of any longer tolerating our Consuls in this attitude. And what will be the situation of Great Britain if led by and by to do by interest and by convenience, what self-respect, and pride and justice dictate at this moment?

GREAT BRITAIN BOUND TO RECOGNISE BY NEUTRALITY.

The neutrality is the next consideration, which, if fairly viewed, did lead Great Britain to the course I have adverted to. The noble lord the Secretary of State, in his despatch to Mr. Mason, dated August 2, has pointed out that the great controversy on the right to secede, so long and frequently debated in America, cannot be resolved by foreign Governments. It is not for them to decide between the arguments of Webster and Calhoun; they ought rather to reserve their judgment, considering the balance of the argument and intricacy of the facts, than to pronounce in favour of secession or against it. But by withholding recognition when the issue no longer seems to be a doubtful one, when the danger of reconquest is not the restraining fact, Great Britain does pronounce against the title to secede, does stamp the Southern movement as illegal, does therefore part with the neutrality which orders silence on that question. On what other ground is she refusing to acknowledge? And let your Lordships mark that by acknowledgment you do not for a moment stamp with your authority the claims of the insurgent—you give no verdict in his favour. If you did, the history of the world would have to be rewritten; if you did, this country would never have been able to acknowledge the Revolutionary Government of France in February, 1848, which derived its short-lived power from neither throne, nor law, nor parliament, nor people—flung up by

the delirium of Paris to sink at once with its repose, and no more to be regarded as the legal rulers of the country than the men in livery who cross the stage to take away the furniture between two portions of a drama can be mistaken for the heroes of the scene or the owners of the theatre. Acknowledgment is not a tribute, therefore, to the rights of the insurgent. But when the hazard of reconquest is dismissed, it is a tribute to the rights of the invader to withhold it. We are now declaring on the question of a title to secede on which the noble lord himself, on which neutrality forbids us to be umpires. But even if it did not, the Confederacy, as Mr. Davis in his recent message has perspicuously explained, have suffered wrongs, although not meant to injure, from Great Britain. Our Government, however, conscientiously held back the Emperor of the French from a proposal which might have eminently served them. With the best intentions and designs they refused to allow the despatch of Mr. Mason an acknowledgment in August for over six months to reach the eye and judgment of the country. By denying our harbours to both sides when both might have had access to them—no doubt from a laudable desire of tranquillity—it has compelled the Southerners to burn their prizes on the waters, has thus destroyed their chance of raising privateers; and vastly limited their powers of self-defence against the country which invades them. After inducing the Confederacy by a transaction which I described a year ago, to pledge itself to the observance of certain rules laid down at Paris in 1856, the British Government has not been ready to maintain them in the vital point that blockades must be effective to be binding. But illustrations of the kind may be dismissed. Partiality to the United States has been avowed in a despatch of March 27, 1862, from the noble lord to Mr. Adams, and which the Government of Washington have brought before the world in p. 62 of the volume they have recently distributed. In resisting the extortionate demands which Mr. Adams had addressed to him, and which, indeed, he manfully exposes, the noble lord as a set off to his austerity, declares that allowance has been made for the difficulties which the United States had to contend with in the war; and that public law has been liberally interpreted in their favour. The book is here if I am challenged. Allowance has been made for the difficulties of the United States in a war which both humanity and policy forbid, and which their own aggressive faithlessness created. Public law has been interpreted, and liberally—in favour of a Government which supports the infamous McNeil, lays waste the houses of distinguished adversaries in Virginia; which ruins havens in Savannah and in Charleston; which is ready to let loose 4,000,000 negroes on their compulsory owners; and to renew from sea to sea the horrors, the crimes of St. Domingo. But let it be so. I did not come here to impugn the decisions of the noble lord. He is not called upon to vindicate them. I mentioned these unfavourable actions to the South, without a view to censure of the Government. The only inference I draw is that if neutrality directs, us they require an instant course of reparation and of balance. Acknowledgment is the only form in which Great Britain can propose, or in which the injured Power is willing to accept it.

GREAT BRITAIN BOUND TO RECOGNISE BY POLICY.

But I will not build up an argument, sufficient as it stands, and go on to the next consideration, which demands (and loudly) such a measure. It is our own security in Canada. A noble Earl who gained his laurels in the East, well pointed out to us last session that, whenever the war closed Canada would be endangered. If victorious the Northern States might attack it in the drunkenness of pride; if defeated in the bitterness of torture. Some men, out of doors, have been so infatuated as to hold that by carefully abstaining from anything which gives umbrage to the United States, we should defend it. As if aggressive Powers had ever been restrained by wanting pretences for the wars they were inclined to. The security of Canada is quickly seen by your Lordships to reside in one circumstance alone—the danger of attacking it. That danger will at least be greater when the Southern power is kindly to Great Britain than when it is estranged, inasmuch as the aggressive State will then have to contemplate the chance of an attack upon his rear as well as the blockade of his seaboard. No doubt Canada is safe while the civil war continues; but we are neither able nor entitled to prolong it for her safety. The civil war may close after the acknowledgment of Southern independence by the Emperor, although Great Britain has not shared that manifesto. We may not be able much longer to keep back the virtue and humanity, as well as all the interests, the fears and wants which tend to force the measure upon Europe. From the moment separation was inevitable, no statesman could be blind to the want of an ally on the other side of the Atlantic. The United States can never possibly become one, not only because they are embittered, or because our interests are clashing, or because our institutions are repugnant, or because a rivalry is forced upon us in manufactures, and in ships, but because no alliance has ever yet occurred between the mother country and the power who had violently broken from it. The friendly disposition of the South is therefore necessary to us; it is attainable, and if we wantonly forego it, if we allow the war to close before we have acknowledged, both the separated Powers being irrevocably hostile to us, we may be forced, now to guard Canada from one, now the West Indies from the other. Our diplomats, moreover, would have no influence or voice in the Confederacy, whether they attempted to soften the resentments which the war had left behind it, to gain legitimate advantages in trade, to deprecate aggressive views, or to improve the situation of the negro. But on this point noble lords who have been ambassadors abroad have the materials of thinking far more strongly than myself in the direction I have pointed to.

GREAT BRITAIN BOUND TO RECOGNISE BY DUTY.

Dismissing policy, I need touch but briefly on the moral obligation to acknowledge, because, on grounds already stated, it applies generally to the case of neutrals and insurgents, when the hazard of reconquest is exhausted. It arises from the circumstance adverted to before, that in the civil wars of Europe, since the time of Charles V. (and to these may be added that of the Swiss cantons and the House of Austria in the middle ages), the acknowledgement of neutrals has preceded the conclusion of hostilities; and while that is withheld, that close is not to be anticipated. It is only requisite to glance at the special circumstances which enhance an abstract duty as regards Great Britain and the war which is before us. The first and most striking is the Lancashire distress, which is not likely to pass off until cotton falls in price, and sells in abundance; and that can hardly be expected to occur until the war is over. No man, conversant with political economy, supposes that cotton crops will start into existence in other portions of the world, while an avalanche of 4,000,000 bales impends upon the market from America. But that it does so,

our Consuls in the South, Mr. Bunch and Mr. Molyneux, have recently informed us in public letters, known to all the trading world. The impression that the price will be depressed during the existence of the war is strengthened by what has fallen from Mr. Bazley, Mr. Bright, Mr. Mangles, and Mr. Laing, the highest practical authorities, who have all addressed the public on the topic. Another special circumstance is that the Government of Washington are more incapable of making peace spontaneously, than any other which has ever grappled with insurgents, considering the pledges they have made; the debts they have incurred, the hosts they have annihilated. As well might you require a man to perform an useful amputation on himself against the influence of others, as expect that Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues can terminate the war against the South, whilst Europe still excludes it from the family of nations. The duty to give the strife a possibility of closing, is immensely heightened by the fact that the Executive at Washington appear to be pursuing it in the midst of well-founded despair and under a necessity which only neutrals can annihilate. That they are doing so will appear to those who watch the tone of Mr. Greeley in the *New York Tribune*, who observe the desperate expedient of enlisting negro regiments, and who reflect that West Virginia would be useless as a State unless the two belligerents were separated. But let any one recall the past and reason for a moment on this question. Would Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues have embarked upon the war had they foreseen the tenor of its history? If, on the eve of crossing the Potomac, a higher power had revealed to them the panorama of disaster and disgrace which they were doomed to bring upon their country; the panic of Bull Run; the scared and broken columns falling into Washington; the long and dreary autumn of paralysis which followed; the victories which took away the hope of any Southern party for the Union, and which as loudly as defeats proclaimed the madness of that enterprise; the cotton blazing next the Mississippi as they reached it; the capture of New Orleans without a practical result beyond the indignation of the world at the revolting tyranny which held it; had they caught a glimpse of the engagements which drove General McClellan to his gunboats—the seions of a royal house partaking his confusion—and seen the tide of war rolled back upon their territory, and then another host sent out to dissolve itself, to put an end to the anxiety of Richmond and to perform the tragedy of Fredericksburgh; and, last of all, had they been able to forecast, with eighteen vessels hot in their pursuit, the Southern cruisers roaming on the sea triumphant and implacable;—would they have been deaf to the commissioners in the spring of 1861? would they have scorned a peace? would they have sent their expeditions to Fort Sumter? would they have trampled upon the law to plunge into hostilities? Then, are they not reluctantly pursuing them without a choice, till neutrals have acknowledged the insurgent? Shall Europe any longer chain them to the effort? Or, rather, when the Emperor desires to release, ought we to keep them inert and helpless victims on the lake of fire their blunders have created?

SEPARATION BETTER THAN RECONQUEST FOR THE NEGRO.

My Lords,—These grand considerations of honour, of neutrality, of policy, and duty, would lead the people of the country to require an acknowledgment of Southern independence, were it not for the delusions as to Slavery, which for a month or two have been promoted, and which, unless I am enabled to confront, I should be said to have avoided. To confront is to expose them; and the directest method which occurs to me, is at once to drive these puny agitators to an issue. They have deceived the working-classes of the country by confounding questions about Slavery, which ought not to be discussed with the only one which it behoves the British public to consider. You may go on eternally debating whether the desire to extend and to preserve it was at the bottom of secession; whether the desire to abridge or to eradicate was at the bottom of invasion. These points, involving the recesses of the human heart, are little known on the other side of the Atlantic. History may discuss: Omniscience only can determine them; and it is cruel mockery to force them on a mass of operatives, divided by the ocean from any clue to the inquiry. The legitimate, the only issue is (and they will not venture to deny it), whether separation or reconquest will be most conducive to the welfare of the negro: the prosperity of Africa, and the attainment of the objects which have long engaged the Buxtons, and the Wilberfores, and other admirable men who seem to be connected with this diminutive machinery for prolonging war on one side of the ocean, by spreading fiction on the other. We should therefore trace, and it is quickly done, the natural results of the alternatives. In the event of separation, there will no longer be the possibility of extending negro bondage into territories in which it does not now exist. Already it is settled in New Mexico. And no boundary you can well conceive will give the Southern States uncultivated land beyond that Northern limit. In the event of separation, the North will not return the negro fugitives who cross over its border. And the planter must retain them, not by law and terror, but by judgment and humanity. There will be a premium on benevolence, a penalty on inattention and injustice, which has not heretofore existed. Slaves will be contented, or escape. Under the Union they found a prison in a Continent. In the event of a separation, the whole question of black labour may be impartially considered by the Southerners. Whereas, during the last decade the violence of the Northerners in debate had fixed the system, but inflamed into a point of honour, or a passion, the opinions against which they have crusaded. In what manner would reconquest operate upon the negro? A servile war must be its melancholy preface, in which murder confronts the slave and rapine the proprietor. In such a conflict, many blacks must be exterminated, and nearly all the higher classes driven from the country—the dismantled houses and the confiscated fields become the property of Northerners. The conquerors at once discover that the soil is worthless unless the labour of the black may be applied to it. The negroes who survive, demoralized and scattered, will not be all of them recaptured, and if they were, would be inadequate in number to the purpose. How are the new proprietors, desiring wealth and jealous of sterility, to find the labour which is wanting to them? Africa is open. Africa contains the millions they are seeking. The flag of the United States before now has unfortunately been a shelter to the slave-trade; and this, too, is unanswerable. During the last few years, while the Union went on undivided, the efforts of Great Britain on the subject were defeated. As soon as ever the civil war divided it, the Government of Washington conceded the right of search; while their organs insolently told us that it would be withdrawn as soon as Southern subjugation was accomplished. After this, what man can be so mad as to declare that the friends of Africa and her descendants ought to concur with the invaders and advance pleas in their behalf, which they themselves have never ventured to resort to?

EVILS OF REUNION.

The only other sentiment which in the event of other neutrals being prepared might indispose the country to acknowledgment is a lingering idea that the cause of freedom is involved in the retention of the Union. It is just, therefore, to inquire for whose advantage it would come again into existence. We have seen it would not be for that of Africa or of the negro. It could not be for that of the seceders, as the miseries of New Orleans have explained where that rule has been established, and those terrors have been felt which would then apply to all the cities of the territory. Who says they ought not to perish rather than submit to a yoke more bitter and degrading than was ever known yet in Warsaw or in Venice? But would it be restored for the advantage of the North? They can only gain their object, if it is attainable, through the medium of a general who, when he had attained it, must rank among the highest conquerors—with Caesar, Charlemagne, Napoleon. Would such a character be likely to resign his arms to Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues? What temptation could he have to conduct so remarkable, a sacrifice so thankless? It was thought by many that General McClellan at the time of his dismissal, might have turned his regiments upon Washington with safety; and there were not wanting those who loudly censured his forbearance. In this war there has been no fact more pregnant and instructive than the disposition, in spite of his reverses and bad fortunes, to exalt him; and for many months a halo has surrounded him. Would the army then refuse to follow one who had performed marvels instead of shrinking before obstacles; who had given them the plunder of the South instead of leading them through hardships and privations to their starting point; who had won affection, not by his designs and his retreats, but by his actions and his progress; whose title rested on the fact, not that Baltimore was safe, but that Montgomery had fallen. A tide of arguments would rush into the mind of such a general, to dissuade him from surrendering his power to institutions so discredited, so trampled on, and so remote from those which Washington bequeathed, as he would find subsisting in his country. But the impulse from within would be exceeded by the pressure from without. In the midst of a disorganised society which only pants for rule, he would not choose but be coerced into the part of a dictator. And it is for a despotism that the people of the North are pouring out their blood, and tarnishing their glory. Already it exists. It had its birth in war, and it would take its immortality from conquest. Then would the Union be restored for the advantages of the world. What country would be safe? What country would be free? Would Poland gain when the only friend and patron of the Czar recovered his original dimensions? At first, indeed, the necessity of Southern garrisons might keep them in repose. But in a few years—and they do not labour to conceal it from us—a power more rapacious, more unprincipled, more arrogant, more selfish and encroaching, would arise than has ever yet increased the outlay, multiplied the fears, and compromised the general tranquillity of Europe. And on this overgrown, on this portentous form of tyranny and egotism, many countries would depend for the material of that important industry which languishes at present.

FRANCE AND BRITAIN OUGHT TO ACT TOGETHER.

My Lords, the latter point might be explained by statistics I have with me. But it is even more important to remind you that not much more than five years have elapsed since France and Great Britain were united to withstand a Power which overshadowed and assailed the general security of nations. To gain their object it was requisite to interrupt a peace of forty years, and to squander noble lives upon the trenches and the battle field. In order now to gain equivalent results and parallel advantages, they are required not to lavish but to save; not to arm battalions, but disperse them; not to open conflict in the world, but snatch an hemisphere from misery. What in Russia wanted toil, outlay, unmeasured risks, and endless combinations, for aught we know may be accomplished by a fiat in America, and the presence of a noble Duke on the bench (the Duke of Newcastle) might have suggested to me, that there are some inherent evils in the partnership of arms which have not any place in the alliance of diplomacy. The initiative will belong to France. But if it did not, should Great Britain be ashamed of it? Whoever contemplates habitually her place and aspect on the globe, will sometimes think that it imposes a double task on her career to urge on civilisation from its Eastern cradle to its Western home, and also as the firm and watching outpost of the sea, to stand between the older Powers and the evils which the other side of the Atlantic may occasionally threaten. Long has she fulfilled the first, and nobly may she now sustain the second part of the vocation which belongs to her. And if it suits the dignity of empire to compass great results by trifling exertions—instead of wasting giant means upon invisible achievements—the day will be a proud one, when in a voice which other Powers have re-echoed the message rolls over the waters to guard the freedom of the Old World, and limit, if not arrest, the sorrows of the New. But whether we resolve to lead, or hesitate to follow, whether we keep Europe back, or join, or suffer dangerous isolation from it, I shall be indebted to your lordships for permitting me to show to-night that the neutral Powers have the clearest title to acknowledge Southern independence, and that until they exercise that title according to the only lights which reason founded on examples open to their rulers, the war will never end.

Earl RUSSELL.—My Lords,—I suppose there is no member of either House of Parliament who does not wish for a termination of the civil war in America. (Hear, hear.) It disturbs commerce, it interferes with the peace of the world, and it afflicts America herself (hear, hear); and if anything could be usefully, and, I must add, justly done to bring that war to a termination, I repeat there is no member of either House of Parliament, there is no person in the country, who would not gladly see such a consummation. (Hear, hear.) But, after having listened to my noble friend, I must confess I remain in the same persuasion as before at the present moment—and I speak only of the present moment—that there is nothing this country could do usefully and wisely which would tend to the termination of the hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic. (Hear, hear.) My noble friend has somewhat mixed different topics, and he has alluded to three different modes of intervention in the affairs of other countries. One, which is the minimum of interference, that of advice, good offices, and mediation; another, the mode proposed by my noble friend, that of recognition; and the third, one which we have sometimes resorted to, and which other nations have more frequently had recourse to—that of forcible intervention. My noble friend says, and says truly, that since I had the honour of addressing the House last summer there has been some divergence between the views of the Government of this country and that of the Emperor of the French. The Government of the

Emperor of the French conceived that it might tend to the termination of the war if three Powers—France, Great Britain, and Russia—were to propose a suspension of arms with a view of negotiation between the two belligerents. Her Majesty's Government, after carefully examining that proposition, came to the conclusion that its adoption by us would not be likely to lead to its acceptance by the Government of the United States of America; while, by causing irritation, it would not increase but diminish the chances of our seeing a termination of the contest. The French Government has proceeded in accordance with its views, and has actually proposed to the Government of the United States to negotiate with the Southern States. That proposition has not been adopted; and I think your lordships will judge from what has happened with reference to the proposals of France, and with reference to suggestions thrown out in other countries, that any interference on the part of this country would only have tended to aggravate the evils of the present lamentable state of affairs in America. (Hear, hear.) It does not appear at the present moment that this contest would be likely to be terminated by an offer of our good offices. I say at the present moment, because it is impossible to say that, in the course of events, a time may not come when both the contending parties would be desirous of the good offices or wise counsels of friendly Powers. I do not see any probability of that at this moment, but I wish to guard myself against being supposed to speak positively of the future. (Hear, hear.) We come, then, to the course proposed by my noble friend,—namely, that of recognition. My noble friend alluded to several cases—not very happy illustrations of his argument, I think—in which the United States of America have recognised insurgent countries which they believed likely to be able to maintain their independence. One was the revolted state of Hungary, whose independence had sunk like the island in the Mediterranean. It had disappeared before the despatch reached Vienna by which the United States recognised it. Another instance referred to by my noble friend scarcely comes within the category, though it has been quoted by a gentleman who has written some very able letters under the title of "Historiens,"—I mean the recognition of the United States themselves by France two years after the war with this country had begun. If any one will examine that precedent, and the important documents which have lately come to light, he will see that the French monarchy of the day had, most unfortunately for itself, been exciting democratic passions in America, and had been endeavouring to raise opposition there to the Government of Great Britain. It had prepared means of concert with those States; and even in the letter, so courteous in appearance, but so exceedingly hostile and bitter in its spirit, written by the French Ambassador, it was stated that the French Government had not only made a treaty of commerce with the United States, but further, that they had a right to carry that treaty into effect, if necessary, even by force. This was a threat to take part in the war between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. But we know that besides this open threat there was a secret treaty signed, by which France lent her support to the revolted provinces, and the opposition of this country, which was then as decided as ever any opposition was, agreed that the threat was one of war, and that by war only could it be met. This was not a case of recognition, but a case of interference. It was, I think, a most unjustifiable interference, an interference for the purpose of spreading those democratic principles, which afterwards reacted on France, and produced so many excesses and crimes during the revolution. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, with regard to the other cases to which my noble friend has alluded, those of Portugal and Holland were cases of forcible intervention. There is hardly more than one case in which the question was limited to simple recognition,—that was the war carried on between Spain and her revolted colonies, which went on from 1808 to 1822 or 1823 without any proposal for a recognition. This case is one worthy the attention of your lordships, because it was illustrated by the mild wisdom of Lord Lansdowne, by the profound research of Sir James Mackintosh, and by the dazzling genius of Canuing. We have therefore upon this question of recognition as much light as can possibly be thrown upon any subject. Now I beg to refer your lordships to the words of Lord Lansdowne. He was zealous for the recognition of the South American Provinces, he thought it would be a great advantage to this country to recognise them, and he was entirely free from any trammels of office or any obligation to consult the interests of the minister of the day. But with that wisdom and forbearance which characterised every act of his public life (hear, hear) he stated that the first thing to be considered was the right, and he went on thus:—"It will be my duty this night to point out to your lordships the great advantages which may result from the establishment of South American independence. I hope I shall never stand up in the House to recommend your lordships to adopt any course of policy inconsistent with those principles of right which are paramount to all expediency, and which compose that great law of nations, any departure from which, to answer a selfish and ambitious policy, never fails to recoil upon its authors." (Hear, hear.) These are words upon which this House may well reflect (hear, hear) and we may well consider upon what grounds Lord Lansdowne founded the views which I have just brought under the notice of your lordships. In the first place, he stated it was necessary that a country which required to be recognised should have established its independence. In the next place, that it should be able to maintain that independence for the future; and, lastly, that it should be able to carry on with all foreign nations those relations of peace and amity which form the general international law of the world. Now, examine the state of the revolted provinces of Spain at that time, as Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Canuing did. We find that the greater part of South America had been some twelve or fourteen years entirely free from the presence of Spanish armies. We find that with regard to those provinces in which that was not absolutely the case—namely, Mexico, where Vera Cruz alone was occupied by a Spanish garrison, and Peru, where there were 4,000 or 5,000 Spanish troops, although the cause of Spain seemed hopeless, it was agreed that their recognition should be deferred, and that only in the case of Buenos Ayres and those parts of South America which had clearly and for a number of years established their independence would it be right for Great Britain to proceed to the step of recognition? Besides this, Mr. Canuing took care to inform the Spanish Minister that such recognition would not be very long delayed, that if the Spanish Government wished to recognise them they ought to take that step, and that Great Britain was willing to give time before proceeding to recognise them herself. (Hear.) Well, here is a great precedent for our consideration—here is a step taken by the Government of the day after considerable care and examination; here is a course recommended by the Opposition of the day, not in any harsh spirit, but not-

withstanding the conviction which this country generally entertained, that the cause of Spain was hopeless and that the independence of those provinces was firmly established. (Hear.) Well, now, if we look to the present position of North America and compare it with that of the States of which Lord Lansdowne spoke, we find that the war in North America is still carried on with the utmost vigour—I had almost said with the utmost fury. We find some of those provinces which were the first to proclaim their independence—a great part of Louisiana, New Orleans, and the banks of the Mississippi, occupied by the Federal armies. There are very considerable Federal armies menacing cities of the Confederation, such as Charleston and Savannah. So that no man can say it is a case of hopeless war. For my own part, and speaking according to my limited vision, I do not believe those efforts of the Federals will be successful. But no man can say that the war is finally over, or that the independence of the Southern States is established. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, what is the present state of the case? Although great efforts have been made in vain, the great Federal Republic seems unwilling to accept the decision of events. So far from it, we find that the last acts of the Congress which has just expired are to place, by conscription, every man fit to carry arms at the disposal of the President of the United States, and to vote sums of money amounting to no less than £180,000,000 sterling, for the purposes of carrying on the war. Well, then, in this state of affairs I should say that, looking to the question of right, it would not be a friendly act towards the United States, it would not be to fulfil our obligations to a country with which we have long maintained relations of peace and amity—a great country which says it can still carry on the war—it would, I say, be a failure of friendship on our part if at this moment we were to interpose and recognise the Southern States. I have endeavoured to guard myself by saying that I speak now with reference to the present aspect of affairs. I hardly know any moment in which my noble friend could have brought forward his motion with less encouragement from events. It may turn out that these immense efforts which are being made shall be made in vain; that the spirit of the South is unconquerable as their determination never to be united again with the Northern States is final and irrevocable, and that a time may come when the duty of this country will be totally different from what it is at the present moment. All I maintain is, that it is our duty at present to stand still, and not to proceed to an act so definite, so positive—an act so unfriendly to the United States as that of the recognition of the South. (Hear, hear.) My noble friend spoke of various topics—of danger of Canada being attacked by the Northern Republic, and of the West Indies being attacked by the Southern. My lords, I cannot follow my noble friend into these suppositions. I do not venture to say what may be the future course of events. I confine myself to that which I think to be our duty now—(hear, hear)—which I think is right, and if that be so we must be content in future days to meet with future dangers, and it will not enfeeble our arms if we have it in our power to reflect that we have never failed in our obligations to those which have been great States in peace and amity with us, and that it has not been through any fault of ours that a great affliction has fallen on them. (Cheers.) Well, my lords, I know not that there is anything in what my noble friend has said to-night which would make it necessary for me to go much further into this question, but at the same time there were parts of his speech in which he referred to former occasions and former instances of interference on our part, as if my noble friend and some of those who looked forward to his motion to-night expected that there should be some interference on our part in this war. Now, I wish to say only a few words upon that which we have done in former days by way of intervention. We, too, like other States, have at times taken upon us to intervene. We interfered in the case of Holland to save her from the religious tyranny and political despotism of Philip II. That contest was hallowed by the blood of Sir Philip Sydney, and by the part we took we contributed to her independence. In another case—the case of Portugal—we interfered. Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., all agreed in that interference. We declared ourselves ready to send 10,000 men to the aid of the new Government of Portugal, and we helped the Portuguese to relieve themselves from the Spanish tyranny under which they groaned, and to establish the independence of their State. In more recent times, when Greece endeavoured to establish her independence, we aided her in her contest with Turkey; we rescued her from the destruction which threatened her, and helped her to found a free and independent Monarchy. Take the case of Belgium again. When the Belgians declared that they were unable to remain under the Government of Holland, in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna, we interfered by force, in conjunction with France, and the wise and happy arrangement was made by which the freedom of Belgium was secured. Now, my lords, in all these instances, whether the intervention was carried on by our ancestors or in our own times, there is nothing of which an Englishman need be ashamed. (Hear.) If we have taken part in interventions, it has been in behalf of the independence, freedom, and welfare of a great portion of mankind. I should be sorry, indeed, if there should be any intervention on the part of this country which could bear another character. (Cheers.) I trust that this will not be the case, and that no interests, deeply as they may affect us—interests which imply the well-being of a great portion of our people, but interests which may affect also the freedom and happiness of other parts of the globe—will induce us to set an example different from that of our ancestors, but that when we are bound to interfere, it will be an interference in the cause of liberty, and to promote the freedom of mankind, as we have hitherto done in such cases. (Hear.) It is with this conviction that I have addressed these few remarks as to what has been done by this country in former days, and I trust that with regard to this civil war in America, we may be able to continue our impartial and neutral course. Depend upon it, my lords, that if that war is to cease, it is far better it should cease by a conviction, both on the part of the North and the South, that they can never live again happily as one community and one republic, and that the termination of hostilities can never be brought about by the advice, the mediation, or the interference of any European Power. (Cheers.) I repeat I have spoken only of the duty of the Government at the present time, and I trust that there will now be no further debate on this subject. (Loud cheers.)

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The Mississippi is not the least obstinate of the "rebels" Mr. Lincoln has undertaken to reduce to obedience. The Father of Waters cares no more for the edicts, boastings, and threats of the Yankees, than do the Confederates. When Farragut dug a little ditch the river was not diverted from its course, and the effort of Grant to increase the size of the little ditch did not change the current of the mighty river. Upon this the Federals became angry, and announced their intention of setting aside the Father of Waters, and making the Great Union River. What follows? The Mississippi, not in the least alarmed, has brought the ditch which had, at a terrible cost of life and treasure, been enlarged to a canal, "to an unexpected termination. The Mississippi has broken through the levée and filled the trench with earth and rubbish, thus rendering it useless." Almost every plan has now been tried to reduce the Mississippi to Federal control, except one of Mr. Lincoln's proclamations or one of Mr. Seward's despatches; but we do not think that those wonderful instruments would have more effect upon the course of the river than the scheme of Farragut, the gallant commander who lately wreaked his spite upon four hundred helpless women and children, or than the awful threat of the New York press to dig the Great Union River.

In one respect the Mississippi has gratified the pious New Englanders. In consequence of cutting the levées at Yazoo Pass and Lake Providence, "a district in Mississippi nearly as large as Scotland has been laid under water; and in Louisiana a region covering 5,000 square miles has been converted into a lake." We need not anticipate the judgment of mankind upon this barbarous mode of warfare, which damages Confederate property without aiding the cause of the Federals; but the Southerners prefer a drowned country to submission to Northern despotism. It is reported that they have cut the levées, and compelled one corps of General Grant's army before Vicksburg to re-embark and retreat up the river. If the rest of the Northern troops do not retire before the warm weather sets in, they may learn that swamping a country does not help the invader.

The most important war news is the repulse and defeat of the Federal squadron under Admiral Farragut. It appears that on the 14th March an attempt was made to run the batteries at Port Hudson. Only one vessel passed, and that in a crippled and useless condition. The Mississippi was burnt to the water's edge, and part of her crew captured; Farragut's flagship, the Hartford, was disabled, and retired towards Baton Rouge, and

the rest of the vessels were forced to retreat. The *Richmond Whig* says the Confederate victory was complete. We have not at present any details of the engagement. It is also reported that St. Helena, a place twenty-five miles in the rear of Port Hudson, was attacked on the 9th of March by the Federals, and that heavy firing was heard in that direction on the 13th. The inference from this is that the Federals intended a combined attack. Although we have advices from New York to the 21st of March, no Federal account is given of the engagement at Port Hudson, from which we may infer that the Southern press have not exaggerated the Confederate victory.

The Federal victories on the Yazoo and the capture of Yazoo City are not confirmed; they were, in fact, mere fabrications. On the 14th of March the Federal expedition reached Greenwood, at the junction of the Tallahatchie and Yallahusha rivers, where its progress was stopped by the Confederate batteries. The Federal gunboat Chillicothe was disabled, and the fleet retired three miles up the Tallahatchie, 150 miles from Yazoo City, where it still remained at the latest advices.

The rest of the war news may be summed up in a single paragraph. The Federal fleet is not able to retake Galveston, but has been compelled to withdraw to a respectful distance, in consequence of the powerful batteries erected by the Confederates. The Brooklyn was damaged in an encounter with them. It is reported that Vicksburg has been bombarded without effect. In South Carolina General Hunter, after pompously announcing his intention of advancing, has not moved, and one of his positions has been threatened by the Confederates. The Federals claim to have crossed the Rappahannock, and to have captured twenty-five Confederate cavalry, and that they have repulsed a Confederate attack near Newburn; while they admit they were repulsed on the 17th ult. at Franklin, on the Blackwater River, and that the Confederates have captured twenty-five Federal cavalry at Drainsville, Virginia. The anxiety felt in Washington with regard to Nashville has been increased by the Confederates capturing Federal waggons within six miles of that city; and the Confederates have also taken a train at Woodford which had left Louisville.

It is reported that 1,000 negroes under the command of Colonel Higginson, who ascended the St. Mary's River on the 9th March, provided with several thousand muskets to supply all slaves who could be incited to insurrection, have been captured. It is added, "If the report of their capture proves true, it is supposed that Colonel Higginson and all the white officers who commanded them have been shot." The only opinion that civilized nations will entertain is that shooting is too respectable a death for men guilty of an attempt to incite an inferior race to insurrection.

In the Confederate Congress on the 11th March, Mr. Conrad introduced a resolution, pledging Congress to co-operate with the Executive in any measures it may adopt, consistent with the honour, the dignity, and independence of the Confederate States, tending to a speedy restoration of peace. It was referred, without debate, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

General Halleck has written a letter to General Rosencranz, urging him to live on and plunder the people of Tennessee. General Halleck has always been a brave man with his pen. We all remember what great Union victories he gained on paper, and how at his command 10,000 of General Beauregard's men were captured with a goose-quill and a drop of ink. The hero of these bloodless fights would do better if he were to tell Rosencranz how to catch the hare that he advises him to cook.

According to his ability Rosencranz has deserved well of the Lincolnites by plundering the inhabitants of Tennessee; and, no doubt, he is quite willing to do so to a greater extent, if Halleck will supply him with the means.

The peace resolutions which were passed by the Senate of New Jersey on the 26th of February, were introduced by a series of protests against the unconstitutional policy of the Lincoln Government. They denounce war waged for unconstitutional or partisan purposes, or for the subjugation of States with a view to their reduction to a territorial condition; military law and the domination of military over civil law in States not in insurrection; arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the admission of new States into the Union by the division of existing ones; the emancipation proclamation, and the expenditure of public money. The New Jersey Legislature believes that the appointment of Federal Commissioners to meet Commissioners from the insurgent States, to consider if any plan may be adopted consistent with the honour and dignity of the national Government, by which the present civil war may be brought to a close, is not inconsistent with the integrity, honour, and dignity of the Federal Government, but as an indication of the spirit which animates the adhering States, would, in any case, tend to strengthen America in the opinion of other nations.

A Union convention has been held at Louisville, Kentucky, from which Mr. Craven, Member of Congress, elect for the State Indiana, was ejected, for denouncing the Lincoln Administration, and resolutions were adopted to devote all the State resources to crush the rebellion, and requesting the Government and State authorities to take steps to defend Kentucky against invasion. It is unnecessary to observe that the meeting no more represented Kentucky than the Tooley Street Tailors represented England. An odd comment on the reported Union feeling is the announcement that, "It has been found necessary to send a military expedition into one of the counties of Ohio to arrest deserters. It was supposed that there would be organized resistance on the part of the inhabitants, and that bloodshed would ensue."

The Yankees are very angry about the brilliant exploits of the Alabama and the Florida. They are pleased to call these steamers British pirates, and to threaten retaliation against British trade.

Mr. Lincoln is said to have refused to issue letters of marque.

The resolutions introduced in the Legislature at Albany, inviting General Butler to accept the hospitalities of the State, have been rejected. Mr. Hutchings, of New York county, in opposing the motion, said that General Butler was a disgrace to civilization. General Butler had better remain with his Boston friends.

The New York ship-builders decline taking contracts to build 8,000-ton iron-clad vessels wanted by Government, for fear of loss from the depreciation of the currency. The contractors require the Government to build by day work, to which the Navy Department will not consent. Our Southern friends will regret this, as some of the proposed large iron-clads might have been useful to the Confederates.

General Hunter, the eminent friend of the negro, finding white troops suffer from being placed in certain forts or posts "peculiarly liable to the ravages of climatic and epidemic diseases," has ordered a conscription of all able-bodied negroes between the ages of 18 and 50. The negroes will no doubt feel much obliged to their friend for his kind consideration, and thoroughly appreciate the Yankee love for the black race.

On the 20th of March gold at New York was at 54½ premium. Mr. Chase has visited that city, but has not negotiated a loan. A report that he had received an offer of £20,000,000 sterling from European capitalists upon the security of greenbacks is not confirmed; but it was useful in making Mr. Chase's late visit to the Empire City pleasant.

ENGLAND.

We regret to report an increase of pauperism in Lancashire last week. The returns of the Poor-Law Board show that while in eight unions there were 1700 paupers fewer than the week before, ten unions gave an additional number of 2900; showing a net increase of 1200. This is not surprising, as we know that no considerable revival of trade can take place while the American war continues; and it is not to be hoped that any considerable relief can be experienced from the migration of manufacturing operatives into the agricultural districts. A good deal has been said lately about encouragement to emigration, and the colonies are recommended as a refuge for the now superfluous population of Lancashire. It is much to be wished that men of the stamp of the Rev. Charles Kingsley would let subjects of this kind alone. There are some minds—and that gentleman's is among them—which are so constituted that they can take no interest except in a quarrel, and can take up no question but in a spirit of antagonism to some person, class, or party. Galled by the terrible exposure of his ignorance and want of candour in his attacks on the manufacturers some months ago, the Rector of Eversley has seized upon a new opportunity of reviling them, as he hopes, with better effect; and charges them with desiring to keep the operatives starving at home till the revival of trade, in order then to cheapen labour. The reverend novelist is as mistaken as he is malignant. If trade is ever to be what it once was, it is the interest of the labourers to stay where they are, and it is the interest of the country to keep them there; for they are worth, both to themselves and to society, three times as much as factory hands as they will ever be in any other kind of labour. If, on the contrary, our supplies of cotton are for the future to be very scanty, then it is clear that we ought to keep at home only those who are most peculiarly fitted for factory labour, and enable the rest to go wherever their work will be best paid, and most valuable to themselves and to society. The lowest class of factory operatives—the Irish immigrants who swarm in the larger towns—are well fitted for agricultural labour; but no district wishes for them, and they themselves, while they can live on alms, will be in no hurry to seek an honest livelihood elsewhere. There are many classes of workers in the factories, too, of a much higher grade, who may make excellent colonists; especially if sent out in well-arranged bodies of one or two hundred, and allowed to form separate communities in such young and underpeopled colonies as Natal and Queensland. But we hope that, if emigration be a necessary resource, it will be so conducted as not to take from Lancashire the *élite* of her population, and leave behind precisely those who could best be spared, and moreover would in many cases most readily adapt themselves to a new country and a new occupation.

All men acquainted with the working of industrial concerns in England know the Trades' Unions well, as the steady and unflinching enemies of improvement, of law, of liberty, and of goodwill between labourers and capitalists. These societies, formed for the purpose of rendering aid to labourers out of health or out of work, have fallen almost invariably into the hands of professional agitators, who drive a lucrative business in fomenting quarrels between employers and employed. These men have established an unparalleled tyranny over the workers, who must cease work at their bidding, who dare not serve any master tabooed by the Unions, and who, if they venture to disobey, are sometimes assaulted, sometimes beaten within an inch of their lives, and not unfrequently murdered, by orders of the paid officials of the Union. No workman in a trade in which such a society has established its ascendancy dare accept work on other conditions or at other wages than those prescribed by it. When a strike is ordered, all who attempt to go on working are threatened, mobbed, and maltreated; and during recent strikes papers have actually been set on foot for no other purpose than to threaten and insult in the foulest manner those—especially women—who decline to give up a portion of their earnings, and pinch their families, to contribute towards the expenditure of the Union. Mr. John Bright, knowing the strength and thorough organization of these societies, has long been eager to use them for political purposes; and on Thursday evening last, he succeeded in assembling a large meeting of Trades' Unionists to hear and endorse his views on the American war. It is needless to say

that no persons of distinguished social position were present on the occasion. Mr. Bright spoke with his usual clearness, force, and recklessness, affirmed that while the North was willing to allow cotton to reach us, the South had prevented it—in answer to which misrepresentation we need only refer to the Parliamentary papers—and appealed to the class passions of his auditors against privilege in England and slavery in America. In fact, his speech was directed rather against the Throne, the Church, and the Constitution of England, than against the cause of the Confederate States; and it was clear by the cheers of his audience that this was the attack they most keenly relished. The frantic hatred of Mr. Bright towards the respectable and independent portion of the press is fully shared by the Trades Unionists, and sufficiently proves what is the real fervour of their love of liberty. They cannot bear that any one should be allowed to differ from them. Very violent resolutions were passed, denouncing the aristocracy, the capitalists, and the press of England, and expressing the warmest sympathy with the cause of Butler, Mitchell, and Turchin; and an address to Mr. Lincoln, couched in a tone of slavish and fulsome eulogy, was also adopted.

Parliament has risen for the Easter recess, after a desultory but interesting debate on American affairs, in which the friends of the North were terribly worsted. The sympathy of the House with the Confederate cause was strikingly manifested by the coldness with which the able speech of Mr. Forster and the vehement oration of Mr. Bright were received on both sides; and the vociferous cheering which greeted the defence of the Government by the Solicitor-General, and the crushing exposure of the inconsistency and absurdity of the Northern complaints which was given by Mr. Laird. The former completely established the important doctrine that a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act is no violation of international law; and that the United States have no cause to complain of the escape of the *Oreto* and the *Alabama*; their own Judges having laid down the law on this subject, as allowing neutrals to sell armed ships of war to belligerents. And Mr. Laird showed first, that during the Russian war a ship was built in an American port, and sent to Petropauloski; secondly, that immense supplies of warlike stores have recently been shipped from this country to the North; and finally, that the Federal Government had applied to Englishmen to have men-of-war built and fully equipped for them in this country. After this there is little fear that any further attention will be paid to the groundless remonstrances of the Northern partisans, or the absurd pretensions of Mr. Seward. Mr. Bright's complaint, that we had showed the Federal Government only "a cold and unfriendly neutrality," was well answered by Lord Palmerston, who, with the cordial approval of the House, asked whether a "warm and friendly neutrality" would be neutrality at all—whether it would not mean something very like hostility to the Confederates?

Lord Palmerston has been on a tour in Scotland, enjoying the fruits of a well-earned popularity, at the expense of more labour than any man of his age would be able to endure. But the Premier—perhaps because he always speaks in a slow, easy, almost slovenly manner—never seems to be fatigued by any amount of speaking. Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and even Mr. Gladstone, would be laid up with sore-throat if they were called upon to go through the quantity of exertion in this respect, which seems to be a positive enjoyment to the veteran leader of the Liberals.

Her Majesty, though still refusing to be disturbed in the privacy which she has maintained ever since the death of the Prince Consort, has received several deputations from important corporate bodies to present addresses of loyal congratulation on the marriage of the Heir apparent. To each address the Queen returned a gracious reply. The royal answer to that presented by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was couched in the following terms:—

I receive with great satisfaction your address of congratulation on the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and I thank you very sincerely for the loyal and affectionate wishes which you have expressed for myself and my family on this happy occasion.

I join most heartily with you in the prayer that our beloved son may have so profited by the careful training of his great and good father, that he may prove not only a comfort to his sorrowing family, but a blessing to the country, which has testified such unexampled goodwill towards his bride and himself.

EUROPE.

The promised diplomatic intervention on behalf of Poland takes a long time to mature. The only step which is known to have been taken in that direction is the despatch of a circular by Earl Russell to all the Powers of Europe—whether parties to the Treaty of Vienna or not—inviting them to join in a common repre-

sentation at St. Petersburg. It is characteristic of the obstinacy with which, in this country, the Government refuses, under pretence of regard for the public interests, to give any account of its proceedings until the matter has been settled for better or worse, that this important fact has never been disclosed by an English Minister, although the subject has been discussed several times since the circular was issued, and that we only know it from the statements made by the Ministers of other countries to their respective Parliaments. What success the proposal has had we do not yet know. Italy and Portugal have given a favourable answer, but their adhesion is of very little importance if France and Austria do not approve the project. If, however, we have little reliable information on the subject, we have plenty of statements put forth, and with great positiveness, but entitled to very little credit. The French semi-official press writes mysteriously about a Congress. It does not venture to assert that the Emperor has invited the other Powers to take part in one. The *Cologne Gazette*, which often gets hold of important information, has made a regular sensational announcement, for the accuracy of which it pledges its reputation.

According to the German print, France has demanded that the kingdom of Poland should be entirely separated from Russia, and enjoy full and thorough independence, with the Duke de Leuchtenberg for its first king, Russia retaining all her other Polish provinces, and Austria and Prussia keeping their shares of the partition. Although the *Cologne Gazette* asseverates every day, in language constantly increasing in confidence, the accuracy of this statement, we cannot give it the slightest credence. Russia will not give up the kingdom of Poland unless she is absolutely forced to do so. The only way to force her is by a war waged upon a gigantic scale; and such a war no Power would engage in for such a small object. An independent kingdom of Poland confined within the limits of the artificial creation of the Congress of Vienna would be a wretched abortion. If Poland is to be independent again, she must have some access to the sea, and not be completely hemmed in by her three despoilers. A much more probable announcement is that of the Vienna journals, to the effect that at a conference between Count Rechberg, the Duke de Grammont, and Lord Bloomfield, it was agreed to address simultaneously an identical note to Russia, recommending the speedy introduction in Poland of seasonable reforms. That is the sort of result to which it was pretty evident from the first that all the "tall talk" and burning sympathies of Europe would come.

The telegraphic agents at Cracow are gentlemen of large invention and bold imagination. When there are no fights to tell of they invent them; when there is a skirmish they magnify it into a Polish victory; when there is a body of insurgents in a particular spot they announce its appearance in three or four different despatches, in one giving its *locale* by the Polish, in the second by the German, and in the third by the French name. The other day they announced that a M. Chojecki, private secretary to Prince Napoleon, had passed through Cracow on his way to the camp of General Wysocki; with what purpose they did not tell. To treat, perhaps, for the Polish Crown; to give Wysocki a little of the Prince's military science. People might take their choice. Two days after, we hear from Paris that Chojecki is not secretary to the Prince, that he has not left Paris, and that the Prince has sent no person to the insurgents. There is a story current in Paris that the Marquis Wielopolski has written a letter to the Prince in reply to the attack upon him made in the Prince's speech, and that the letter has produced a rejoinder.

Upon the Bourse the resignation of M. Fould is positively announced every other day. On Monday the announcement was made again, and this time it would seem to have been accurate. The Minister took offence, it is said, at a *communiqué* sent to the *Journal des Débats* by the Minister of the Interior, the object of which was really to show, in reply to some strictures of that journal, that no improvements had taken place in the Financial Administration since the accession of M. Fould to office. The resignation has not been accepted. The Emperor will not willingly dispense with the services of a man whose presence in office is regarded, and with justice, by the commercial and monetary world of France as a guarantee for every possible retrenchment, and in some degree a pledge for the maintenance of peace.

M. Fould remains in office, and the author of the slight put upon him expiates his impertinence by a resignation, which is, in fact, a dismissal. M. Magne was the Finance Minister, under whose administration the confusion arose which M. Fould undertook to dissipate. Naturally he has looked with no particular goodwill upon the proceedings of his successor, although in his

office of "talking minister" he has had very little opportunity of showing his ill-will. However, he contrived to get the *communiqué* to which we have referred, issued from the Ministry of the Interior, and the result of his ingenuity is shown in a letter from the Emperor recording the difference of opinion between him and M. Fould, and breaking his fall by a place in the Privy Council.

There is little intelligence of interest from Poland. The Poles have not yet agreed amongst themselves whether Langiewicz signally defeated the Russians in the encounters which led to his own flight and the dispersal of his army. The Russians have published no account of the contest. Lying as the Russian bulletins undoubtedly are, they are entitled to more credence than those supplied by the friends of the Polish cause. We announced, with some misgiving, last week, on the faith of telegrams from Russian Poland, a series of Russian defeats near Konin, in one of which Prince Wittgenstein was wounded and taken prisoner. They were, in truth, Russian victories; hardly won, no doubt, but still victories. The insurgents lost their two leaders, Mielenski and Collier, and after suffering terrible slaughter were driven into the woods. Prince Wittgenstein does not appear even to have been wounded. He certainly was not taken prisoner by the insurgents. The movements of the insurgents reported from Cracow are not worth mention. There seems to be a band somewhere in the Holy Mountains, in the Palatinate of Cracow, where Langiewicz had two or three brushes with the Russians; but the reports about it are such gross inventions, that one is almost led to disbelieve in its existence. The telegrams from Cracow multiply it into three or four large bands.

The Russians seem to be making considerable progress in clearing the country. Small bands will long carry on a partisan warfare, but as far as any judgment can be formed, the insurrection is at an end.

Far more destructive of the hopes of the friends of Poland even than the defeat of Langiewicz, is the knowledge of the causes which mainly led to it, or, at least, which rendered it so complete. Even in the hour when all the hopes of their country depended upon their energetic co-operation, when every instinct of patriotism should have counselled them to forget all animosities, to lay aside all personal jealousies, and work as one man against the common enemy, the Poles were engaged in scandalous controversies. Microslawski had his partisans in the camp of Langiewicz. The Reds, or Ultras, swore by him, whilst the Whites, or Moderates, generally accepted the leadership of Langiewicz. In the last council of war, held whilst the Russian legions were gathering round the small, ill-provided army, the Reds refused to obey Langiewicz. That was the reason for his abandonment of the army. He hoped to be able to pass through Galicia, and serve his country somewhere else as a partisan leader. There can be no hope for a nation, let its valour and its endurance be ever so great, which is the prey of such an incurable spirit of discord. Only twelve months ago, at a meeting in London in favour of Poland, mainly attended by Polish refugees, the name of Count Zamoyski evoked a tempest of hissing and hooting which nearly brought the meeting to an abrupt termination.

According to one telegram Langiewicz and Miss Pastowaskow have been removed to Brunn, in Moravia; according to another they remain in the citadel of Cracow.

There has been another debate in the Prussian House of Deputies about Poland. Herr Von Bismarck Schönlhausen repeated his statement, that the Convention contained none of the stipulations which Europe had persisted in attributing to it, but he did not say what the Convention really did contain; and with the power in his hands to dispel, in a minute, all the delusions of Europe on the subject, he obstinately refuses to do so. The natural result is that no one places any confidence in his asseveration.

Prussia has concluded a navigation and literary convention with Belgium—we presume in the name of the Zollverein—and has also agreed to pay her *quota* towards the redemption of the Scheldt dues.

A King has at last been found for the Greeks. Prince William of Denmark, the second son of Prince Christian and brother of the Princess of Wales, a lad of seventeen, has been selected as the scapegoat of Earl Russell's blunders. There seems to be no hope of escape for him. This time Earl Russell has got the victim tied hand and foot. The poor boy's sister, the Princess Dagmar, is to marry, we are told, the Cæsarewitch Nicholas; so the Russian Government will have nothing to say against the choice, and although the Danes are very unwilling to give him up—Prince Christian, in whose descendants the succes-

sion to the Danish throne has been established by the treaty of London, has only three sons, and on the failure of that line all the old pretensions to the separation of the monarchy would revive—they cannot well help themselves. As for the Greeks nobody considers them. They must take what they can get. "Beggars must not be choosers." However, they are not likely to make any difficulties. Prince William is young; he is a sailor; he is connected with the English Royal Family, and if they particularly wish it will, no doubt, adopt the Greek faith. His sister must be converted to that Church to obtain the perilous honour of sharing the throne of Russia, and Prince William may just as well keep her company.

As we anticipated above, the Greeks have caught at the chance of getting a king. A telegram from Athens announces that the National Assembly, without waiting for any consent from the King of Denmark, or the other European Powers, has proclaimed Prince William King, under the title of George I., and despatched a deputation to Denmark to tender him the Crown.

Farini's mind has gone. Visconti Ventosa, the new Foreign Minister, is a young man of no great reputation. He made his *debut* in his new functions in the course of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies upon the Polish question. The Chamber handed the petitions over to him, and passed to the order of the day.

The Swedish Riksdag has augmented the sovereigns' civil list. The Reform Bill seems to be making its way. The Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Peasants have accepted it with unanimity. It had but two opponents in the Chamber of Nobles. It has yet its most dangerous gauntlet to run, in the Chamber of the Clergy. It may be hoped that Sweden will soon have a legislature adapted to the wants of the present day, instead of the cumbrous four-chamber system, which, although serving well enough some centuries back, now leads, for the most part, to a legislative deadlock.

The Swedes naturally show great enthusiasm for the Polish cause. They would, doubtless, like to see Russia involved in difficulties which might enable them to recover Finland. Prince Czartoryski has been fêted at Stockholm. What he does there at this moment it is hard to say. He cannot surely have supposed that he could persuade the Swedish Government to declare war against Russia.

Politics are a curious game in Portugal. A telegram, dated Tuesday, announced that after some explanations given by the Marquis de Loule on the Polish question, the Chamber of Deputies had unanimously passed a vote of confidence in the Ministry. A telegram, dated Sunday, says that the Ministry has been defeated in the Chamber of Deputies, and that a change of Ministry and a dissolution are expected. Very April weather must reign in a Portuguese Legislative Chamber.

The President of the New Spanish Ministry has, according to the omniscient Mr. Reuter, informed Senor Olozaga that the Ministry will not continue the policy of the O'Donnell Cabinet, and that its programme will be based on liberal conservative principles, which means in a free translation that it will stop in office as long as it possibly can.

Troubles have broken out again in Syria between the Christians and the Mohammedans. The Druses are said to have attacked and plundered a Christian village. Some Christians have been assassinated in Damascus, and everything looks as if the bloody scenes of some three years since were to be repeated. The Turkish Government is in the market for a loan. Can we blame it for persisting in its career of extravagance, and leading a merry life upon borrowed money? It is pestered with solicitations from European capitalists to take their money, or rather from a set of clever money-dealers, who know how to pick up the money of those people of small property who find that the three per cent. consols do not give them so large an income as they would like.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Bill authorising the proposed extension of the Great Eastern Railway to Finsbury Circus came up again for discussion. The motion was that the Bill be now read a second time, and an amendment was moved to substitute for "now" "this day six months." The debate, which had been several times adjourned, was resumed by Lord Shaftsbury. He said that the report made to the Board of Trade recommended the postponement of all Metropolitan railway schemes. Lord Granville thought that it would be desirable to appoint a Select Committee to consider the whole question. Lord Grey objected to this suggestion. A Royal Commission had advised in 1846 that any railways admitted into London should be constructed on some uniform plan. Such a plan ought now to be

laid down, and this could not be satisfactorily done by a Select Committee. The best plan would probably be to make London railways the property of some public body, and then leased out to existing companies. He thought Government should take the subject into its own hands. The Duke of Somerset disagreed with Lord Grey. If a uniform plan were devised, Parliament would have to find the money for the scheme recommended. The Earl of Derby said that all his objections to this particular Bill had been fully substantiated; he agreed with Lord Grey that all Metropolitan lines should be postponed to the next Session; and that in the meantime a Commission should be appointed to prepare a general plan, which might be carried out by private companies, as was the case on the continent.—Lord Ebury supported the amendment; Lord Granville yielded, and the second reading was negatived without a division. Some formal business was then transacted.

The Lord Chancellor asked leave to introduce a measure affecting the Church patronage vested in him. Certain Crown livings are in the gift of the Crown; that is, in the gift of the Prime Minister, who must take the pleasure of the Queen before presenting to them. But the vast majority—chiefly small livings, are in the independent gift of the Chancellor. He proposed to sell the advowsons of 329 of the smallest of these, and apply the price to the augmentation of the value of other Crown livings in his gift. He said that a parish was much better off when the advowson was in the hands of a private individual, especially in the hands of a resident proprietor; as the latter was then led to take great interest in the Church, and not unfrequently to become a benefactor to it. He explained the terms on which the sales were to be made, and which are exceedingly favourable to purchasers; only half the value of the advowson being required to be paid down, and the remainder, with compound interest, when the living falls vacant. Or they might, in case they preferred it, grant a rentcharge of 5 per cent. on the value of the advowson, to be employed in augmenting the income of the living. The purchase-money would, under the rules of the Ecclesiastical Commission, be applied to the same purpose in the case of livings under £200 a year, which should be raised to £300. The surplus should be carried over for the augmentation of the smaller livings. Lord Cranworth and Lord Chelmsford, formerly Lord Chancellors, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Bishop of London, spoke in commendation of the measure, which was brought in and read a first time. After an unintelligible "Irish row" between the Earl of Leitrim and Earl Granville, the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to a question, Sir R. Peel said that no reports had recently been received respecting the enlistment of recruits in Ireland for the Federal army. Indeed, although there had been rumours on the subject, there had been at no time any definite statements.

A question having been put by Mr. Whalley relative to certain disloyal demonstrations in Ireland, on occasion of the Prince's marriage, Mr. Scully rose and complained angrily of the epithet "disloyal," which, he contended, ought not to have been introduced in a question put to the Government, on which no debate could be raised. The Speaker desired the hon. member to point out the expressions in the question which he deemed objectionable.—Mr. Scully held that it was quite out of order to put a question on the paper in which the chief cities of Ireland were insulted by a charge of having taken part in the disloyal demonstrations and burnt effigies of the Prince of Wales, when such was not the case.—The Speaker—The rule of the House is that in putting a question, no argument or opinion is to be offered and no new fact stated, except as far as may be necessary to explain such question. The good sense of that regulation must be evident to the House. No matter ought to be propounded in the shape of a question which would be likely to raise observation and discussion. In the present instance it is quite allowable for the hon. member to state the facts which are necessary to elucidate his question. Whether or not the assertions he has made are true it is quite beyond my province to determine. It would, of course, be very improper, and out of order, for any member to state as fact anything which he cannot substantiate. If it is capable of being established as a fact that the effigy of the Prince of Wales has been publicly burnt, then, perhaps, no great question could have been raised as to the appropriateness of applying the term "disloyal" to the transaction. (Hear, hear.) At the same time the rule of the House is, as I have stated, that no matter of opinion or argument can be introduced in putting a question.—Sir R. Peel said that certain very improper demonstrations, and in some places serious riots, had taken place. But there was no reflection on the general loyalty of Ireland; and where the riots had occurred the magistrates had done their duty, and some of the offenders had been summarily punished. On the order for going into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates, Mr. Dodson called attention to the charges for the diplomatic service; and moved that, in the opinion of the House, all sums required to defray the expenses of the diplomatic service ought to be annually voted by Parliament, and that estimates of all such sums ought to be submitted in a form that would admit of their effectual supervision and control by the House. At present, part of those charges were voted annually, a part defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund.—Mr. Layard expressed a fear that if the proposal were adopted, the members of the diplomatic service would look rather to the House than to the Foreign Office, and would be gradually led into party connections and party feeling. He hoped it would be rejected. The motion was opposed by Mr. G. Duff, and

supported by Mr. A. Smith and Mr. Ayrton. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that, although he felt it his duty to oppose the motion, all his prejudices and prepossessions ran in its favour. It had, however, been the opinion of the successive Governments of this country that the higher class of diplomatists ought to be placed in a position of absolute independence of Parliament; and he was not prepared, on mature consideration, to adopt the opposite principle. The motion was negatived on a division by 136 votes to 65. The House soon after resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and proceeded to the consideration of the civil service estimates. A discussion was raised by Mr. Henley on the novel course adopted by the Government, in first taking votes on account, and then proceeding on the same night to discuss the votes for the same services in detail, which he denounced as irregular and unconstitutional. Mr. F. Peel and Sir G. C. Lewis defended the course of the Government. The House then resumed; some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned at half-past one.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Several desultory inquiries were made on various subjects, and the Lord Chancellor's Church Patronage Bill was read a second time amid general expressions of approval, and ordered to be referred to a Select Committee.—The House at its rising adjourned till the 14th of April.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Colonel Wilson Patten asked the Home Secretary for information relative to the condition of the manufacturing districts. Sir G. Grey said that since the riots at Staleybridge had been suppressed a better feeling had prevailed; but that the very unwise conduct of the Mansion House Committee in sending £500 to Staleybridge to be distributed in money and not in tickets had, as an encouragement to riot, caused serious apprehensions. Mr. Cubitt, late Lord Mayor, explained that it was an application from the clergy of Staleybridge which had induced them to take this step; and that they had sent the money not to the rioters, but to the Relief Committee. He took a subsequent opportunity of narrating the circumstances which led to the formation of the Mansion House Committee, before any central organization existed in Lancashire; and declared that he would have been willing to hand over their funds to the Central Executive at Manchester, if the public had seemed to approve the proposed transfer. After several unimportant questions had been put and answered, Lord Palmerston moved that the House at its rising do adjourn till Monday, April 13th. On this motion arose one of those curiously intermingled discussions to which such motions give rise, the rule being that the ministers, like other members, can only speak once on one motion; all who want to elicit a reply from the same minister, on whatever topic, must speak before he rises. With a view, therefore, of eliciting from Mr. Layard certain information on matters of fact, and from Lord Palmerston an expression of feeling or opinion, two Polish and two American questions were put, and an entangled debate took place on all. [We shall separate the discussions, for the convenience of our readers, begging them to remember that the order we adopt is not that of time, but of matter.] Mr. Hennessy called attention to the policy of Her Majesty's Government with respect to Poland. He complained that in times past Lord Palmerston had evinced a backwardness in the cause of Poland, accepting the promises of Russia, and refusing to act with France on behalf of the Poles, which justified the House, he thought, in scrutinizing his policy. He asked Lord Palmerston, therefore, what had been done relative to Poland, and how far Her Majesty's Government had accepted or refused joint action with France.

Mr. Griffith asked a question respecting the alleged passage of the Russian troops through Prussian territory in order to attack the Polish insurgents; and the alleged wounding and robbery of a British subject, Ludwig Finkenstein, bearing a British passport, by the Russian soldiery. In making these inquiries he discoursed at some length upon the Polish question.—Mr. Layard stated that the Government had no official information that a portion of Russian troops had crossed the frontier. As to the case of the British subject, the Government had received information, which led to the conclusion that a more disgraceful and discreditable outrage was never perpetrated. It appeared that Mr. Finkenstein crossed from Cracow into Poland with a Polish lady, who asked him to allow her to travel in his car. On crossing the frontier they were stopped by the Russian guard, but on the gentleman showing his passport they were allowed to pass on. At some distance from the frontier they fell in with a party of Russian troops, who stopped them during a night, and the officer said that they must be sent on to the General. A party of insurgents were in the distance, and as the travellers were being escorted, together with a number of captives, to the General, firing commenced. On the instant the Russian soldiers seized and murdered the captives and the lady, and took Mr. Finkenstein out of the car, stripped him, inflicted about thirty-eight wounds on him, and left him for dead. The two officers present did their best, according to Mr. Finkenstein's statement, to prevent this outrage. While lying on the ground Mr. Finkenstein was found by the Polish General, Langiewicz, who, perceiving signs of life in him, had him removed to Cracow. Lord Bloomfield, as soon as he heard of the case, sent a person to Mr. Finkenstein to learn the full particulars, and the statement now made to the House was taken down from Mr. Finkenstein's own words. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Finkenstein was not dead. The Government had sent out orders for a full inquiry into the whole case, and though there was some doubt whether Mr. Finkenstein was a British subject, yet if he should prove to be one, full reparation, it was to be hoped, would be obtained.—Lord Palmerston, in reply to Mr. Hennessy, said

he could add very little to what he had said upon a former occasion. The Government had made a communication to that of Russia, and was in communication with the Government of France, for the purpose of joint action of a diplomatic character, and with other Governments parties to the treaty of Vienna. It was inexpedient to go into details with respect to these communications, but he hoped that, after Easter, the Government might be able to lay papers on the subject before the House.

Mr. W. E. Forster, member for Bradford, and one of the most rational members of the Radical party, complained of the sufferance by our Government of the escape of the Alabama and the Oreto. He argued that such connivance at an infraction of the law was sure to provoke bitter animosity on the part of the United States, especially if, as was said to be the case, six iron-clad vessels—a complete navy—were to follow the Alabama.—The Solicitor-General said that the Government of the United States was unhappily in the habit of making frequent and unreasonable complaints against England on grounds altogether frivolous; as that arms and munitions of war had been shipped for Confederate ports, and so forth; and these complaints, published in America, and supposed by the people there to be well founded in international law, did much to provoke ill-will towards this country. This conduct was deeply to be regretted, as the Federal Government must be perfectly aware that it had no right to make any complaints on such grounds. With regard to the Oreto, no complaint had been lodged against her until the day before she sailed, and then it was too late. She had been arrested at Nassau, tried, and acquitted for want of evidence of any intention to violate the Foreign Enlistment Act. On that score, therefore, there was no ground for complaint against our Government. The evidence in the case of the Alabama was not completed till the 26th of July; it was submitted to the law officers of the Crown, and on their opinion orders were given to seize her on the 29th, on which day she had put to sea without a clearance, as on a trial trip. These ships had not, in violating the Foreign Enlistment Act, committed us to any violation of international law. We had a right to enforce or not enforce that Act, or to repeal it, and no one could complain on that score. No wrong, therefore, had been done to the United States. He cited the following dictum of the Supreme Court of that country:—"A neutral nation may, if so disposed, without a breach of her neutral character, grant permission to both belligerents to equip their vessels of war within her territory; but without such permission the subjects of such belligerent Powers have no right to equip vessels of war, or to increase or augment their force, either with arms or with men, within the territory of such neutral nation. Such unauthorised acts violate her sovereignty and her rights as a neutral. All captures made by means of such equipments are illegal in relation to such nation." The equipment of the Alabama was therefore an offence against England, not against America. Another dictum of Mr. Justice Story, in reference to an American ship taken to Buenos Ayres, and employed as a cruiser in the service of the Government there by her American captain and crew, was strictly applicable to the present case:—"The question as to the original illegal armament and outfit of the Independencia may be dismissed in a few words. It is apparent that, though equipped as a vessel of war, she was sent to Buenos Ayres on a commercial adventure, contraband, indeed, but in no shape violating our laws on our national neutrality. If captured by a Spanish ship of war during the voyage she would have been justly condemned as good prize, and for being engaged in a traffic prohibited by the law of nations. But there is nothing in our laws, or in the law of nations, that forbids our citizens from sending armed vessels, as well as munitions of war, to foreign ports for sale. It is a commercial adventure which no nation is bound to prohibit, and which only exposes the persons engaged in it to the penalty of confiscation. Supposing, therefore, the voyage to have been for commercial purposes, and the sale at Buenos Ayres to have been a *bona fide* sale (and there is nothing in the evidence before us to contradict it), there is no pretence to say that the original outfit on the voyage was illegal, or that a capture made after the sale was, for that cause alone, invalid." He must trouble the House with one more American decision. The case occurred in 1832, and the doctrine laid down was this:—"The collectors are not authorised to detain vessels, although manifestly built for war-like purposes and about to depart from the United States, unless circumstances shall render it probable that such vessels are intended to be employed by the owners to commit hostilities against some foreign Power at peace with the United States." The United States might indeed ask us, as a friendly Power, to enforce our own laws in their favour; and in any case in which evidence was furnished, the Government was ready so to do. At the same time we must not forget that our neutrality had been quite as often and as flagrantly violated, and the Foreign Enlistment Act as much defied by the Federal as by the Confederate Government.—Mr. Bright admitted that Mr. Seward's complaints were in some cases ill-founded; but denounced the connivance of Government at the escape of the Alabama, and urged that, as the Federal Government was the only one acknowledged by us throughout the territory over which it claimed dominion, we might have done more than extend to it a cold and unfriendly neutrality.—Mr. Laird, the builder of the Alabama, said that everything in regard to the building of that vessel had been done openly and above-board, and no means of acquiring information had been refused to her Majesty's Government. He had been asked to build vessels of war, fitted with guns, for the Federal Government, but had declined to do so. "The North had received enormous supplies of arms and munitions of war from this country.

Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald called attention to the capture of

the British steamer Peterhoff, one of a line of vessels trading regularly between London and the Mexican port of Matamoras, which, having no suspicious goods on board, and with her papers in order, was captured by order of Captain Wilks in the neutral waters of St. Thomas, and sent to Key-West for adjudication. He complained of this as a gross outrage on international law, and as likely to interrupt altogether our trade with Mexico; remarking, moreover, that the Government had had full warning of the intention to seize this ship, noted in a list of suspected vessels forwarded by Mr. Adams to the Foreign-Office. He censured in strong terms the conduct of Lord Russell in regard to the interruption of the trade between Liverpool and Nassau, which, he contended, had led to such outrages as the present.—Mr. Layard said that the case of the Peterhoff had been submitted to the law officers of the Crown; but he saw no reason to doubt that an American Prize Court would do justice in the case.—Lord Palmerston wished to know how our neutrality could be, as Mr. Bright wished it, warm and friendly towards the Federals without being, in fact, a sort of hostility to the Confederates. He lamented the proneness in America to raise a party cry against England, which he hoped would not be carried too far, since it had a tendency to endanger the friendly relations between the two countries, and he regretted that speeches should be uttered in that House calculated to encourage that cry. The Solicitor-General had demonstrated that the Americans had no just ground to find fault with us; that we had done everything the law enabled us and authorized us to do. It would have been much more agreeable to the Government if no supplies of any kind had been furnished to either of the belligerent parties, but they could not go beyond the law. In many previous instances it had been found impossible to prevent supplies being sent from England, even when, as in the Spanish civil war, we had espoused the cause of the party against whom those supplies were to be used. Some further discussion took place. After transacting some business of little interest, the House adjourned till the 13th instant.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, April 1.

Our last report closed upon a steady market, with Fair Dhollerahs at 17d.

On Thursday a good business was done, and the market closed strong on receipt of India news reporting a further advance in goods in Bombay of 6d., and Calcutta 1s. 6d. per piece.

On Friday the effect of these accounts was apparent in the large business done in Manchester, principally for Eastern markets, further relieving many spinners who had been crippled by accumulating stocks, and enabling them to come again freely into the Liverpool market. The sales here reached 12,000 bales, principally to the trade and exporters, at $\frac{1}{2}$ advance.

On Saturday, a business of 8,000 bales was done at firm prices.

On Monday, further Calcutta news was to hand, quoting an advance since the previous advices of 6d. to 9d. per piece, with excited markets; the sales reached 10,000 bales without change.

Yesterday and to-day, with sales of 5,000 and 7,000 bales, we have no further change to note. A good healthy tone pervades the market; the demand from the trade and exporters is liberal, but our stock being large and imports heavy, it is freely met by holders. We quote Middling Orleans 22d.; Fair Egyptian, 22d.; Fair Sawginned Dharwar, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Fair Dhollerah and Omrawtee, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

At no period since the American war commenced has an early settlement seemed less probable than at present; the voice of the Peace party in the North is almost hushed, and both Democrats and Republicans seem determined to prosecute the war at whatever sacrifice of blood and treasure. The South, meanwhile inspired by their victory at Port Hudson, their successful defence of Vicksburg, and the continued immunity of Charleston and Savannah from attack, are as confident as ever of ultimate success, and appear more likely to adopt the offensive before long than to meet with those crushing defeats so confidently predicted by the Federal press.

The future course of our market now mainly depends on the nature of our Eastern advices. If the Indian markets continue to advance, which seems probable, production here will increase, and prices continue to harden; with a liberal supply, however, on the water our stock will not for some time fall much under 400,000 bales, and with such an amount on hand, a large advance in price could not be maintained.

MANCHESTER, March 31.

During the past week there has been a moderately active demand both for yarn and cloth, at steadily advancing prices, caused by still further and better advices from Calcutta, at which market shirtings were reported to have realised an increase of from 16d. to 18d. per piece on the prices of the previous telegram.

Nos. 40, 50, and 60s' mule yarns, suitable for India, were purchased freely on Friday, at an advance of from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1d. per lb., but these qualities being difficult to find in stock, orders were given out to spin, which will cause some mills to commence working again that have been stopped for some long time back.

Home-trade yarns were sold readily at an advance of from $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d. per lb., and many spinners holding out for better prices, refused to sell at this advance.

India shirtings were in good demand at an advance of fully 3d. per piece, whilst mulls and jaconets fetched no more than was realised for them the previous week, notwithstanding there being an active inquiry for them.

On Monday there was again an active demand for India fabrics, owing to a report of there being a further telegram from Calcutta, dated four days later, advising another advance on shirtings of from 6d. to 9d. per piece.

To-day the demand for India goods has been satisfactory, 7 lbs. shirtings having realised an improvement of 6d. per piece on Friday's prices, and 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. ditto 3d. per piece. Mulls and jaconets sold readily at 3d. per piece advance, and such is the paucity of stocks of these staples in this market, that many parties have disposed of their "reject lots," which have accumulated during the past few months at good prices.

Home trade yarns are again $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. higher, whilst India qualities are fully 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. higher.

THE ALABAMA.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

The following documents are taken from the correspondence between Earl Russell and Mr. Adams, recently presented to Parliament; they were written subsequent to the departure of the Alabama:—

No. 15.

MR. ADAMS TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received November 22.)
Legation of the United States, London,
November 20, 1862.

My Lord,—It is with very great regret that I find myself once more under the necessity of calling your Lordship's attention to the painful situation in which the Government of the United States is placed by the successive reports received of the depredations committed on the high seas upon merchant-vessels by the gunboat known in this country as "No. 290," touching the construction and outfit of which in the port of Liverpool, for the above purpose, I had the honour of heretofore presenting evidence of the most positive character.

It is my duty now to submit to your consideration copies of a large number of papers received from Washington, as well as from the Consul at Liverpool, all of which concur in establishing the truth of the allegations made by me of the intentions of that vessel prior to her departure from the ports of this kingdom. I then averred that the purpose was to make war upon the people of the United States, a nation with which Great Britain has now been for half a century, and still is, on a footing of the most friendly alliance by the force of treaties which have received the solemn sanction of all the authorities regarded among men as necessary to guarantee the mutual obligations of nations. That I made no mistake in that averment is now fully proved by the hostile proceedings of that vessel since the day she sailed from the place in this kingdom where she was prepared for that end.

It now appears from a survey of all the evidence,—first, that this vessel was built in a dockyard belonging to a commercial house in Liverpool, of which the chief member, down to October of last year, is a member of the House of Commons; secondly, that from the manner of her construction, and her peculiar adaptation to war purposes, there could have been no doubt by those engaged in the work, and familiar with such details, that she was intended for other purposes than those of legitimate trade; and thirdly, that during the whole process and outfit in the port of Liverpool, the direction of the details, and the engagement of persons to be employed in her, were more or less in hands known to be connected with the insurgents in the United States. It further appears that since her departure from Liverpool, which she was suffered to leave without any of the customary evidence at the Custom House to designate her ownership, she has been supplied with her armament, with coals, and stores, and men, by vessels known to be fitted out and despatched for the purpose from the same port; and that although commanded by Americans in her navigation of the ocean, she is manned almost entirely by English seamen, engaged and forwarded from that port by persons in league with her commander. Furthermore, it is shown that this commander, claiming to be an officer acting under legitimate authority, yet is in the constant practice of raising the flag of Great Britain, in order the better to execute his system of ravage and depredation on the high seas. And lastly, it is made clear that he pays no regard whatever to the recognised law of capture of merchant vessels on the high seas, which requires the action of some judicial tribunal to confirm the rightfulness of the proceeding; but, on the contrary, that he resorts to the piratical system of taking, plundering, and burning private property without regard to consequences or responsibility to any legitimate authority whatever.

Such being the admitted state of the facts, the case evidently opens a series of novel questions of the gravest character to the consideration of all civilized countries. It is obviously impossible to reconcile the toleration by any one nation of similar undertakings in its own ports to the injury of another nation with which it is at peace, with any known theory of moral or political obligation. It is equally clear that the reciprocation of such practices could only lead, in the end, to the utter subversion of all security to private property upon the ocean. In the case of countries geographically approximated to one another, the preservation of peace between them for any length of time would be rendered by it almost impossible. It would be, in short, permitting any or all irresponsible parties to prepare and fit out, in any country, just what armed enterprises against the property of their neighbours they might think fit to devise, without the possibility of recovering a control over their acts the moment after they might succeed in escaping from the particular local jurisdiction into the high seas.

It is by no means my desire to imply an intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to countenance any such idea. I am fully aware of the fact that, at a very early date, more than one month before the escape of the vessel, on my presenting evidence of the nature and purposes of the nameless vessel, together with the decided opinion of eminent counsel that a gross violation of the law of the land, as well as a breach of the law of nations, was in process of perpetration, an investigation was entered into by the law officers of the Crown, which resulted in an acknowledgment of the justice of the remonstrance. In consequence of this I am led to infer, from the language of your Lordship's note of the 22nd of September explaining the facts of the case, that an order to detain the vessel at Liverpool was about to issue on the 29th of July last, when a telegraphic message was forwarded to you from that port to the effect that the vessel had escaped that very morning. Your Lordship further adds that instructions were then immediately sent to Ireland to stop her should she put into Queenstown, and similar instructions were forwarded to the port of Nassau. But it has turned out that nothing has been heard of her at either place.

It thus appears that her Majesty's Government had become so far convinced of the true nature of the enterprise in agitation at Liverpool from the evidence which I had had the honour to submit to your Lordship's consideration, and from other inquiry, as to have determined on detaining the vessel. So far as this action went, it seems to have admitted the existence of a case of violation of the laws of neutrality in one of Her Majesty's ports of which the Government of the United States had a right to complain. The question will then remain, how far the failure of the proceedings thus admitted to have been instituted by Her Majesty's Government to prevent the departure of this vessel affects the right of reclamation of the Government of the United States for the grievous damage done to the property of their citizens in permitting the escape of this lawless pirate from its jurisdiction.

And here it may not be without its use to call to your Lordship's recollection for a moment the fact that this question, like almost all others connected with the duty of neutrals in time of war on the high seas, has been much agitated in the discussions heretofore held between the authorities of the two countries. During the latter part of the last century it fell to the lot of Her Majesty's Government to make the strongest remonstrances against the fitting out in the ports of the United States of vessels with an intent to prey upon British commerce; not, however, in the barbarous and illegal manner shown to have been practised by "No. 290," but subject to the forms of ultimate adjudication equally recognised by all civilised nations: and they went the further length of urging the acknowledgment of the principle of compensation in damages for the consequences of not preventing the departure of such vessels. That principle was formally recognised as valid by both parties, in the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of the 19th November, 1794; and accordingly all cases of damage previously done by capture of British vessels or merchandise by vessels originally fitted out in the ports of the United States were therein agreed to be referred to a Commission provided for by that Treaty, to award the necessary sums for full compensation.

I am well aware that the provisions of that Treaty are no longer in force, and that even if they were, they bound only the United States to make good the damage done in the precise contingency then occurring. But I cannot for a moment permit myself to suppose that Her Majesty's Government, by the very act of pressing for the recognition of the principle in a Treaty when it applied for its own benefit, did not mean to be understood as equally ready to sustain it at any and all times when it might be justly applied to the omission to prevent similar action of British subjects within its own jurisdiction towards the people of the United States.

But I would beg further to call your Lordship's attention to the circumstance that there is the strongest reason to believe that the claim for compensation in cases of this kind was not pressed by Her Majesty's Government merely in connection with the obtaining a formal recognition of the principle in an express contract. This seems to have been but a later step, and one growing out of a previous advance of a similar demand based only on general principles of equity that should prevail at all times between nations. Here, again, it appears that the Government of the United States, having admitted a failure down to a certain date in taking efficient steps to prevent the outfit in their ports of cruisers against the vessels of Great Britain, with whom they were at peace, recognised the validity of the claim advanced by Mr. Hammond, Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Philadelphia, for captures of British vessels subsequently made by those cruisers even on the high seas. This principle will be found acknowledged in its full length in the reply of Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State to the United States, dated 5th of September, 1793, to a letter from Mr. Hammond of the 30th of August preceding, a copy of which is unfortunately not in my possession; but which, from the tenor of the answer, I must presume to have itself distinctly presented the admitted ground of the claim.

Armed by the authority of such a precedent, having done all in my power to apprise Her Majesty's Government of the illegal enterprise in ample season for effecting its prevention; and being now enabled to show the injurious consequences to innocent parties, relying upon the security of their commerce from any danger through British sources, ensuing from the omission of Her Majesty's Government, however little designed, to apply the proper prevention in due season,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship of the directions which I have received from my Government to solicit redress for the national and private injuries already thus sustained, as well as a more effective prevention of any repetition of such lawless and injurious proceedings in Her Majesty's ports hereafter.

I pray, &c.,
(Signed) CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

No. 16.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. ADAMS.

Foreign Office, December 19, 1862.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, in which, under instructions from your Government, you submit, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, papers confirming the truth of the allegations which you made to me some time ago as to the intentions with which the vessel formerly known as "No. 290," but now called the Alabama, was fitted out at Liverpool; and you observe that those allegations are now fully proved by the hostile proceedings of that vessel since she left the United Kingdom.

You pass in review the history of the Alabama both before and since she sailed from Liverpool; and you state that the facts being admitted, they present to the consideration of all civilized countries a series of novel questions of the gravest character. You say that it is obviously impossible to reconcile the toleration by any one nation of similar undertakings in its own ports to the injury of another nation with which it is at peace, with any known theory of moral or political obligation; and you add, with some further observations in the same sense, that the reciprocation of such practices could only in the end lead to the utter subversion of all security to private property upon the ocean.

You, however, say that it is by no means your desire to imply an intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to countenance any such idea. You admit that you are aware of the measures adopted at a very early date with reference to the Alabama, and of the orders subsequently issued to detain that vessel as soon as legal opinions were obtained; orders which it was not possible for the authorities to execute, because at the very moment when they were issued the Alabama made her escape from Liverpool.

You finally state that you have been instructed to solicit redress for the national and private injuries sustained by the proceedings of this vessel, as well as a more effective prevention of any repetition of them in British ports hereafter.

Before I proceed to examine the justice of these demands, it will be convenient that I should advert to the circumstances to which you call my attention as having occurred soon after the breaking out of the French revolutionary war. You observe that on that occasion remonstrances were addressed by the British Government to that of the United States respecting the fitting out of privateers in United States' ports with an intent to prey upon British commerce; and that the demands of the British Government were admitted by the United States, and were formally recognised in the 6th Article of the Treaty between the two countries of the 19th of November, 1794.

But an examination of the actual occurrences, and of the history of that remarkable period, present a state of facts materially different from those relating to the "Alabama." Those facts may be shortly stated as follows:—

The revolutionary Government of France had openly avowed

its determination to disregard all the principles of international law which had been acknowledged by civilized States; and that Government proceeded to put in force its determination by claiming to equip, as a matter of right, and by actually equipping, privateers in the neutral ports of the United States by sending those privateers forth from those ports to prey upon British commerce by bringing prizes into the neutral ports, and by then going through some scant forms of adjudication.

This was the avowed system upon which the agents of belligerent France claimed to act, and upon which, owing to the temporary superiority of her naval force, they did for a short period act in the neutral ports and waters of the United States, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the United States' Government.

It was these several facts, namely, the open and deliberate equipment of privateers in American ports by the French, the capture by those privateers of British vessels in United States' waters, and the bringing them as prizes into United States' ports, which formed collectively the basis of the demands made by the British Plenipotentiaries. Those demands had reference not to the accidental evasion of a municipal law of the United States by a particular ship, but to a systematic disregard of international law upon some of the most important points of neutral obligation.

This is apparent from the whole correspondence of the British Government with the Government of the United States, and from the replies of Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, the British Minister. Consequently neither the complaints of the British Government in 1793, nor the Treaty of 1794, have any bearing upon the question now under discussion.

With regard to the claim for compensation now put forward by the United States' Government, it is, I regret to say, notorious that the Queen's Proclamation of the 13th of May, 1861, enjoining neutrality in the unfortunate civil contest in North America, has in several instances been practically set at naught by parties in this country. On the one hand, vast supplies of arms and warlike stores have been purchased in this country, and have been shipped from British ports to New York, for the use of the United States' Government. On the other hand, munitions of war have found their way from this country to ports in possession of the Government of the so-called Confederate States.

These evasions of the neutrality prescribed by the Queen's Proclamation have caused Her Majesty's Government much concern, but it is not difficult to account for what has occurred.

Such shipments as I have spoken of may be effected without any breach of municipal law, and commercial enterprise in this country, as elsewhere, is always ready to embark in speculations offering a prospect of success, or in which, at all events, the promise of gain is supposed to be greater than the risk of loss.

British subjects who have engaged in such enterprises have been left by Her Majesty's Government to abide by the penalty attaching to their disregard of the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality, that penalty being by international law the condemnation as prize of war of vessel and cargo, if captured by a belligerent cruiser, and duly condemned in a competent Prize Court.

Her Majesty's Government have nevertheless availed themselves of every fitting opportunity to discourage these enterprises, and I have the honour to refer you, in illustration of the truth of this, to the answer which I caused to be returned on the 6th of July to a memorial from British merchants and shipowners at Liverpool, and of which I furnished you confidentially with a copy in my note of the 4th of August.

It is right, however, to observe, that the party which has profited by far the most by these unjustifiable practices has been the Government of the United States; because that Government having a superiority of force by sea, and having blockaded most of the Confederate ports, has been able, on the one hand, safely to receive all the warlike supplies which it has induced British manufacturers and merchants to send to United States' ports in violation of the Queen's proclamation, and, on the other hand, to intercept and capture a great part of the supplies of the same kind which were destined from this country to the Confederate States.

If it be sought to make her Majesty's Government responsible to that of the United States because arms and munitions of war have left this country on account of the Confederate Government, that Confederate Government, as the other belligerent, may very well maintain that it has a just cause of complaint against the British Government, because the United States' arsenals had been replenished from British sources.

Nor would it be possible to deny that, in defiance of the Queen's proclamation, many subjects of Her Majesty, owing allegiance to her Crown, have enlisted in the armies of the United States. Of this fact you cannot be ignorant.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, have just grounds of complaint against both of the belligerent parties, but most especially against the Government of the United States, for having systematically, and in disregard of that comity of nations which it was their duty to observe, induced subjects of Her Majesty to violate those orders which, in conformity with her neutral position, she has enjoined all her subjects to obey.

Great Britain cannot be held responsible to either party for these irregular proceedings of British subjects; and an endeavour to make her so would be about as reasonable as if Her Majesty's Government were to demand compensation from the United States for the injuries done to the property of British subjects by the Alabama, resting their demand on the ground that the United States claim authority and jurisdiction over the Confederate States, by whom that vessel was commissioned.

So far as relates to the export of arms and munitions of war by subjects of Great Britain from British ports, for the use of the Confederates, it is a sufficient answer to say that the municipal law of this country does not empower Her Majesty's Government to prohibit or interfere with such export, except in extraordinary cases, when the Executive is armed with special powers; and, with regard to the law of nations, it is clear that the permission to export such articles is not contrary to that law, and that it affords no just ground of complaint to a belligerent. The authorities for this latter position are numerous and unconflicting, but it may suffice to refer to passages on the subject in the works of two American writers of high and admitted authority. The passages are as follows:—

1. "It is not the practice of nations to undertake to prohibit their own subjects, by previous laws, from trafficking in articles contraband of war. Such trade is carried on at the risk of those engaged in it, under the liabilities and penalties prescribed by the law of nations or particular treaties." (Wheaton's "International Law," sixth edition, 1855, page 571, by Lawrence.)

2. "It is a general understanding that the Powers at war.

may seize and confiscate all contraband goods without any complaint on the part of the neutral merchant, and without any imputation of a breach of neutrality in the neutral sovereign himself. It was contended on the part of the French nation in 1796, that neutral Governments were bound to restrain their subjects from selling or exporting articles contraband of war to the belligerent powers. But it was successfully shown, on the part of the United States, that neutrals may lawfully sell, at home, to a belligerent purchaser, or carry, themselves, to the belligerent powers, contraband articles, subject to the right of seizure *in transitu*. This right has since been explicitly declared by the judicial authorities of this country (United States). The right of the neutral to transport, and of the hostile power to seize, are conflicting rights, and neither party can charge the other with a criminal act." (Kent's "Commentaries," vol. i., p. 145, eighth edition, 1854.)

In accordance with these principles, the President's Message of 31st December, 1855, contains the following passage:—

"In pursuance of this policy, the laws of the United States do not forbid their citizens to sell to either of the belligerent powers articles contraband of war, or take munitions of war or soldiers on board their private ships for transportation, and although in so doing the individual citizen exposes his property or person to some of the hazards of war, his acts do not involve any breach of national neutrality, nor of themselves implicate the Government."

As regards the sailing of the *Alabama* from Liverpool, I cannot do better than refer you to the circumstances respecting that vessel with which I have already had the honour to make you acquainted. In my letter of the 28th of July I informed you that it was requisite to consult the law officers of the Crown before any active steps could be taken in regard to that vessel. In my letter of the 22nd of September I explained that, from the nature of the case, some time was necessarily spent in procuring the requisite evidence; that the report of the law officers was not received until the 29th of July; and that on the same day a telegraphic message reached Her Majesty's Government stating that the vessel had that morning sailed. Instructions were then despatched to detain her should she put in either at Queenstown or Nassau, to one or other of which ports it was expected that she would go; but the *Alabama* did not call at either of those places. On the 4th of October I stated to you that much as Her Majesty's Government desired to prevent such occurrences, they were unable to go beyond the law, municipal and international; and on the 16th of that month I replied to your observations with reference to the infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, by remarking that it was true that the Foreign Enlistment Act, or any other act for the same purpose, might be evaded by subtle contrivances, but that Her Majesty's Government could not on that account go beyond the letter of the existing law.

However, it is needless that I should pursue this branch of the question further, since you admit that you are aware that the *Alabama* sailed not only without the direct authority or indirect permission of Her Majesty's Government, but in opposition to the municipal law, and in spite of earnest endeavours made to enforce it.

That this should have happened is a circumstance not calculated to excite much surprise in the United States, for two reasons: first, because the principal municipal law of the United States (passed almost at the same time as that of this country, and, it is believed, after a full understanding between the two States) is, in fact, almost identical with that of Great Britain upon this subject; and, secondly, because its notorious evasion, during the late war waged by Great Britain and her allies against Russia, was the subject of remonstrances on the part of Her Majesty's Representative at Washington to the United States' Government.

Great Britain was then, as on other occasions, assured that every effort which the law would permit had been made to prevent such practices; that the United States' Government could only proceed on legal evidence, the law as to which is almost, if not entirely, the same as in this country; and that without such evidence no conviction could be procured.

In the case of the *Alabama*, it is not denied that strict orders were given for her detention as soon as it appeared to the legal advisers of the Crown that the evidence might be sufficient to warrant them in advising such a course, and that the *Alabama* contrived to evade the execution of those orders.

Her Majesty's Government cannot, therefore, admit that they are under any obligation whatever to make compensation to United States' citizens on account of the proceedings of that vessel.

As regards your demand for a more effective prevention, for the future, of the fitting out of such vessels in British ports, I have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's Government, after consultation with the law officers of the Crown, are of opinion that certain amendments might be introduced into the Foreign Enlistment Act, which, if sanctioned by Parliament, would have the effect of giving greater power to the Executive to prevent the construction, in British ports, of ships destined for the use of belligerents. But Her Majesty's Government consider that, before submitting any proposals of that sort to Parliament, it would be desirable that they should previously communicate with the Government of the United States, and ascertain whether that Government is willing to make similar alterations in its own Foreign Enlistment Act, and that the amendments, like the original statute, should, as it were, proceed *pari passu* in both countries.

I shall accordingly be ready to confer at any time with you, and to listen to any suggestions which you may have to make by which the British Foreign Enlistment Act and the corresponding statute of the United States may be made more efficient for their purpose.

(Signed)

RUSSELL.

No. 17.

MR. ADAMS TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received December 31.)
Legation of the United States,
London, December 30, 1862.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the reception of your Lordship's note of the 19th instant, in reply to the representation I had been instructed to submit to your consideration, touching the ravages committed on the commerce of the United States by a vessel of war built and fitted out in a port of this kingdom, and for the most part manned by her Majesty's subjects. So far as that note responds to the two great objects of inquiry which I had been directed to propose, my duty has been performed by the transmission, without loss of time, of a copy of it for the consideration of my Government. But your Lordship has done me the honour to touch upon several collateral topics incidentally connected with the reasoning contained in my note, in a manner which seems to require from me a somewhat extended explanation.

The first of these to which my attention has been particularly directed relates to the fact, which your Lordship appears readily to admit, that her Majesty's Proclamation of the 13th of May, 1861, enjoining neutrality in the unfortunate civil contest in North America, has been practically set at naught in this kingdom. Much as it may impair the confidence heretofore so generally and justly entertained in the ability of her Majesty's Government to enforce her authority within her own dominions, I am not aware that in the representation I had the honour to make upon this particular occasion, any reasoning of mine was made to rest upon it. The question, as connected with the case of "No. 290," was presented by the eminent Council on whose opinion I relied, mainly on the ground that the building and equipment of that vessel was a gross violation of the municipal law of this kingdom. It was expressly stated by Mr. Collier that "it appeared difficult to make out a stronger case of infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which, if not enforced on this occasion, is little better than a dead letter." That this position was a correct one, is fully confirmed by the report subsequently made by her Majesty's law officers, and by the later efforts of her Majesty's Government to act under the law. It is not, then, the nullity of her Majesty's Proclamation that is now in question. It is rather the admitted fact of a violation of a statute of this kingdom intended to prevent ill-disposed persons from involving it in difficulty by committing wanton and injurious assaults upon foreign nations with which it is at peace, of which her Majesty's Ministers are invited by a party injured to take cognizance, of which they do not take cognizance so far as to prepare measures of prevention, but which, by reason of circumstances wholly within their own control, they do not prevent in season to save the justly complaining party from serious injury. On the substantial points of the case little room seems left open for discussion. The omission to act in season is not denied: the injury committed on an innocent person is beyond dispute. If in these particulars I shall be found to be correct, then I respectfully submit to your Lordship whether it does not legitimately follow that such a party has a right to complain and to ask redress. And in this sense it matters little how that omission may have occurred, whether by intentional neglect or by accidental delays having no reference to the merits of the question; the injury done to the innocent party giving a timely notice remains the same, and those who permitted it remain equally responsible.

It is in this view that the precedent which I had the honour to cite from the earlier history of the United States appeared to me to have much more pertinence than your Lordship is inclined to attach to it. I still think that it has not attracted so much of your attention as it deserves. Your Lordship will pardon me for suggesting that it was not because "the Revolutionary Government of France openly avowed its determination to disregard all the principles of international law which had been acknowledged by civilized States," or because of "a supposed temporary superiority of her naval force," it did "actually equip privateers in the neutral ports of the United States, and send them forth to prey upon British commerce," &c., that the Government of the United States were induced to listen to the demands of the British Government for redress. The claim that was actually made by France rested upon its interpretation of two articles of a solemn treaty, offensive and defensive, between France and the United States, which not without show of reason claimed for the former the right to fit out cruisers against its enemies in the ports of the United States. Although very properly denying this to be the correct version, the Government of the United States felt unwilling to act on a policy of repression until due notice given of its determination to abide by an opposite construction. In the interval, certain captures of British vessels took place, which the Government, because of its failure, for the reasons assigned, to prevent them, considered itself bound to make good. Here are the very words of Mr. Jefferson in his letter to Mr. Hammond:—

"Having for particular reasons forbore to use all the means in our power for the restitution of the three vessels mentioned in my letter of August 7th, the President thought it incumbent on the United States to make compensation for them; and though nothing was said in that letter of other vessels taken under like circumstances and brought in after the 5th of June, and before the date of that letter, yet where the same forbearance had taken place, it was and is his opinion that compensation would be equally due."

From these words the deduction appears to be inevitable that the principle of compensation in the case derived its only force from the omission by the United States to prevent a wrong done to the commerce of a nation with which they were at peace. So likewise may it be reasonably urged in the present case, that the omission of her Majesty's Government upon full and seasonable notice to carry into effect the provisions of its own law designed to prevent its subjects from inflicting injuries upon the commerce of nations with which it is at peace renders it justly liable to make compensation to them for the damages which may ensue.

That the British Government of that day did consider itself equitably entitled to full indemnity, not simply for the hostile acts of Frenchmen in American ports, but for the loss and damage suffered on the high seas by reason of assistance rendered to them by citizens of the United States, will clearly appear by reference to the fourth Article of a project of a Treaty proposed by Lord Grenville to Mr. Jay, on the 30th of August, 1794. The words are these:—

"And it is further agreed, that it shall appear that in the course of the war loss and damage has been sustained by his Majesty's subjects, by reason of the capture of their vessels and merchandise, such capture having been made either within the limits of the jurisdiction of the said States, or by vessels armed in the ports of the said States, or by vessels commanded or owned by the citizens of the said States, the United States will make full satisfaction for such loss or damage, the same being to be ascertained by Commissioners in the manner already mentioned in this Article."

If by the preceding representation I have succeeded in making myself clearly understood by your Lordship, then will it, I flatter myself, be made to appear that in both these cases, that in 1794 as well as that in 1862, the claim made rests on one and the same basis, to wit, the reparation by a neutral nation of a wrong done to another nation with which it is at peace, by reason of a neglect to repress the cause of it, originating among its own citizens in its own ports.

The high character of Lord Grenville is a sufficient guarantee to all posterity that he never could have presented a proposition like that already quoted, except under a full conviction that it was founded on the best recognised principles of international law. Indeed, it is apparent on the face of the preamble that even the later Statute Law of both nations on this subject is but an attempt to give extraordinary efficacy to the performance of mutual obligations between

States, which rest on a higher and more durable basis of justice and of right. It was on this ground, and on this alone, that Lord Grenville obtained the concessions then made of compensation for damage done to her commerce on the high seas by belligerent cruisers fitted out in the ports of the United States. I shall never permit myself to believe that Her Majesty's Government will be the more disposed to question the validity of the principle thus formally laid down merely from the fact that in some cases it may happen to operate against itself.

This consideration naturally brings me back to the examination of that portion of your Lordship's note which relates to the alleged violations in Great Britain of Her Majesty's Proclamation by the respective parties engaged in this war. Although this subject be not absolutely connected with that on which I made my representation, I cheerfully seize the opportunity thus furnished me to attempt in some degree to rectify your Lordship's impressions of the action of the Government of the United States even on that question.

Your Lordship does me the honour to observe that I cannot be ignorant of the fact, which it is impossible to deny, "that in defiance of the Queen's Proclamation, many subjects of Her Majesty, owing allegiance to her Crown, have enlisted in the armies of the United States." "Her Majesty's Government, therefore, have just ground for complaint against both the belligerent parties, but most especially against the Government of the United States, for having systematically, and in disregard of that comity of nations which it was their duty to observe, induced subjects of Her Majesty to violate those orders which, in conformity with her neutral position, she has enjoined all her subjects to obey."

As these words, taken in their connection, might seem to imply a serious charge against myself, as well as the Government of the United States, I must pray your Lordship's pardon if I desire to know whether there be any particulars in my own conduct in which your Lordship has found the evidence for such a statement. So far as I have been made acquainted with the course of my own Government, or I remember my own, I must most respectfully take issue with your Lordship upon it, and challenge you to the proof. That very many of the subjects of Great Britain have voluntarily applied to me for engagements in the service of the United States is most true. That I ever induced one of them to violate Her Majesty's orders, either directly or indirectly, is not true. That numbers of Her Majesty's subjects have voluntarily crossed the ocean and taken service under the flag of the United States, I have reason to believe. That the Government of the United States systematically, and in disregard to the comity of nations, induced them to come over to enlist, I have not yet seen a particle of evidence to show, and I must add, praying your Lordship's pardon, I am authorized explicitly to deny. In response to a remonstrance made to me by your Lordship, it is but a few days since, I took occasion, so far as my action was concerned, or the action of any of the officers of the United States in this kingdom, to place the country right before you on that score. After the very explicit retraction made in your Lordship's reply to me, dated on the 16th instant, it is not without great surprise that I now perceive what I cannot but regard as a renewal of the imputation.

Your Lordship is pleased carefully to join the two parties to this war as if in your estimation equally implicated in the irregular proceedings conducted within this kingdom, and equally implicating the subjects of Great Britain in the violation of Her Majesty's Proclamation. Hence it is argued that the omission to hold any one to his responsibility affords no more just ground of complaint to one party than to the other. I cannot but think that your Lordship has overlooked a just distinction to be observed in these cases, and in order to show it the more clearly I shall be compelled to ask your Lordship to follow me in a brief investigation of the facts.

The only allegation which I find in your Lordship's note in connection with the United States is this, that "vast supplies of arms and warlike stores have been purchased in this country, and have been shipped from British ports to New York for the use of the United States' Government."

Admitting this statement to be true to its full extent, conceding even the propriety of the application of the term "vast" to any purchases that have been made for the United States, the whole of it amounts to this, and no more, that arms and warlike stores have been purchased of British subjects by the agents of the Government of the United States. It nowhere appears that the action of the British went further than simply to sell their goods for cash. There has been no attempt whatever to embark in a single undertaking for the assistance of the United States in the war they are carrying on; no ships of any kind have been constructed or equipped by Her Majesty's subjects for the purpose of sustaining their cause, either by lawful or unlawful means, nor a shilling of money, so far as I know, expended with the intent to turn the scale in their favour. Whatever transactions may have taken place have been carried on in the ordinary mode of bargain and sale, without regard to any other consideration than the mere profits of trade.

If such be, then, the extent of the agency of the United States on this side of the Atlantic during the present war, and no more, it appears clear from the positions assumed by your Lordship, in the very note to which I have the honour to reply, that thus far they have given no reasonable ground for complaint at all. The citations to which your Lordship has done me the favour to call my attention, as drawn from American authors of admitted eminence, all contribute to establish the fact that the mere purchase, or export by a belligerent from a neutral, of arms and munitions of war does not involve any censure on either party. I do not at the present moment entertain a design to question the correctness of that doctrine. As a necessary consequence, I can scarcely perceive the fitness of associating such actions as I have shown that of the United States to be, in the same category with that of which the Government of the United States has heretofore instructed me to complain.

And here, I beg to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that it is not the mere purchase or exportation of arms and warlike stores by the agents of the insurgents in America, of which I have ever complained. There is another, and a very important element in the case, to which your Lordship does not appear to have given the consideration, which so far as any one may be permitted to judge from the concurring testimony of all writers on international law, it certainly deserves. The United States have made an actual blockade of all the ports occupied by the insurgents—a blockade the validity of which Great Britain does not dispute. They are, therefore, entitled to consider every neutral who shall attempt to enter one of them, or carry anything to the besieged, as violating his neutrality and converting himself into an enemy. Hence, it happens that every British subject engaged in the work of aiding the insurgents, by introducing contraband of war into blockaded ports, not only vio-

lates his duty to his Sovereign, but commits an exceedingly aggravated and injurious offence to the Government of the United States. To associate such proceedings with the more purchase and export of arms on behalf of the United States, as of equal significance, would seem to be most inequitable. It is a fact, that few persons in England will now be bold enough to deny, first, that vessels have been built in British ports, as well as manned by her Majesty's subjects, with the design and intent to carry on war against the United States; secondly, that other vessels owned by British subjects have been and are yet in the constant practice of departing from British ports, laden with contraband of war, and many other commodities, with the intent to break the blockade and to procrastinate the war; thirdly, that such vessels have been and are insured by British merchants in the commercial towns of this kingdom with the understanding that they are despatched for that illegal purpose. It is believed to be beyond denial that British subjects have been and continue to be enlisted in this kingdom in the service of the insurgents with the intent to make war on the United States, or to break the blockade legitimately established, and to a proportionate extent to annul its purpose. It is believed that persons high in social position and in fortune contribute their aid directly and indirectly in building and equipping ships of war, as well as other vessels, and furnishing money, as well as goods, with the hope of sustaining the insurgents in their resistance to the Government. To that end the port of Nassau, a colonial dependency of Great Britain, has been made and still continues to be the great entrepot for the storing of supplies, which are conveyed from thence with the greater facility in evading the blockade. In short, so far as the acts of these numerous and influential parties can involve them, the British people may be considered as actually carrying on war against the United States. Already, British property valued at £8,000 sterling is reported to have been captured by the vessels of the United States for attempts to violate the blockade, and property of far greater value has either been successfully introduced, or is now stored at Nassau awaiting favourable opportunities.

If it be necessary to furnish to your Lordship a clearer idea of the nature and extent of this warfare, it may perhaps be obtained by reference to the two papers which I have the honour to append to the present note. The one contains a list of screw-steamers and sailing vessels which have been, or still are, engaged in this illegal commerce, furnished to me from observation by the Consul of the United States at Liverpool. The other is a copy of a letter from the Consul in London, giving a further list of vessels, together with some particulars as to the mode by which, and the persons by whom, this hostile system is carried on. Neither of these lists can be regarded as complete, but the two are sufficiently so for the present purpose, which is to place beyond contradiction the fact of the extensive and systematic prosecution by British subjects of a policy towards the United States which is uniformly characterized by writers on international law as that of an enemy.

I am not unaware of the regret expressed in your Lordship's note, at the existence of this state of things, as well as of the readiness with which you have acquiesced in the possible application by the forces of the United States of the penalty held over the heads of the offenders in Her Majesty's Proclamation. But my present object in referring so much at large to these offences is to show the great injustice of your Lordship in proceeding to comment upon the action of the respective belligerents as if there was a semblance of similarity between them. So far as the United States are shown to be involved in censure, it is simply by the purchase and export of arms and munitions of war from a neutral; an act which your Lordship expressly points out eminent authority to my attention to prove implies no censurable act on either party. Whilst, on the other hand, it is American insurgents who find British allies to build in this kingdom, and to equip and send forth war-ships to depredate on the commerce of a friendly nation, and it is British subjects who load multitudes of British vessels with contraband of war as well as all other supplies, with the intent and aim to render null and void, so far as they can, a blockade legitimately made by a friendly nation, as well as to procrastinate and make successful a resistance in a war in which that nation is actually engaged. Surely this is a difference not unworthy of your Lordship's deliberate observation.

But your Lordship, in accounting for the admitted failure to enforce the Enlistment Law in Great Britain, has done me the honour to remind me that not long since Her Majesty's Government was itself so far made sensible of injuries of the same kind with those of which I now complain, either inflicted or threatened against Great Britain in the ports of the United States, as to have made them the subject of remonstrance through Her Majesty's Representative at Washington. With so fresh a sense of these evils before your Lordship, there will be no further cause of surprise at the earnestness with which I have followed the precedent then set. You do me the honour to recall the fact that the Enlistment Law of the United States, which preceded in its date of enactment that of Great Britain, is almost identical with it. And you further state that "the notorious evasion of its provisions during the late war waged by Great Britain and her allies against Russia," was the cause of the remonstrances to which I have already alluded. Your Lordship further remarks that "Great Britain was then, as on other occasions, assured that every effort which the Law would permit had been made to prevent such practices; that the United States' Government could only proceed upon legal evidence, the law as to which is almost, if not entirely the same as in this country, and that without such evidence no conviction could be procured."

In an earlier portion of your Lordship's note you did me favour to cite, as good authority, to me an extract of the Message of the President of the United States of the 31st December, 1855, which went to show the extent to which assistance not only had been, but might be, rendered without censure by neutrals to belligerents. Perhaps your Lordship will not deny equal weight to the very next passage in that Message, even though it should somewhat conflict with your own allegation:—

"Whatever concern may have been felt by either of the belligerent Powers lest private armed cruisers or other vessels in the service of one might be fitted out in the ports of this country to depredate on the property of the other, all such fears have proved to be utterly groundless. Our citizens have been withheld from any such act or purpose by good faith, and by respect for the law."

I forbear from quoting the text any further, because it may revive unpleasant recollections in your Lordship's, as it does in my mind. I will content myself solely with the remark that the very last thing which your Lordship would be likely to object to in the facts there stated would be the want of ability of the Government of the United States to proceed with energy

and effect in the repression of acts in violation of their Enlistment Act."

But if evidence of another kind as to its energy under that law be needed, I have only to remind your Lordship once more of the fact that on the 11th of October, 1855, Her Majesty's Representative at Washington, Mr. Crampton, addressed to the Government of the United States a note with the evidence to show that a vessel called the Maury was then fitting out at the port of New York armed to depredate on British vessels. On the 12th the Attorney-General sent by telegraph to the proper officer at New York to consult with the British Consul, and to prosecute if cause appeared. On the 13th the Collector stopped the vessel then about to sail. On the 16th the District Attorney had prepared and filed a libel of the vessel, and in the meantime ordered a thorough examination of her cargo. On the 19th the Marshal had made a full report of his examination. On the same day the complainant on whose evidence the Minister and Consul had acted, confessed himself satisfied, and requested the libel to be lifted. On the 23rd Mr. Barclay, Her Majesty's Consul at New York, published a note withdrawing every imputation made against the vessel. Thus it appears that in the brief space of four days the Government action under the Enlistment Law had been sufficiently energetic completely to satisfy the requisition of Her Majesty's Representative. If any similar action have been had since the first day that I had the honour to call your Lordship's attention to outfits of the same nature made in Great Britain, I can only say that I have not enjoyed a corresponding opportunity to express my satisfaction with the result.

The owners of the Maury were never compensated for the trouble and expense to which they were put by this process.

But the Chamber of Commerce of New York adopted a series of resolutions, two of which may serve as a sufficient comment on the remark which your Lordship has been pleased to let fall, touching the "notorious evasion" of the Enlistment Law in America at the time alluded to:—

"Resolved, that no proper amends or apology have been made to A. A. Low and Brothers, for the charge brought against them, which, if true, would have rendered them infamous; nor to the merchants of this city and country, so falsely and injuriously assailed.

"Resolved, that the merchants of New York, as part of the body of merchants of the United States, will uphold the Government in the full maintenance of the Neutrality Laws of the country; and we acknowledge and adopt, and always have regarded the acts of the United States for preserving its neutrality, as binding in honour and conscience, as well as in law; and that we denounce those who violate them as disturbers of the peace of the world, to be held in universal abhorrence."

I pray your Lordship to give one moment's attention to the manner in which the conduct imputed to Messrs. Low is stigmatised. I am sorry to confess that I have not seen the like indignation shown in this kingdom against similar charges made against distinguished parties in Liverpool, nor yet can I perceive it so forcibly expressed as I had hoped even in the tone of your Lordship's note.

I beg to assure your Lordship that it gives me no pleasure to revive the recollections of the events of that period. But inasmuch as they have been voluntarily introduced in the note which I had the honour to receive, and they seemed to me necessarily to imply an unmerited charge against the policy of the United States, I felt myself imperatively called upon to show that at least in one instance in which Her Majesty's Government made a complaint there was no failure either in the manner of construing the powers vested in the Government of the United States, or in their promptness of action under the Enlistment Law.

I pray, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

No. 19.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. ADAMS.

Foreign Office, January 24, 1863.

Sir,—It is impossible for me to leave without notice some of the statements contained in your letter of the 30th ultimo.

These statements contain or imply a grave charge against Her Majesty's Government. You speak of the "admitted fact of a violation of a statute of this kingdom intended to prevent ill-disposed persons from involving it in difficulty, by committing wanton and injurious assaults upon foreign nations with which it is at peace, of which Her Majesty's Ministers are invited to take cognizance, of which they do take cognizance so far as to prepare measures of prevention; but which, by reason of circumstances, wholly within their own control, they do not prevent in season to save the justly complaining party from serious injury. On the substantial points of the case, little room seems left open for discussion."

On the substantial points of the case, as stated by you, there is, on the contrary, great room left open for discussion.

I must ask first, what are the circumstances within the control of the Government to which you allude? Do you mean that Her Majesty's Government in construing a penal statute, or in carrying into effect the provisions of a penal statute, were to hurry at once to a decision, and to seize a ship building and fitting out at Liverpool without being satisfied by evidence that the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act had been violated in the case of such vessel? Do you mean that Her Majesty's Government were to dispense with proof, and to inflict injury upon the Queen's subjects by seizing a ship upon your mere assertion that the owners of that ship were violating the law?

If such is your meaning, I must reply that the Government of this country respect the law. They do not seize upon property to the loss and damage of its owners without proof that they are legally entitled to do so.

Perhaps your meaning is that Her Majesty's Government should have proceeded on the opinion of Mr. Collier without waiting for other authority.

But, here again I must reply that the usage of this country requires that the Government should consult their own legal advisers, and obtain the opinion of the law officers of the Crown before they proceed to enforce a penal statute.

If you mean to contend, therefore, that a nation in a state of profound peace should set aside the formalities of law, and act at once upon presumptions and surmises, I entirely differ from you. I may remind you that evidence sufficient to satisfy a court of law as to the "equipment" or "fitting out" of a vessel for warlike purposes, and of its actual destination, is not obtainable without difficulty.

If you mean that Her Majesty's Government wilfully delayed or neglected the measures by which the character of the "Alabama" could have been legally ascertained, I must give a positive and complete denial of the truth of any such assertion. The opinion of the law officers, until the receipt of which her Majesty's Government could not act, was delivered

at the Foreign Office on the 29th of July, but in the morning of that day the Alabama, under pretext of a pleasure excursion, escaped from Liverpool.

With regard to the very different circumstances of 1793 and 1794, those circumstances are recorded in history. It is notorious that M. Genet, the French Minister to the United States, fitted out privateers in the ports of the United States, that he boasted in his despatches of the captures of British vessels which those privateers had made, and that he procured a sham condemnation of those vessels captured in neutral ports. It is notorious also that he endeavoured to make the United States the basis of his operations and attempts to raise rebellions against England in Canada, and against Spain in Louisiana.

According to your own account the United States purposely delayed to give any redress to the complaints made by the British Government, of the capture of British merchant-vessels, because they felt unwilling to act on a policy of repression till they had given due notice of the construction they put upon a Treaty offensive and defensive with France, which had been quoted in defence of the depredations committed on British commerce.

It is evident that by so acting the United States' Government deliberately made themselves parties in the interval to the proceedings carried on in their own ports, and the same Government, with the sense of justice which distinguished them, made compensation afterwards for the injuries inflicted under cover and protection of their own flag, and promised to exclude French privateers "from all further asylum in their ports."

In Mr. Jefferson's letter, quoted by you, he says: "Having for particular reasons forborne to use all the means in our power for the restitution," &c. Here is the injury stated, and here are the grounds why it was permitted.

But the British Government have given no asylum to belligerent privateers bringing prizes into British ports. They have no particular reasons to allege. They have not forborne to use all the means in their power. They have used all the means they could use consistently with the law of the land; and, by no fault of theirs, those means, in a single instance, proved inefficacious. There was no want of a statute to enforce, nor of a will to enforce it; evidence was wanting, and an authority to decide upon that evidence, till it was too late. But Her Majesty's Government cannot promise the United States to act without evidence, nor to disregard the legal authority of their own law officers.

As to the other points we are nearly agreed, so far as the law of nations is concerned. But with respect to the statement in your letter that large supplies of various kinds have been sent from this country by private speculators for the use of the Confederates, I have to observe that that statement is only a repetition in detail of a part of the assertion made in my previous letter of the 19th ultimo, that both parties in the civil war have, to the extent of their wants and means, induced British subjects to violate the Queen's Proclamation of the 13th of May, 1861, which forbids her subjects from affording such supplies to either party.

It is no doubt true that a neutral may furnish, as a matter of trade, supplies of arms and warlike stores impartially to both belligerents in a war, and it was not on the ground that such acts were at variance with the law of nations that the remark was made in the former note. But the Queen having issued a proclamation forbidding her subjects to afford such supplies to either party in the civil war, Her Majesty's Government are entitled to complain of both parties for having induced Her Majesty's subjects to violate that Proclamation; and their complaint applies most to the Government of the United States, because it is by that Government that by far the greatest amount of such supplies have been ordered and procured.

I do not propose to discuss other collateral topics which have been introduced, but in explanation of my former letter I must say that I never meant to accuse you of giving any encouragement to the enlistment of British subjects in this country to serve in the civil war unhappily prevailing in the United States.

But it is notorious that large bounties have been offered and given to British subjects residing in the United States to engage in the war on the Federal side; and these British subjects, acting in defiance of the laws of their country and of the Queen's Proclamation, have been encouraged by the United States' Government so to act.

A recent and striking example of the open avowal of this course of conduct on the part of the United States' Government is to be found in the correspondence between Mr. Seward and Mr. Stuart with reference to the crew of the Sunbeam, in which, although it does not appear that any bounties were offered, Mr. Seward has treated an endeavour to induce British sailors to enlist in the belligerent service of the United States as affording no ground of complaint to her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) RUSSELL.

The regular Government of Tennessee, since Nashville fell into the hands of the enemy, has been located at Chattanooga. Governor Harris, of that State, on the 7th March, appointed General Joel A. Battle, State Treasurer, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Colonel McGregor.

The Montgomery (Ala) "Mail," of the 28th February, has advices from Arkansas to the effect that there were no Federal troops at that time in the State, except about 2,000 at Helena. Confederate General Holmes, with the divisions of General Hindman, and H. McCullough, was at Little Rock.

AN OLD ENGLISH GENTLEMAN.—Two weeks since we gave some account of the career of Mr. John Gully, who commenced life as a butcher; became a pugilist, a betting man, a member of parliament, and died, occupying the position of a country gentleman. At present we have to record the decease of Sir Tatton Sykes who died on Saturday last at the age of ninety-one years. Sir Tatton was a splendid specimen of the English country gentleman. He was descended from an old family and succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his brother. From childhood he took an absorbing interest in country sports and country pursuits. His breeding stud was the largest in England, and sixty years ago he was the owner of Telemachus, with which he won at Middlesham. Up to the age of sixty years, he was engaged in training horses for the purpose of riding them himself. He kept hounds until he was seventy years of age; and two years ago, when in his eighty-ninth year, still mounted in "pink." He regularly attended cattle fairs, and was an immense favourite with all his neighbours, rich and poor. He would often take the place of a labourer at a stone heap or slashing a fence, whilst the said labourer was sent to the castle to enjoy a jug of ale. His favourite servant Snarry, had been with him fifty-two years. He was essentially and in all respects a fine old English gentleman.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 20s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1863.

The Contest for the Mississippi.

The threat of Prince Gortschakoff, that he would leave Poland "a heap of corpses and of ashes," has justly earned for him the execration of Europe. Yet it was but a threat. In America, the programme of the most reckless of the Abolitionists is in course of actual fulfilment; not a district, nor a province, but half a continent is given up to the abomination of desolation, and Europe remains blind to the sickening spectacle and deaf to the cry of agonised humanity which rises up reproachfully from the once thriving plains of Mississippi and Louisiana. There is not an English newspaper which has not published the damning horrors of the Polish contest, and hurled its indignant impeachment at the Government which sanctions them. Yet in the South-Western States of the Confederacy there are crimes committed which dwarf into insignificance the cruellest efforts of the most ruthless oppressors of modern history, and they are palliated as legitimate operations of war, and discussed with as much calmness as if they were nothing more than the opening of a new parallel or the construction of a new battery. When the ranting Abolitionist preachers of New England threatened to make the South a howling wilderness, Northern advocates spoke of their ravings as outbursts of fanaticism which would never influence the better feelings of the North. But the folly of the preacher has become the wisdom of the statesman and the general. The war of extermination is being waged with weapons that scandalise humanity, and some of its incidents already transcend, in their malignity of purpose and their wide-spread power of evil, the worst atrocities foreshadowed by the advocacy of a Wendell Phillips and a Beecher Stowe. The North cannot conquer, but it will submerge and drown the South. It cannot face Southern batteries, or stem a Southern charge, but it will sweep every living thing off wide tracts of Southern territory by letting in a great flood of water upon smiling plains and thriving homesteads, upon town and village, on rice fields and cotton plantations, and so convert what was once the garden of the staple of the world's industry into a waste of waters. Let the reader imagine the destruction of the dykes in Holland, and the restoration to the clamorous waters upon the Lincolnshire and Norfolk coast, the thousands of acres now yielding great supplies of grain to our teeming population; and imagine this done by the hand of the invader. Let him picture to himself, that instead of a few thousand acres thus reconverted to their pristine condition of fen and marsh and noisome swamp, 5000 square miles—a territory greater than the United Kingdom—has been flooded by the cutting of the leveés in the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and the Mississippi, and he will have some faint conception of the mode in which the people of the United States, boasting its intelligence, its lofty purpose, and its higher civilization is, carrying on hostilities against a race that speaks the same language, and springs from the same stock, as Englishmen. The Mississippi in these South-Western States

has, as if by an ordinance of nature, piled up on either side of its mighty stream, great banks of mud and sand, which strengthened and assisted by the hand of man protect the surrounding country, stretching away below the level of the river, from inundation. These banks or leveés are now cut through, and the swollen river, carrying with it ruin and destruction, and death, rushes uncontrolled over millions of acres that but a year ago teemed with productions of man's industry. It accords with all we know of the brutal treatment of the black man in the North, that this same desolating tide, which has swept away farm, and crop, and livestock, has buried in its swollen waters hundreds of starved and drowning negroes. And this is the war, this is the cause which has the warm and willing sympathies of Mr. Bright.

Notwithstanding these barbarities, the Northerners make no progress. The latest mails bring tidings of severe, if not decisive reverses in the South-west, and of the continued safety of Port Hudson and Vicksburg. An unsuccessful attempt to pass the former fortress was made by Admiral Farragut on the 17th ult. After a heavy bombardment, the Federal squadron essayed to pass the batteries by night; an engagement took place, and at its close the Mississippi steam sloop was in flames in front of the batteries, and a portion of her crew captured; the Hartford, Farragut's flag-ship, drifted down the river disabled; the rest of the squadron was driven back with severe damage, with the exception of one gunboat, which must by this time have fallen into the hands of the Confederates. There is a report that simultaneously with the bombardment, a land attack was made by General Banks's forces at St. Helena, twenty-five miles in the rear of Port Hudson. But the failure of Farragut's blockade would destroy all hope of the success of the enemy, and in all probability send General Banks back in haste to look after the defences of Baton Rouge and New Orleans. It is hardly likely that Farragut will be in a position to resume the attack by water this season, so that the only hope of the Federals lies in the possibility of their forcing the passage by Vicksburg, or taking the gunboats down to Port Hudson by Lake Providence and the River. The difficulties of this circuitous route would present, we believe, as formidable an obstacle to Admiral Porter's flotilla as the batteries of Vicksburg. Meantime the crippling of the Federal forces at Port Hudson must excite considerable apprehension for the safety of New Orleans. The naval forces of the Confederacy are now by no means to be despised, even by so powerful an adversary as the United States. Admiral Farragut, with his reduced strength, will have enough to do to provide ships for the protection of New Orleans, and for the blockade of Mississippi and Galveston.

Meantime the defenders of Vicksburg still hold out, and the efforts of the Federals to starve them seem to have resulted only in discomfiture to the Federal army. General Grant's force, it is said, is at length compelled to seek higher ground for camping, if not to abandon the siege altogether, after suffering terrible losses from exposure and sickness. The passage of the Yazoo Pass has brought the Federal victories to the confluence of the Yallabusha and Tallahatche rivers, where further progress is barred by Confederate batteries. Yazoo City is not taken. There have been rumours of an evacuation of Vicksburg, and of the transfer of its garrison to Tennessee, but they are most improbable. President Davis's orders were to hold Vicksburg to the last. The condition of Grant's army must have been known to the Confederate commander. It is extremely unlikely that with this knowledge he would have abandoned a position which, once in the hands of the Federals, could be held by them with tolerable security to the end of the war. Nor is there any corresponding advantage to be derived by the transport of the troops to Middle Tennessee. There is a large Confederate force at Knoxville, another at Tallahama, a third on the banks of Duck River. General Van Dorn is on Rosencranz's flank; General Bragg in his front. General Longstreet is mustering, we are told, for an invasion

of Kentucky. But even the recovery of the whole of Tennessee would be ill compensated by the loss of Vicksburg and half the State of Mississippi.

On the sea coast of the Atlantic, and on the Rappahannock, in Virginia and South Carolina, the war still languishes. There are rumours that the bombardment of Charleston has commenced, but only rumours. It is reported at Washington that Hooker's army will soon be in motion, but few persons believe it. General Forster's army at Hilton Head is known to be in a state of demoralization which must paralyze its movements. The "irrepressible negro" is the source of controversy and quarrels between generals, commanding officers, and even privates of the same regiment. Arrests are the order of the day, and a state of insubordination verging upon open mutiny, renders the great army which landed two months ago at Hilton Head almost as formidable to the Northern Administration as to the defenders of the Palmetto City. General Beauregard is, however, fully prepared for the attack. The bulk of his army, stationed along the Charleston and Savannah railroad, is ready to start at an hour's notice for any point that may be threatened. And any mail may bring us the intelligence that the assault has been delivered. The failure at Port Hudson and the delay at Vicksburg must increase the impatience of the Northern mob, and compel the Federal commanders at any risk, and even against all hope, to strike a blow at Charleston. Strangely enough, whilst at Port Royal the negro is dividing the Federal army into two almost hostile camps, the experiment of enlisting and arming him in the Federal cause has just been tested in Florida to the great disadvantage of the North. An expedition of negroes starting inland with arms and material to light up a slave insurrection has miscarried, the negroes with their officers having been surrounded and captured. The penalty to the white officers engaged upon this kind of work is deservedly death. It could not be otherwise. But it is to be feared that if the penalty be carried out, it will be the signal for bloody reprisals on the part of the North, and that the war will speedily assume a more terrible aspect than it now wears. Every friend of humanity must desire that the concluding act of the drama may be played out at once, and that defeat, overwhelming and decisive, may attend the last effort of the North to enslave or exterminate a free people.

The Capture of the Peterhoff.

On the 27th of January the British steamer Peterhoff, Captain S. Jarman, left Falmouth for St. Thomas and Matamoras. On the 20th of February, when close to the shore of St. John's Island, and in Danish waters, she was boarded by an officer from the United States' steamer Alabama, who after examining her papers allowed her to proceed, but declined to endorse his visit and examination, alleging that he had no authority to do so. The Peterhoff then entered the harbour of St. Thomas, where she coaled, and about noon on the 25th of February proceeded on her voyage, having on board a cargo of merchandise, seven passengers, and her Majesty's mail for Matamoras. As soon as she was outside the harbour the Vanderbilt was descried coming up under steam, and that vessel, after exchanging signals with Admiral Wilkes's ship, the Wachusett, then lying in the harbour, steered for the Peterhoff, sent an officer on board her who examined her papers, and left the ship, but ordered her to be hove-to until his return. When he came back he said that the papers were not quite satisfactory, requested Captain Jarman to go on board the Vanderbilt with his papers, and added he was authorized to say that if Captain Jarman refused, an armed boat's crew would be sent to take him by force. Captain Jarman declined to leave his ship, or to allow his papers to be taken, but said that the United States' officers were welcome to visit the Peterhoff, to examine her papers, and to search her. The Federal officer then left the Peterhoff, which was shortly afterwards boarded by two armed

boats, and Lieutenant Alexander took temporary possession of the ship. Captain Jarman ordered his mate to haul down the British ensign, but Lieutenant Alexander would not allow the order to be executed. Captain Jarman, his mate, and the passengers were then sent into the cabin, and an armed sentry was placed in guard over them. At 9 p.m., Lieutenant Lewis came on board with a message from Captain Baldwin, asking Captain Jarman to give up his papers, that they might be taken on board the Vanderbilt. Captain Jarman refused to do so, but replied that they might be examined on the Peterhoff by any number of officers that Captain Baldwin might send for the purpose. Lieutenant Lewis then left, but returned in an hour with another message to Captain Jarman, to deliver up his ship's papers. The request being again refused, Lieutenant Lewis took possession of the Peterhoff in the name of the United States, and Captain Jarman and the passengers were ordered to remain confined in the cabin. The arms in possession of Captain Jarman and the passengers, consisting of some pistols and knives, were given up on demand and a threat of search in case of refusal, and sent on board the Vanderbilt. Captain Jarman then wrote to Captain Baldwin, requesting him to forward her Majesty's mails to the British Consul at St. Thomas, so that their delivery might not be unnecessarily delayed. To this letter Captain Baldwin sent a verbal reply, to the effect that he did not feel authorized to take any part of the freight out of the ship. On the 26th of February the Peterhoff made sail for Key West, in charge of the prize crew. The British ensign was still flying when she reached Mona Island and spoke the United States' steamer Alabama.

Such are the main incidents in connection with the capture of the Peterhoff, and never was the law of nations more flagrantly violated, or the flag of any nation more grossly insulted. The Peterhoff had no goods on board that were contraband of war. She was proceeding from a neutral port to a neutral port. Her papers were passed in London, Plymouth, and Falmouth. In defiance of international law she was overhauled by a Federal cruiser in Danish waters. Her papers were found satisfactory, and she was allowed to proceed on her voyage. She left St. Thomas after coaling and obtaining a certificate from the British Consul, and was again stopped by a Federal cruiser and ultimately taken possession of by a Federal prize crew. Thus nothing was wanting to stamp the transaction with illegality. The Peterhoff was not carrying goods contraband of war, she was on her way from a neutral port to a neutral port. She was overhauled in neutral waters; having been so overhauled and passed, she was a second time boarded, and ultimately seized by the express orders of Admiral Wilkes, who knew of the former examination. But insult was added to injury. The harbour of St. Thomas is more effectually blockaded by the United States than the port of Charleston, and neutral vessels are watched out of port, and boarded by signal from the United States' Flag Ship lying without the harbour. The request to the British Captain to deliver up his papers was accompanied by an insolent threat. Before the Peterhoff was formally declared to be in possession of the United States the orders of Captain Jarman were countermanded by the Federal officer, and the British Ensign was not hauled down, and was even displayed after the ship was proceeding to Key West under charge of a prize crew. Captain Jarman and the passengers were kept in close confinement, and the reasonable request that Her Majesty's mails, the detention of which might be of serious inconvenience to the commercial community, should be delivered to the British Consul at St. Thomas was not complied with, and they were taken to Key West. We need not recall the persistent attempts to induce the British captain to give up his papers and to leave his vessel, or the petty insults and annoyances to which Captain Jarman and his crew were subjected. It is sufficient to remark that it would have tried the ingenuity of the unscrupulous Wilkes to have made the proceed-

ings more insulting to the dignity and honour of this country.

There is no doubt that the Peterhoff will be released at Key West, as was the British brigantine *Magicienne*, which had been searched under analogous circumstances. The outrage is not an exceptional act of Admiral Wilkes, but in accordance with the plan laid down by the United States' Government for putting a stop to what they are pleased to call contraband trade. They have not sufficient force to blockade the Southern ports and the Southern coast; so they have hit upon the expedient of blockading those neutral ports and neutral waters that are likely to be touched at or entered by vessels professing to run the Southern blockade. British ships are to be seized, whether justifiably or not, and in such cases as the Peterhoff and *Magicienne* released after long delays by the prize courts. Is the British Government prepared to submit to this? if so, what will be the result? It may be suggested that British ships unlawfully seized will be surrendered, and compensation awarded to their owners for their detention. Granting for a moment that this will be so in every instance, the scheme of the Federal Government will not prove less fatal to British commerce. The compensation will not enable our merchants to continue their trade, for even their bills of exchange, and their letters, as well as their merchandise, if sent in British bottoms or from British ports, will not be punctually delivered; and their correspondents, in order to ensure the prompt execution of their commissions, will have to transact their business through the agency of merchants, the merchants of New York for example, whose vessels are not subject to unlawful seizure. If then our Government sanctions the policy of the Federals, we must forego our trade with our own colonies, and with those neutral ports that are incidentally the depots for, or are in the line of, the contraband trade. The Washington Government knows full well that the compensation for detention will not protect our commerce, for, as Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald pointed out in the House of Commons, litigation before Prize Courts is dilatory and vexatious, and that many months must elapse before the vessel seized on suspicion is released or condemned. But it happens that, so far from being assured that the United States Prize Courts will deal impartially with the cases submitted to their judgment, we have fair grounds for assuming that their decisions will not be based upon evidence, but will be framed to suit the views of the United States Government. In the United States constitutional freedom has been replaced by irresponsible despotism. Mr. Lincoln has been placed above all law, not only by the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, which gives him full control over the liberty of every citizen in the Federation, but by the Act of Indemnity that in advance permits him, irrespective of consequences to himself or his agents, to trample on every law and the administration of every court. It is a farce to talk about there being a vestige of judicial independence in a country where the sanctity of a court of justice is violated by the arrest of judges on the bench. This being the case with the courts for the administration of the laws affecting the well-being of the citizens, what can we expect from prize courts that are peculiarly, from their functions and constitution, subject to the influence and to the authority of the Executive? True, when cases so palpable as those of the Peterhoff and the *Magicienne* are submitted, we may be tolerably sure of a verdict in favour of the owners of the vessels seized, not upon suspicion, but because they were proceeding to or from British colonies or neutral ports which it pleases the Federal Government to blockade. But when there is the flimsiest pretext, when there is something like a colourable pretence for suspicion, we may expect that the vessels will be condemned contrary to evidence, or rather in the absence of inculpatory evidence. We do not think that the United States Prize Courts will have many opportunities for so acting, because, as we have already remarked, if our Government gives a tacit sanction to this system of seizing vessels without any pretext for so doing and

in defiance of the laws of nations, our merchants will have to abandon their commerce with our colonies and the neutral ports so blockaded by the United States.

There is another point worthy of grave consideration. Unquestionably our Government is most sincerely anxious to avoid war with the United States. We will not discuss the moot points, whether it can be altogether averted, or how long it may be postponed by that generous forbearance, by that liberal construction of international law on behalf of the Federals, which the people of the North ascribe not to our goodwill, but to our pusillanimity; but we tell the Government that by submitting to flagrant insults they ensure war and even precipitate it. Already the masses in the North, instructed by their demagogues, believe that we are craven-hearted, that we fear their power, that we are ready to suffer any wrong rather than go to war with them; and the result of this belief is that they are ripe for, and even desire, a war with England. Let us tamely suffer a few more insults to the British flag, and the cry for war with England will be too loud for the Federal Government to resist, even if it desired to maintain friendly relations with us. Accepting empty apologies for premeditated insults, avowing our determination to maintain peace at any price, even at the price of our national interests and our national honour, so far from securing peace, makes war inevitable.

Lord Palmerston at Glasgow.

Englishmen are not so vain and foolish as to think that their institutions are perfect, though they are not so bad as our Yankeeised demagogues make out. We are always grumbling and growling about abuses, and discussing reforms; and no matter how much we venerate an institution, we are more prone to expose its faults than to magnify its virtues. But let a foreigner presume to interfere,—though it must be confessed we are ourselves rather given to minding our neighbours' business,—and he at once finds himself in the position of a man who intervenes in a quarrel between husband and wife. We are indignant if a foreigner ventures to intimate that our House of Lords is not the wisest assembly upon earth, or that our House of Commons does not thoroughly represent the people, or that our trial by jury sometimes leads to a miscarriage of justice. Now Lord Palmerston is essentially an English institution. Some of us object to his policy, and sharply criticise it, but if a stranger dared to find fault with the noble Premier he would offend, not only his Lordship's political friends, but equally his political antagonists. This is, to some extent, the case with all our public men; and we remember on one occasion hearing an ultra-liberal fiercely defend Mr. Disraeli against the attacks of some German liberals. But our Premier is pre-eminently an institution on account of his long official career, of his wonderful personal popularity, and from the prevailing impression that, whatever may be his political creed, he is British to the backbone. On Monday last, when he was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, when a crowd of the magnates of the land of every shade of political opinion gave him an ovation such as no man could receive without emotion and gratification, his Lordship was right in saying, "I think, when I look around at this august and distinguished assembly, when I know how it is composed, I may, without vanity, think that the greeting which I have received to-day is an indication of personal goodwill."

Lord Palmerston is not popular because he is old, but rather that in spite of his age his intellect retains its pristine freshness, and that his mind seems as ready to receive the impressions of the hour as it was when, nearly seventy years ago, he was a student at the University of Edinburgh. The speeches he delivered on Monday are not the effusions of what is conventionally called the "old man eloquent." They are free from the dogmatism that almost invariably marks, if it does not mar, the utterances of long experience. His address to the students upon the well-worn topic of education was

animated and instructive, and distinguished by that liberality of sentiment which is so congenial to the youthful mind. He told the young men that education continued throughout life, and did not end with the college course; but he reminded them that they must not therefore neglect first opportunities, or "they would be like the crew of a ship entering upon a long voyage, who have neglected to provide sufficient means of subsistence, and who, in the middle of the storms and tempests they may encounter on their passage, will find their strength failing them and their means inadequate, in consequence of their want of foresight before they quitted the port." His Lordship, after insisting upon the paramount importance of the classics and those studies which have a special bearing upon the future career of the student, counselled the acquisition of general knowledge. "Don't be discouraged by people who say it is absurd to have a smattering of different things—a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." A little knowledge is better than no knowledge at all; learn a little of everything of which you can learn anything. It will be useful to you hereafter; though it may not be in your own line, it will be the foundation upon which you will build up as you go along through life." All this, our readers may say, is very plain and homely advice, but it is not therefore the less valuable. Lord Palmerston is too skilful as a speaker to substitute oratorical flourish for plain and everyday English and appropriate illustrations. Whenever a man becomes a favourite of the House of Commons we may be sure that he is not what the *habitués* of the platform call eloquent and that, save under very exceptional circumstances, he adopts a conversational style. Platform celebrities fail in Parliament because they insist upon being oratorical. But Lord Palmerston's installation address was by no means commonplace. His reference to religion was managed with consummate tact. He spoke of the science of astronomy, and contended that the wonders revealed by it fostered the growth of religious sentiment. He said nothing that verged on what is technically called preaching, yet what he did say would have been applauded by the Exeter Hall evangelists, endorsed by High Church Bishops, and for all we know, have found favour with the colonial Bishop who has been so strangely converted by the heathen he went forth to convert.

The after-dinner speech was sufficiently political to be interesting to an adult audience, assembled to do honour to the prime minister of the country, but yet a species of cross-bench speaking that could not offend Liberal, Conservative, or Radical. Take as an example one of the paragraphs about America. After remarking that no nation could insult us with impunity (forgetting Admiral Wilkes and the United States), and that we were on friendly terms with all the nations of the world, his Lordship added, "I advert not to those contending parties in America, who sue us like rivals who sue a fair damsel." Of course this sally was greeted with laughter, but it will not bear analysis. First of all, we must protest against the assumption that the Confederate States have ever sued for an alliance, or asked for anything from the British Government, except the recognition to which they think themselves entitled; and then, as to the United States, we were under the impression that that Federation was already in alliance with England. We have Earl Russell's word for it; and, further, that the alliance is so intimate that international law is liberally construed in favour of the Washington Government, and consequently to the detriment of the Confederate Government. However, we do not propose to discuss Lord Palmerston's political remarks; but we would rather congratulate him upon getting out of a difficulty so well. He was obliged to say something political that could not possibly offend anybody, and he could hardly avoid mentioning America. What better could he do than put the belligerents upon an exact equality, and represent them as respectively seeking our alliance? He might be unjust to one or both parties, but his words did not betray the slightest bias. Novelists, before the era of sensation stories of crime, always

introduced a flirting gentleman, who played sad havoc even with the armour-plated hearts of coquettes, by muttering sweet nothings that seemed to imply much, but which, when the gay deceiver proved untrue, could not be brought against him as implying any pledge or even hint of affection. Far be it from us to charge Lord Palmerston with political flirtation, but we need not, therefore, ignore his great talent for saying much that means nothing on all political emergencies, and for so tickling the fancy with a feather as temporarily to suspend the functions of judgment. But let it be remembered, to Lord Palmerston's honour, that though, as a politician, he sometimes uses speech to conceal thought, he never uses speech to belie his thoughts. No man who valued character and influence would be guilty of that vulgar offence which has made Mr. Seward the laughing-stock and scorn of Europe.

Long may Lord Palmerston live to wear the laurels he has so fairly earned, but at the same time we have no wish that succeeding Prime Ministers should enjoy his extraordinary personal popularity. Love is proverbially blind, and personal popularity might make the nation fatally unconscious of ministerial shortcomings.

Church Patronage.

The Lord Chancellor proposes to get rid of a part of his ecclesiastical patronage, not because he shrinks from the trouble and vexation incident thereto, but that he finds he cannot dispense it for the benefit of the Church. His Lordship deserves much credit for the introduction of a useful measure, but we must not imagine that he resigns for himself and his successors any patronage that is worth keeping. All the livings in his gift that his friends would think worth applying for, or thank him for bestowing, he retains, and what he offers to part with are the small livings—we might better term them the *starvings*—of which the incumbents, so far as this world's goods are concerned, may well envy the skilled artisan and the thriving village shopkeeper.

The association between law and divinity in the Church patronage of the Lord Chancellor is the result of our persistent conservatism. When it became necessary to have a lawyer instead of a priest to preside in the Court of Chancery, we modified the change as much as possible, and suffered the office to retain the ecclesiastical patronage, which never would have been bestowed upon it but for its connection with the Church. In the reign of Edward III. the right of the Lord Chancellor to present to all livings under twenty marks was clearly set forth; and about the time of Henry VIII. the terms of the grant were altered to meet the new currency, so that the Lord Chancellor might present to all livings under £20. The right has not lapsed with the increase of the value of the livings, and the consequence is that the Lord Chancellor, besides being the Chief Judge in Equity, the Speaker of the House of Lords, a leading member of the Cabinet, the guardian of all lunatics and idiots, and of wards in Chancery, and the patron of many of the prizes of the legal profession, has, according to the estimate of the Archbishop of York, "to find and place a fit clergyman in a parish once in every ten days." We do not deny the vast ability and extensive learning of Lord Westbury; but though he knows everything better than anybody else, it does not follow that he can discharge a variety of important functions simultaneously and beneficially. It is immaterial that he has not leisure to inquire into the moral and theological fitness of the clergymen he appoints to benefices, for that is not the duty of the patron, but of the bishop. Except with the valuable livings, the Lord Chancellor is less likely to be influenced by family and personal predilections, than is the patron of one or two livings; and, as to politics, it happily matters little whether the nominee is Liberal or Conservative; for the clergy, though taking an interest in public affairs, have the good sense not to mix up party questions with their clerical duties. The real difficulty experienced by the Lord Chancellor has been to find suitable candidates for the small livings—that is, candidates who are prepared by university training to mix with country gentry—the most exacting class in the community. A curate whose stipend does not exceed £70 per annum, must visit the best society in his parish, or his influence for good, even amongst the poor, will be considerably curtailed. Lord Westbury said in reference to this—"All men who have paid attention to the state of the Universities, and observed plainly what is going on there, have been impressed with the conviction that the Church, as a profession in

point of worldly advantage, does not offer adequate inducements for young men to enter it." Nor will any augmentation that is practicable of the incomes of Church livings induce young men who are looking to the Senate, the Bar, or India for riches and honour, to seek ordination. Yet it is not true that, compared with other professions, the Church has few prizes. There are more fat livings in the Church than large practices at the bar; but in the Church "parts and poverty" have a slight chance of advancement, and unless a young man has a valuable living coming to him on the death of an aged incumbent, he must not expect to get enough out of the Church to keep his family comfortably, especially as clergymen with particularly small incomes always have particularly large families. The rector with an income of £1,500 a-year will have a French family of two; while his curate, who does the heavy work for £100 a-year, has a lady-like wife, and at least six thriving children. Bishoprics, deaneries, and cathedral stalls are reserved for those who are related to Mr. Bright's "Norman usurpers." Occasionally a clergyman who does not give much heed to clerical business, and who becomes eminent in science, or wins the favour of a Prime Minister, stands a chance of a deanery at home, or a Bishopric in the Colonies. We do not find fault with the system, for it works well, and we have no desire to see the Church made the arena for the absorbing ambition that carries a man from obscurity to fame. The consequence of University men not being attracted to the Church is the admission of "literate"—that is, of candidates who are not members of a University. The scholarship of literates is tested by the examining chaplain of the bishop, and very little Latin and less Greek will pass muster. We have heard of an examining chaplain who, to save himself trouble, used to require all candidates who appeared before him to translate the three creeds into Greek; and his plan becoming known, conscientious tutors could cram young men for the worthy chaplain's Greek examination in a few days, though they were before that entirely ignorant of the Greek language. But if the examination of literates was severe or searching that class of candidates would be practically excluded from the ministry. It is not impossible that the increase of the value of benefices may induce a large number of University men to take orders, though not the men who go out in honours.

Lord Westbury's plan is equally simple and ingenious. He proposes to sell the advowsons to 320 of the Lord Chancellor's small livings, and with the money so obtained to increase the value of those livings. The purchasers will make as good patrons as the Lord Chancellor, and most likely better, because they will probably be resident landed proprietors, who will take a pride and interest in the proper maintenance of their parish Church and Schools, whilst the Lord Chancellor cannot give any heed to the small livings, and the larger ones that he retains do not require such care. He proposes to sell that which is of no value to him to those who will value the right of presentation, and on terms that will attract purchasers; and there are provisions in the Bill which we hope in committee will be made as stringent as possible, to prevent the advowsons being purchased by non-resident speculators. In the House of Lords the measure has met with unanimous approval, and it is, indeed, difficult to imagine any objection to a plan by which the Church is enriched and benefited, and by which no one loses.

The voluntary system—that is, the maintenance and increase of unendowed churches—works very well in towns where eloquent or strong preaching brings in a revenue from pew rents; but it will not do in country districts, where the majority are poor people and cannot contribute to the expenses of public worship. The matter, too, is urgent. There is too much ground for saying that the Church has lost the working population of the towns, though her loss has not been a gain to dissent; and unless some changes are made the Church will lose her hold over the peasantry. Such a result would be deplorable, and the evil can only be averted by having efficient ministers, and the churches and schools supported and upheld by the laity. There is in the Church of England no fear of the patron exercising an undue influence over the minister he presents. When once a clergyman is inducted into an incumbency he is wholly independent of the patron who gave him his place. The patron can appoint an incumbent, but he has no more power to remove him than the poorest parishioner.

English Universities.

(Continued from No. 44.)

Not many weeks ago the columns of this journal contained a few remarks on the Church of England, in which her general system and present condition, power, and responsibilities were briefly discussed, and the conclusion arrived at was that, in spite

of many apparent anomalies both in doctrine and discipline, she was better adapted to meet the sentiments and wants of the English people than any scheme that optimism could devise, and on the whole worked better than any other ecclesiastical system on earth. As the bulk of the clergy of the Church of England is drawn from the English Universities, it is a matter of considerable importance that the mutual influence of these two institutions and their mutual relations should be understood, and no complete idea can be conceived of the latter institution until some light has been thrown on this portion of the subject. Now, we do not suppose that it is incumbent upon us to propound a long argument for the purpose of demonstrating that the Universities of England should have an established form of religion. Perhaps it will be sufficient, in view of the fact that at the present moment we are not composing polemical essays against Radicals or Dissenters, but simply endeavouring to furnish information, to appeal to the Constitution of our country, to ask that the analogy between the system of government and that of the Universities which has already been pointed out may be again carefully observed, and to state our opinion that all the arguments for and against the union of Church and State, and the maintenance of a State religion, are strictly applicable to the case of the English Universities. But there is a step beyond this: it has been shown that the system of education pursued at Oxford and Cambridge aims at something more than mere instruction in literature and science, and that it attempts, with success, to mould the minds, sentiments, and characters of those who are subject to its influence. In every Christian country, religion, in its broadest meaning, must inevitably be an ingredient in that process. The admission of the ingredient must of necessity be conditioned on the uniformity of its character; and that uniformity can only be preserved by the exclusion from office and power of those who are not professed adherents of the established form. Indeed, had such a limit as this been placed to the admixture of the ecclesiastical element, perhaps no valid objection could have been raised; but these bounds have been exceeded, and it is impossible to ignore, and idle to neglect, the differences already existing, and the agitations that are assuming no contemptible proportions.

The colleges (and as heretofore, so now in descending to details, we confine our attention to the University of Cambridge) in their infant state, and as they first left the hands of their respective founders, bore, more or less, the monastic stamp. Some, of course, as for instance Trinity College, may be said to have superseded monasticism; but in England, at least, revolutions do not obliterate the past, and the new foundations imbibed the spirit and imitated the usages of their venerable predecessors. Hence the clerical element has always strongly predominated, or, to use plain language, the proportion of clergy to laity among the Fellows of the colleges and the ruling bodies has been and is overwhelming, while the clergy has cherished fondly the spirit of conservatism, common doubtless to all mankind, but which may be, and in this case is, far too zealous in the retention of powers and privileges to which a long and continuous possession gives a specious but not indefeasible title.

Previous to the Act of Parliament of the year 1856, for the reform of the Universities, it was impossible for a Nonconformist to be a member of the University of Cambridge. Undoubtedly, if any person in whose bosom the desire of distinctions and emoluments had prevailed over the ordinary dictates of honour and morality, chose to swallow an oath or to evade by a dexterous artifice the mere material act of kissing the Testament, he might have found a precedent for so doing. An American individual had indeed managed to give in his adhesion to the Established Church at the period of his admission to the University, and no doubt conscientiously; but when the degree of Bachelor of Arts beamed upon him from one side, and the terrible oath of allegiance to the Queen glared at him from the other, he, smiling in return to the one, yet not defying the frown of the other (for a Yankee is more cunning than bold) outmanœuvred honour, integrity, and good faith, passed the Testament unknissed, and became a "Bachelor," "*Memento turbinis exit Marcus Dima*." On his return, "loaded with dishonour," like Butler from New Orleans, he published an account of his "Five years' residence in an English University," proclaimed his own infamy to the people of New York, and expressed his admiring wonder that his friends at Cambridge abated somewhat of their ancient respect for him after the discovery of the "passage of the book." But, after all, he was a New Englander, and perhaps never quite understood the meaning of *Punica Fides*. However, as we imagine that the Nonconformist, as a rule, would not be so compliant, he was debarred from the advantages of an University education. It is no longer so. Now he may obtain all the honours which the Senate House can confer. He may find his name placed at the top of the list for excellence in mathematics or classics, he may be a Bachelor of Arts; but that is the boundary of his progress. He cannot be a Master of Arts, for then he would be a member of the Senate, or Lower House of Assembly—the great legislative body of the University. But this is not all. In the ordinary course, the successful candidate for the highest honours in mathematics or classics will be elected a Fellow of his college, the advantages of which position we have endeavoured before to explain. The Nonconformist may be so elected, but then, before inauguration he must declare that he is "a bona-fide member of the Church of England." This he cannot do, and consequently he is debarred from the material benefits usually attached to scientific or literary success.

By an odd coincidence, it has happened twice since the Act of 1855, that a Nonconformist has attained the highest honours in

the University, but has been debarred from its best fruits, and therefore the hardship of the case has been put before the English public in a prominent and tangible form. Indeed, it has excited so much attention, that the question of a repeal of the declaration has found its way into the addresses of candidates for Parliament, and has formed a subject of discussion even on the "hustings." We sympathize deeply with those gentlemen whose high attainments cannot be duly rewarded; but individual instances of hardship must not be weighed against the general interest, and we are quite unshaken in our opinion that it would be most injurious to dispense with the declaration, and that the evils consequent upon such dispensation, great and unavoidable as they assuredly would be, far counterbalance the seeming injustice which the present rule creates. But the colleges have gone a step further than this; they have not only taken care that all Fellows shall professedly be members of the Church of England, but they have provided that a very large number of them shall be in Holy Orders. But let us examine a few facts on this point. There are altogether 385 Fellows of colleges in the University of Cambridge. Of these, Trinity College has 60, St. John's College 56, and Emmanuel College 12; so that these three colleges have between them 128 Fellows—exactly one-third of the whole number. Now, the law of these colleges is this, that every Fellow shall enter Holy Orders within seven years from taking the degree of Master of Arts, or vacate his Fellowship. Supposing, then, that, on the average, the Fellows are elected two years before they become Master of Arts, it follows that a layman at these three colleges obtains a Fellowship for only nine years, while a clergyman remains a Fellow for life. It also follows that, as a rule, every Fellow who is more than thirty-three years of age is in Holy Orders, and as the members of a body above that age must be the real rulers, it follows that these three colleges are governed entirely by clergymen. Again, the Fellows who intend to remain laymen must leave Cambridge to cultivate some profession, and therefore are non-residents; hence it again follows that the lay influence in these three colleges is at zero. Matrimony also avoids a fellowship; consequently these three societies may be fairly set down, not merely as ecclesiastical but even as monastic institutions, so far as the ruling members and beneficiaries are concerned. The fourteen remaining colleges place no such sweeping restriction on the tenure of their Fellowships, but they are not entirely free from the clerical bias; for, with two or three exceptions, they stipulate that a certain proportion—about one-third—of the Fellows shall be in Holy Orders. As there is not the slightest doubt that in the absence of such a rule the clerical Fellows will even exceed that proportion, we can only attribute the proviso to the extreme caution of the clergy and the graceful but easy concession of the lay brethren. It is enough to state that seventeen colleges have about 330 "livings" in England in their gift, and that on a vacancy every Fellow is entitled to have the refusal of the empty rectory or vicarage before a stranger is appointed, for our readers at once to perceive that the inducements to take Holy Orders are quite sufficient, independently of any of the above regulations. Of course there is no community of Church patronage between the several colleges, but each possesses its own list of incumbencies. If an example be required to justify this conclusion, we have only to name King's College, which has never employed any such restrictions, but which, with the large number of nearly sixty Fellows, and not an excessive Church patronage, has never found an inability on the part of the clerical to maintain its own against the lay element. Now, we do not fear the accusation of hostility to the clergy, because we are not only innocent, but incapable of such a jealousy; but we are strongly of opinion that a great opportunity has been lost. Since the Act of 1856, the three colleges, Trinity, St. John's, and Emmanuel, have been in a position to abrogate their restrictive regulations. They have declined to do so. The cases in which Trinity has relaxed the rule may be important, but must be too rare to affect the general question. We think that the remaining societies have acted in a wiser and more enlightened spirit: for, after all, on what do the clergy ground their claim to this superior advantage? It is urged that the primary principle of these foundations is ecclesiastical, we refer to the foundation of King's, the work of Henry VI., and ask whether that is likely to be less imbued with the religious spirit than the work of Henry VIII.; and yet the restriction has not existed at King's for some centuries, if it ever practically existed at all. What, too, are we to say of the other thirteen societies who have seen the injustice of such a law? If it be urged that vacancies are quickly created by the rule, then we say that all the Fellowships should be avoided at the fixed time, and that laymen and clergymen should be placed on an equal footing. Once more, if it be said that the clergy must remain Fellows to fill the Church livings as they fall, we say that this difficulty could be easily met by the retention of those claims after the avoidance of the Fellowship. But our business is not to make laws, but to explain them; yet we have felt it necessary to make these remarks, not only in justice to our own sentiments, but also because they may tend to enlighten the uninitiated upon the whole system of college Fellowships.

Whatever may be our judgment on these points, there can be no doubt that these enormous advantages conceded to the clergy entail commensurate responsibilities. We have seen how highly the Church is favoured in her individual members, we have also seen how vast an amount of Church patronage is entrusted to these colleges. There is a grand *mutuality* in this. The University receives much from the Church, and gives much to the Church; yet that which the former receives by way of trust is greater than that of which she has the beneficial interest.

From all that has been said, is it not a just conclusion to affirm that the University is bound to educate specially for the Church? It is an axiom, and we have in a former article enunciated it, that the University does not pretend, and ought not, to educate for particular professions. She does not turn out politicians, lawyers, or physicians ready-made, but educates men so that they may be convertible into professors of these various arts. But is there not an exception to this rule? and is it not a logical sequence to all we have said, that she has taken upon herself to make men priests? Nay, she pretends to do it. Two hundred men in every year go direct from the University of Cambridge to submit themselves to the "imposition of hands." But when it is asked whether this duty which is imposed upon the great Mistress of "Learning and Religious Education" is fully discharged, it would assuredly be rash to answer in the affirmative. For what is the fact? After taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the student has before him, if he wishes to take Holy Orders, an examination in theology, embracing the historical books of the Old Testament, the Greek Testament, the articles of religion, the Liturgy of the Church of England, the ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries, and the history of the English Reformation. The attendance of a course of lectures delivered by a Professor of Divinity is a condition precedent to undergoing the examination. The difficulty of an ordeal of this kind is always matter of controversy. Granted a knowledge of Greek, we think, from a very considerable experience in that line, that it is by no means an arduous task to satisfy the examiners in this theological test; but of one thing we are sure, that a candidate may pass with flying colours and yet be thoroughly ignorant of the first principles of theology. Yet our blame must not be without consideration. All our priests cannot be Hookers, and even if they could, a difficult examination would not secure us from an abundance of ignorance. Stoutly as we maintain that a clergyman is bound to know his profession, and must be wise as well as good, and though we cannot help feeling that an incompetent and unlearned priest stands much in the position of a barrister who looks for business which he knows he is unable to transact, yet we are aware that we must be content with much less. Nevertheless, in an age of emulous wisdom and unceasing inquiry, of knowledge critical and scientific, accumulated with amazing rapidity, our desires refuse to be limited by our expectations. In this emergency we instinctively turn to our Universities, and we ask one plain question: Do the colleges provide any theological instruction to their students, or do they not? We know that one college does: we are not sure that more than one does. We do not wish to drive students to receive such teaching: nay, we do not suppose that any but those who intend hereafter to take orders will receive it. But surely those will. It cannot be said that men do not know that they are destined for the Church. Such a statement is incredible. Moreover, with such an abundance of ordained Fellows, it cannot be difficult to find men able and willing to teach, and we are satisfied that if the week-day be too fully employed, and this we doubt, yet a Divinity lecture would be a relief to the *ennui* inseparable from a Sunday at Cambridge.

If at the close of a former article we found it necessary to anticipate the charge of undue partiality to the University system, we have now been compelled to point out imperfections, and if, at first sight, these appear to be details too minute to interest the stranger, yet, on closer investigation, they will be seen to bear closely on the questions that agitate the theological and Christian world. All wise men desire that the Church in this crisis should do her duty, not stifling inquiry with a narrow and vain bigotry, but so directing her course as to be a light to lead, and not a cloud to follow, the wisdom of the age. Her priests may be great classical scholars or great mathematicians; they must be theologians, and if the Universities will not supply the want, we know not in what direction the Church is to seek assistance.

(To be continued.)

Reviews.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Continued from last week.)

THE PROGRESS OF SECTIONALISM.

President Polk's inaugural address was bellicose in its tone, as regarded Oregon and Texas; and strongly deprecated any revival of quarrels on the subject of slavery, disclaiming in the most distinct manner any right

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties, with an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.). The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Cluskey. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1859. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgment of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1856; from Gale and Saxon's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the letters of Pacificus and Helvidius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

of interference with the domestic institutions of the States, and denouncing the agitation of the Abolitionists as a species of moral treason against the Union. It expressed, moreover, a decided disapproval of national banks and protective tariffs.

Texas accepted the proposal of annexation on the 4th of July, 1845; and General Taylor was ordered to protect her frontier; and on the 28th of January, 1846, the American army took up its position opposite Matamoras. On the 11th of May the President announced to Congress that the Mexicans had invaded the territory of the United States, and asked for the means of defence. Ten millions of dollars were voted by immense majorities; but on the preamble of the Act declaring war, a debate took place; many of the Whigs contending that the war had been commenced by the President, in violation of the Constitution. The Act passed, however, and the war was decidedly popular. During its progress discussions took place as to the admission or exclusion of slavery in territories that might be acquired from Mexico; and to one of the Appropriation Bills the House attached a rider, known from its author's name as the Wilmot Proviso, forbidding slavery in such territory. This proviso was rejected by the Senate, and the House yielded the point. The Whigs, as a party, were throughout hostile to the annexation, and to the war which followed it; and thus became more closely than ever identified with the sectionalism of New England; which, seeing that the war was likely to end in an increase of Southern territory, and to redress the balance of power between the two sections, was from first to last bitterly opposed to the policy of the Administration. By thus embittering sectional hostility, and weakening the general influence of the party which, as containing all the statesmen who had weight and authority with the North, and as being led by a man of Southern birth and of the highest political standing, might have been able to control that antagonism of interests and feelings, which arrayed North and South against one another, there can be little doubt that the effects of the annexation of Texas ultimately contributed in no small degree to produce the disruption of the Union.

The other acts of Mr. Polk's Presidency which deserve notice, were the repeal of the Act of 1842, which had abolished the sub-treasury, the passage of a non-protective tariff—carried only by a single vote in the Senate, and the settlement of the Oregon question, by a compromise on the 49th parallel of latitude. The President was charged with having in this case violated the promises which had helped to bring him into power; the fact being, apparently, that he had done what all politicians are too prone to do in countries where the popular will is law, and talked, while out of office, much more violently than he was prepared to act, when the terrible responsibilities of Government, and the choice between peace and war, were actually in his hands. However, there can be little doubt that the people were disappointed in him; and that this disappointment helped to weaken his party, and secure the next election to the Whigs. Mr. Polk obstinately asserted the principles of the Democratic party in regard to internal improvements, and vetoed more than one bill of that character sent up by Congress. After a long contest, slavery was finally excluded from the Oregon territory by the bill for its organization passed in 1848. The Presidential contest of that year was a keen one. A personal quarrel had divided the democracy of New York between the "Hunkers" and "Barnburners." The former adhered to Mr. Cass, the candidate chosen by the Democratic Convention; the latter, uniting with the Abolitionists, initiated the Free soil or Republican party, which nominated Martin Van Buren. General Taylor, though he declined to be considered as a party man, accepted the nomination of the Whigs. The electoral vote stood—Taylor 167, Cass 125; the popular vote was—Taylor 1,360,572; Cass 1,219,962; Van Buren 291,342; showing a very rapid increase in the strength of the enemies of the Union, who at the last election had only polled 64,000 votes.

General Taylor, in his inaugural address, expressed himself in favour of protection and of internal improvements. The disorganization caused by sectionalism was seen in the attempt to choose a Speaker of the House of Representatives. Neither party could concentrate its strength—many Northern Democrats opposing the Democratic candidate as too favourable to slavery, while some Southern Whigs refused to vote for the Whig nominee because he would not pledge himself distinctly against the Wilmot proviso. It was in vain that the President advised Congress to let sectional topics alone; since that time Congress has scarcely been occupied with anything else.

The Whigs were unfortunate in the health of their Presidents, both of whom—alone among those who have attained that rank—died in office. General

Harrison had died a month after his accession; General Taylor, inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1849, died on the 9th of July, 1850. Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, succeeded him; but the change, occurring at a critical period in the history of American parties, could not but be thought ominous. General Taylor's independence of party ties, and his position as at once a great Southern proprietor, and the President elected by the Whig party might have enabled him to exercise a wholesome influence in mitigating the angry tone of the discussion which had just arisen; and his authority might have secured a better reception and a more lasting effect for the "compromises of 1850," the debate on which was interrupted by the news of his death.

These compromises were advocated by the leading statesmen of both parties; but their original author was Henry Clay, and they were his last achievement in the cause to which his life had been devoted—the maintenance of the Union. They were justly censured by Southern Senators as being, under the name of a compromise, little else than a series of concessions to the fanaticism of New England; but they were, nevertheless, thought likely to postpone, if not to avert, a desperate sectional conflict, and accordingly received the support of all the most moderate men on either side. They arose out of the endeavour of the North to exclude slavery from the territory acquired from Mexico; that is, practically, to shut out the Southerners, by whose blood that territory had been won, from the whole of the vast regions lying westward of the Louisiana purchase; from the Northern part of which they had been already excluded by the Missouri compromise. This endeavour was, of course, indignantly resisted by the South; the North persisted; and when the contest seemed likely to endanger the Union, Mr. Clay came forward with his scheme of compromise. The substance of his proposals was embodied in a report by the Committee of the Senate, to the following effect:—

1. When new States formed out of Texas present themselves, it shall be the duty of Congress to admit them.
2. The immediate admission of California, with the boundaries which she has proposed.
3. The establishment of territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico, without the Wilmot proviso.
4. The excision from Texas of all New Mexico, rendering therefor a pecuniary equivalent; and the incorporation of this section in the bill for the admission of California, and the organization of a territorial Government for Utah and New Mexico.
5. The enactment of a law for the effectual rendition of fugitive slaves escaping into the Free States.
6. No interference with slavery in the District of Columbia, but the slave trade therein should be abolished under heavy penalties.

The first proposal was intended to exclude the pretensions of the North to refuse admission to new States formed out of Texas on the ground of their legalising slavery. As it was then thought that before long that vast territory would be desirous of subdividing into several distinct States, this seemed the only means of preventing a renewal of the Missouri quarrel under much more dangerous circumstances. This could not be termed in any sense a concession to the South, unless the admission of citizens of one section to equal privileges in the common territory of the Union with those of the other could be called a concession. If, indeed, it were possible to make out a case in favour of the pretensions of the Abolitionists to forbid the formation of new Slave States, we might consider the waiver of that pretension in regard to the territories of Texas as a concession. But it is hardly possible for any honest man to argue that the North had any more right to refuse admission to a new State with Southern institutions, than the South would have had to exclude a claimant because its laws conformed to those of New England or Illinois. It must be remembered, too, that while the South was virtually excluded by the Missouri compromise from the Northern territories, the North was at perfect liberty, if it could, to form Free States south of the line of that compromise; as was actually done in the case of California. The same remark applies to the organization of the territories of Utah and New Mexico without the Wilmot proviso; which simply placed Northern and Southern citizens on an equal footing in those territories. The clause admitting California was of course a simple concession to the free-soil party; as was the last provision, forbidding the sale of slaves within the district of Columbia, where hitherto North and South had met on equal terms, each preserving a right to its own customs and its own property. It may be said that slavery being in itself a wrong and unnatural institution, the territories ought to be preserved from it by law; and, if they had been the dependencies of a single Sovereign Power, the argument might be a perfectly sound one. But it was a necessary consequence of the Union of free and slave States in one Confederacy, that freedom and slavery should be equal before Federal law; and if the Northern States were not prepared to concede this equality, their remedy lay not in a violation of the Federal compact, but in a dissolution of partnership.

The only provision which seems at first sight to bear the appearance of a concession to the South was that for the more effectual rendition of fugitive slaves. This was a measure peculiarly obnoxious to Northern feeling, and of little practical value to the South. It was demanded as the redress not of a grievance, but of an insult. The Federal Constitution provided that fugitives from service should be given up; and this was justly held to be a formal recognition of the right of the slaveowner. The Northern States had in many instances violated and set at naught this law; and had done so in a manner insulting to the institutions and offensive to the pride of the South. There could be no question that they had wronged their sister States by this breach of contract; there could be no question of the propriety of enforcing their fulfilment of their pledges. They might be entitled to annul the compact altogether, but not, while maintaining it, to evade the obligations which it imposed upon them; and the Act which sought to compel them to obey the Constitution could hardly be regarded as sectional concession.

The bills embodying these compromises were all carried by large majorities; both parties, in their preparations for the Presidential campaign of 1852, formally adopted and approved them. But the North, though it had gained far more than it had a right to claim, was enraged that its invasion of the equal right of the South had not attained a further success; and the result was fatal to the Whig party, which "died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law." The Whig candidate, General Scott, received only 42 electoral votes out of 396. The candidate of the Free Soil party withdrew from him 157,000 primary votes, and the Whigs polled only 1,383,000 to 1,585,000 for Mr. Pierce, the choice of the Democrats.

The way in which that gentleman came to be nominated affords a curious illustration of the working of American party organisation.

Originally, the candidates of each party for the Presidency were nominated by "caucuses," or irregular meetings of members of Congress, and sometimes by similar meetings of the Legislatures of New York and Virginia, and were thus the choice of the active public men of the party. But this practice became extremely unpopular with the multitude, as savouring too much of aristocratic usurpation, and the practice was adopted in its place of sending up delegates to a Convention of the party, which was allowed to select its candidate; each State having a number of votes proportionate to its votes in the Electoral College. The only choice practically left to the people was between the nominees of the two parties. The rule finally adopted in these Conventions was to require a vote of two-thirds for the selection of a candidate; and the result of this requirement has been that the real leaders of the party, being almost always obnoxious to some considerable number of the wirepullers and electioneers who formed the convention, could rarely be its candidates. Henry Clay was only once the selected candidate of the Whigs, who on other occasions put forward men like Harrison and Taylor, comparatively little known in political life. In 1852 there was the greatest difficulty in choosing a Democratic candidate. Neither Cass, Buchanan, Douglas, nor Masey could concentrate a sufficient vote to secure election. It was not till the 35th ballot that the name of Mr. Pierce was mentioned; and he then received only fifteen votes. On the 48th he received fifty-five, and on the 49th 283 out of 288. And thus a man previously almost unknown to his countrymen, and quite unknown to the world outside, was selected as the Democratic champion, and was ultimately elected President of the United States.

(To be continued.)

FEDERAL BASTILES.*

The ready submission of the people of the United States to an unmitigated despotism is not accounted for by the passion for empire, or by the belief that by investing the Executive with supreme power the Union may be restored. A people who can tolerate boastful projects for setting aside the Mississippi, might perhaps suppose that by giving Mr. Lincoln authority to call upon the whole male population capable of bearing arms to enter his service, by giving him a right to issue letters of marque so as to endow him with full naval as well as military control, and by placing at his disposal a credit for £180,000,000 sterling, the Southerners could be exterminated, and the fruitful lands of the South become the spoil of the conquerors. But unless we adopt the theory of national madness, it is inexplicable that the Northerners should have resigned without a sigh their personal freedom, for it cannot help the armies of the United States that Mr. Lincoln is privi-

* Fourteen Months in American Bastiles. Reprinted from the Baltimore Edition. [London. H. F. Mackintosh, 11, Crane Court.]

leged to imprison any citizen he pleases without trial, and that he is encouraged to be tyrannical by an act of Congress indemnifying him and his subordinates for any offences they may commit. But the conduct of the people is not so strange as the conduct of the Government of the United States. We cannot understand the exceeding barbarity of the Federal officials. We know it is prompted by New England, and that the Lincolnites are but the poor tools of the faction that ceases not to clamour for the bloodshed that simultaneously gratifies their malignity and fills their pockets. But the New Englander does not usually suffer any passion to interfere with his gains, or to frustrate the object he has in view, and hitherto he has managed to make fanaticism profitable. From his own point of view it was a stupid blunder to permit the outrages of the Federal soldiery, to sanction the shameful policy of Pope, Hunter, and Mitchell, and not to award swift punishment to Butler, Turchin, and McNeil for their execrable atrocities. But yet more extraordinary is the treatment of the so-called Border States now under the military control of the United States. We might have supposed that in their case, at all events, a policy of conciliation would have been pursued, but we find instead of conciliation, wanton exasperation. Grant that Mr. Lincoln found it necessary to put down the legislature of Maryland, and to imprison Marylanders without lawful warrant or trial, it is not less extraordinary that he should have subjected the men so arrested to treatment that hardly has a parallel even in Mr. Gladstone's eloquent description of the sufferings of the political prisoners in the dungeons of Naples. We presume Europe will not be less disgusted with the cruelty of the Lincolnites than it was with the cruelty of the Bourbons.

Mr. F. K. Howard, the author of "Fourteen Months in American Bastiles," is a citizen of Baltimore, and, from his family connections and other circumstances, occupies a high and honourable social position. On the 13th of September, 1861, soon after midnight, Mr. Howard was roused from his sleep, and a person obtained admission into his house under pretence of having to deliver a private message from a personal friend. Mr. Howard was immediately informed that he was arrested according to the instructions of Mr. Seward; and as the person was accompanied by a band of men armed with revolvers, resistance was not attempted. The house was searched; and while this was going on, Mrs. Howard was shut up in the library, and not allowed to go to her children's room. Mr. Howard was dragged off before the gang left the house, and the wife was not even allowed to send for her father or brother; but of course the Lincolnites would not miss an opportunity of insulting women and frightening children. The only excuse for this outrage was, that Mr. Howard, as one of the editors of the *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, had contended that the conquest of the South was impossible, that the Union was dissolved if not by secession, at all events by the unconstitutional proceedings of Mr. Lincoln, and that in such case the people of Maryland had the right to decide their own destiny for themselves. But it is not the gross tyranny of arresting Mr. Howard and his compatriots—for at the same time with him were arrested most of the members of the Legislature from Baltimore, Mr. Brown, the Mayor of that city, and Mr. May, a representative in Congress—that we are now concerned with, but the barbarity that was called into requisition to make tyranny more than usually galling and odious.

At 2 o'clock in the morning Mr. Howard found himself at Fort M'Henry, together with fourteen of his friends, "all gentlemen of high social position, and of unimpeachable character; and each of them had been arrested solely on account of his political opinions, no definite charge having been then, or afterwards, preferred against him." Mr. Howard, with three others, was put into a small room, the furniture of which consisted of four chairs, a rickety bedstead, and a filthy apology for a bed, and a mattress. The prisoners, who meanwhile were not allowed to communicate with their friends, were removed from Fort M'Henry, and arrived at Fortress Monroe on the evening of the 14th of September. Here four small rooms were assigned to the fifteen prisoners, two of which were simply vaulted chambers of rough stone white-washed. All kinds of insults were offered them by the direction of General Wool, the commandant, and they were not allowed to leave their casemates for a single instant "for any purpose whatever." At the end of three days the guard closed the window shutters and the Venetian doors, thus making the confinement almost intolerable. Mr. S. T. Wallis addressed the following remonstrance to Captain Davis, the Provost-Marshal, on behalf of the prisoners:—

Sir,—The Sergeant who has charge of my fellow prisoners and myself has just closed the blinds of our front windows and doors, excluding us from the sight of passing objects, shutting out, to a great extent, the light by which we read, and hindering the circulation of the air through our apart-

ments. These last are, at best, damp and unwholesome, and to-day, particularly, in the existing state of the atmosphere, are extremely unpleasant and uncomfortable—so much so, that we have been compelled to build a fire for our mere protection from illness. Some of our number are old men; others in delicate health; and the restraint which excludes us from air and exercise is painful enough without this new annoyance, which the Sergeant informs us he has no right to forego. You are aware of the disgusting necessities to which we are subjected, in a particular of which we spoke to you personally, and you will, of course, know how much this new obstruction must add to our discomfort. I am requested by my companions simply to call your attention to the matter.

The only reply to this was placing bars across the shutters, and padlocking the Venetian doors, and so closing them permanently.

On the 25th of September the prisoners were removed to Fort La Fayette, but the change did not better their condition. Some of them were placed in dark and damp casemates, and others in gun batteries which could not be warmed. The beds were arranged between the guns, and consisted of an iron bedstead, a bag of straw, and a shoddy blanket. Still worse was the condition of the sailors who had been taken whilst running the blockade. "These men had neither beds nor blankets, and were all, or nearly all, in irons. Their situation was wretched in the extreme." The food of the political prisoners—served in tin plates and tin cups—consisted of fat pork and beef of indifferent quality only half cooked; of a muddy liquid, called coffee, of which the predominating flavour was burnt beans and foul water; and soup, of which the only palatable thing was a few grains of rice that could sometimes be fished out of each can. Mr. Howard says, "Over and over again have I seen gentlemen, who had been always accustomed to all the comforts of life, forced to turn away with loathing from the miserable food thus provided for them." Those who could afford it were allowed to board with the Sergeant, who furnished two plain meals daily for a dollar a day. The Yankees were not above making a little profit out of their prisoners, either by fair means or foul. Lieutenant Wood, the commandant, seized some cases of spirits on the plea that the prisoners were responsible for the drunkenness of the soldiers, and when the prisoners left Fortress Monroe the cases of spirits were not forthcoming. Lieutenant Wood also undertook the washing for the prisoners, and charged enormous prices for the work, paying himself out of the money he took from them when they were delivered into his custody.

But Lieutenant Wood was not the only person who made money out of the prisoners. Some New York politicians (!) were allowed to enter the fort, and amongst them was Mr. W. H. Ludlow, who could come when he liked, and see whom he pleased. This individual represented that he had great influence at Washington, and took fees for procuring the release of prisoners. "What he received altogether (says Mr. Howard) I do not know; but I do know that he received two retaining fees, namely, \$100 from one gentleman, and \$150 from another. From the latter he had a promise of a contingent fee of \$1,000. I do not believe he rendered any service to his clients, both of whom were taken to Fort Warren, and exchanged or released nearly four months afterwards." Mr. Seward ultimately repudiated Mr. W. H. Ludlow's proceedings, but this was a mere dodge, for a week or two after the repudiation Mr. Ludlow was made a major, and appointed a member of General Dix's staff at Baltimore.

On the 30th October, Mr. Howard and his companions were taken from Fort La Fayette, and conveyed to Fort Warren, on the steamer *State of Maine*, which was in a filthy condition, and so crowded as to be in danger of sinking; "the officers of the boat admitted that the vessel was then utterly unseaworthy, and that if a moderate gale should catch us at sea, the chances were largely in favour of our going to the bottom." Pork fat, crackers, and coffee "in dirty looking horse buckets," was the fare provided. Some of the gentlemen were better off, owing to the care of Mrs. Gelston, a lady who had done what she could to help the prisoners in Fort La Fayette, and hearing that they were leaving, had sent them a basket of provisions. For a full description of the privations of the voyage, we must refer to the narrative itself, as well as for the treatment received whilst in Fort Warren. Some of the prisoners were liberated on giving a parole not to aid and comfort the enemies in hostility against the United States; but others refused to make any terms, insisting that "as they had been arbitrarily imprisoned, they would not recognise the right which Mr. Lincoln claimed, to impose upon them any conditions." And heroically was this resolution kept. Mr. Charles Howard, the father of our author, and who was imprisoned with him, was released on parole to return in a certain number of days, in order that he might see his dying child. A few days later Mr. F. K. Howard received a message from his father, "that his sister's end was rapidly approaching." Colonel Dimick then

offered to release him on parole, but the offer came too late, and was refused. Mr. Charles Howard was informed that he might extend the time of his stay indefinitely, by simply giving his pledge to return to Fort Warren when so ordered, but he refused to accept any favour, and announced to Colonel Dimick that he would be at Fort Warren on the 3rd December, the day that his parole would expire. Before that date, however, viz., on the 27th November, 1862, the gallant gentlemen who had borne their cruel imprisonment rather than succumb to the tyranny of Abraham Lincoln, were unconditionally released. They had been arrested without offence, and without lawful procedure, and they were set at liberty without trial or condition. "We came out of prison as we had gone in, holding in the same just scorn and detestation the despotism under which the country was prostrate, and with a stronger resolution than ever to oppose it by every means to which, as American freemen, we had the right to resort."

Our notice of Mr. Howard's narrative is necessarily but an imperfect sketch, but sufficient, we trust, to call attention to the work itself. No one can read this simple account of cruel oppression without feeling indignant and disgusted with the Government at Washington, and rejoicing that the independence of the South will check the domination of the most formidable despotism on earth, and save the New World from becoming the prey of New England's rapacity and ambition.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, March 31.

The Polish question, though it must be admitted it has consigned all others to a secondary place, has not distracted the attention of the Government from the American struggle. The *Moniteur* continues to publish letters from New York (which are believed to be written by M. Mercier, the French Envoy at Washington), which describe in forcible terms the utter lassitude of the public throughout the Northern States, and expose the disorganization of the army, the speculation in high places, the frauds and wholesale swindling of army contractors, and the shifting policy of the Abolitionists, Democrats, and other sects whose love for their country is well expressed by one of their poets, Lowell, in his "Bigelow Papers:—

"—Uncle Sam I reverence,
Particularly his pockets."

By diplomatic despatches, by insertions in the *Moniteur*, by the marked courtesy shown in official circles to distinguished Southerners in Paris, the French Government has expressed and continues to testify its sympathy with the Southern cause in every possible way. Such being the case, why does not the Emperor take the practical step to which his conviction that the independent existence of the South is a *fait accompli*, inevitably leads? Why does he not recognise the South? That is a question which it is not easy to answer. I can only ascribe it to the peculiar turn of the Emperor's mind, which, as we all know, attaches great value to patience. The non-recognition of the South is inconsistent with the published declarations of the Government, with its traditional policy, and with its avowed sentiments. Therefore I cannot but think that this Polish outbreak has a very great share in the postponement of a decision which, by this time, it was fully expected would be made public. In the event of a European war it is easy to understand that the French Government would not care about being involved in further difficulties with America, but the danger of a European war now seems very remote. If, on the other hand, the Emperor has made up his mind not to act in American affairs without the co-operation of England, we must not look for recognition until the termination of the war.

Of the Polish insurrection all that can be said is that it is not yet put down. Great as is the sympathy felt here for the Poles, it is generally admitted that the insurgents have not much chance now of being able to prolong the struggle. Their gallantry is beyond all praise, but it is a pity that men that behave like heroes in the field of battle should permit the success of their cause to be imperilled and, indeed, ruined by squabbles about precedence which originate only in the inordinate self-esteem of individuals, who, like Mieroslawski, are only notorious. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the flight of Langiewicz into Galicia. He appears to have been driven into a corner (not figuratively, but literally) by the Russians, to have beaten them two days running, to have been defeated in a third encounter. He is next heard of as having retired with his female *aide-de-camp* with the unpronounceable name, across the Austrian frontier—an act which, I am sorry to say, I have seen nothing that can palliate. He had assumed the dictatorship with the assent of the Insur-

gent Government at Warsaw, and if dictatorial power means anything, it was his duty to have traitors summarily disposed of. The captain of a ship in danger of sinking who abandoned his crew to their fate, under the pretence that his officers were mutinous, would be forever disgraced. I do not mean to say that circumstances may not justify Langiewicz in acting as he did, but we know nothing of those circumstances as yet, and it must be confessed that the conduct of the ex-dictator looks extremely suspicious. I greatly admire Langiewicz, who appears to be a gallant soldier, and heartily hope he may be able to clear away this stain on his reputation. The Poles continue a desultory kind of warfare in other parts of the kingdom, but though they fight well, it is obvious, from the details in the German papers, that they have no chance. They may defeat the Russians in one, or even two encounters, but no sooner has one corps been disposed of, than another rises up like the heads of the Lernaean monster. In all their encounters (see the *Czar*, the *Breslau Zeitung*, and other anti-Russian papers) it is ever the same story—in whatever direction they have turned,—

"Lernaean turbâ caput circumstetit anguis."

The *canard* market has been tolerably supplied during the week. *Imprimis*, our old friend the Congress *canard* has once more made its appearance at our political tables. It is a very tough old bird by this time, and not easy of digestion by any means. We have also had a Rhenish *canard*—stuffed with a queer story about France demanding the independence of Poland, per Grand Duke Leuchtenberg, and a variety of other pretty little *romanzetti*, which show what a wonderfully inventive race newspaper men must be.

There is nothing startling from Italy, save the arrival here of Signor Rattazzi, with Madame Rattazzi, late Countess de Solms. An ingenious Milan caricaturist has represented that ex-statesman completely extinguished by an enormous crinoline. *On dit*, that he has applied in vain for an audience at the Tuileries.

The elections here excite a good deal of attention. An empty-headed journalist, M. Haven, the principal proprietor, has made himself conspicuous by his pretensions to contest the seat of M. M. Picard and Ollivier, two of the opposition leaders. He has been subjected to such a bombardment by the *Temps* and the *Presse*, that he has been compelled to beat an inglorious retreat.

At the present time of writing, I do not know whether an important change may not have taken place in the French Cabinet. Three or four days ago the *Debats* and the *Patrie* published articles vindicating M. Fould against attacks made on him in the Chamber, in the course of which they drew a contrast between his policy and that of his predecessors, not flattering to the latter. Yesterday those papers received a *communiqué* from M. de Persigny showing that M. Fould had done nothing very remarkable after all, and quoting figures to show that the finances have by no means benefited under his rule to the extent which had been anticipated. This note, not by any means complimentary to M. Fould, and sent to the papers behind his back, led to his tendering his resignation. I do not know whether it will be accepted, but it seems clear that if M. Fould remains in, somebody must go out. Immediately on the fact becoming known, there was a panic at the Bourse, and Rente went down 65 centimes. It is likely that some sort of compromise will be made. M. Fould is a man with whom the Government cannot afford to part.

The "Patriots," who have been plucking the American eagle with so much profit to themselves, are, it appears, in want of raw material wherewith to carry on the war. The Northern papers here insert a despatch from Mr. Seward, calling on the Consul here to supply "emigrants." Great advantages are held out. The whole thing is in the style of "Martin Chuzzlewit's" American experiences. The fact is carefully withheld that the "emigrants" are wanted for "*chair à canon*." Mr. Seward undertakes to "provide" for the "emigrants" who may be seduced across the Atlantic; but he omits to say that the only thing he is able to guarantee is an unlimited supply of hot lead and cold steel, and six feet of American ground. So far as France is concerned, however, the appeal is not likely to be successful—but that makes the attempt none the less a piece of flagrant political immorality.

(EXTRACT.)

ST. THOMAS, March 15.

The Yankees are still coming in and out. The Vanderbilt, with Admiral Wilkes on board, returned yesterday, and I learn that the Peterhoff was actually captured (as surmised in my last), and sent to Key West.

The Yankee officers openly state that they intend to capture both the Pet and the Aries (British steamers now in this harbour), just as soon as they get outside, and that their only object in remaining is to wait for these

two vessels to sail. The English frigate Phaeton came in here on the 9th instant, to participate in the demonstration made on the 10th, in honour of the marriage of the Prince of Wales. She goes out as soon as she gets the Bermuda mail, expected to-day, and the two English steamers referred to above will go out with her. All that the captain of the Phaeton says he can do, is, when the Yankees board the vessels, to send an officer on board to see if no contraband is found, no capture is made. After that, the vessels must do the best they can for themselves. Captain Tatham, of the Phaeton, told me that, from representations made, he thought an English man of war would be sent here to look after British interests. That the capture made by the Yankees of the Pearl and Peterhoff were illegal, and that they would have to be given up with heavy damages—but that he had no orders to interfere in any way. The Wachusett, Admiral Wilkes's Flag ship, has remained in port since her first arrival, but her steam has always been up, ready to start at any moment.

Yesterday afternoon the Aries moved from one side of the harbour to the other, so as to be near the Phaeton; the moment she began to move there was a great stir on board the Vanderbilt and Wachusett; awnings removed, anchors run up short, and strong "firing up"—in fact, every preparation was made for an immediate start. The Yankees have got things so much their own way here, that they now keep some one on the top of the highest hill that overlooks the town and the sea on the other side of the island, and keep up a regular system of signals. They thus get early information of every vessel's appearance in the offing, and run out to inspect at their leisure. I don't think this would be allowed in any other port in the West Indies, but the Danish Government is weak, and the Yankees do what they please. Their acts have been brought to the Governor's notice, but I don't know that he has ever protested against them.

[The Pet is a steamer from Liverpool, bound for Nassau. The Aries has discharged a cargo of cotton after running the blockade at Charleston.]

FEDERAL WARFARE.

(From the Times, April 1.)

An ancient rhetorician wrote about Xerxes that he turned dry land into sea, and sea into dry land, making a canal through Mount Athos, and building a bridge across the Hellespont. The American Republic seems to partake much more of the violence and extravagance of the Persian monarch than of the wise counsel and well-combined action of the Federation of Commonwealths which opposed him. Excited by a tremendous war, and all the portents of approaching revolution, the imagination of the American Democracy seems to have run riot. Not satiated with all the destruction which modern science has enabled mankind to wreak upon each other, the North has called to its aid the mighty agencies of nature, and seeks to ruin and mutilate half a continent in the vain hope to overthrow or intimidate its inhabitants. In vain has nature, after a series of tremendous convulsions, settled herself down into something like order and regularity, indenting the coast with bays and harbours, and draining the vast area of a continent through the agency of enormous rivers. The rage of man frets against these natural and beneficent ordinances, just as Xerxes flung fetters into the sea and lashed the winds that were rebellious to his commands. By the aid of the "stone fleet" the United States have blocked up the entrance to several much frequented harbours, and now, with less labour and far greater success, they seek to drown the land which they cannot conquer. It is calculated that, by the action of the Federals in cutting the levées, or dams, which keep the Mississippi in its course as it runs through the level lands towards the sea, a district as large as Scotland has been drowned in the State of Mississippi, and 5,000 square miles in the State of Louisiana.

Had some enormous strategical advantage been obtainable by this proceeding, mankind must have deplored the harsh and dreadful necessity which, in a continent so small, a portion of which has yet been reclaimed for the use of civilized man, drove the Federals to lay waste and devastate so considerable a portion of its surface. But there is no reason to suppose that any advantage in the least degree commensurate with the amount of wanton and cruel destruction which has been perpetrated could anyhow have been obtained. Most certainly no such advantage has been gained. The expedition from Yazoo Pass, so far from reaching its destined point near Vicksburg, has been encountered and defeated by Confederate batteries, and driven to take refuge in another river to avoid further injuries. The act, therefore, stands out in all its naked deformity. Those who have called the mighty Mississippi to their aid have proved themselves unworthy of their potent ally, and, powerful only for mischief, have been singularly discomfited in the endeavour to profit by their new and singular enterprise. We have all read how the Dutch, the mighty precursors of the United States, a people as conspicuous for doing much with small resources as the American Union for doing little with great ones, when they found themselves reduced to the two small States of Holland and Zealand, with which alone they had to make head against the powerful monarchy of Spain, in the extremity of their despair and desolation cut through the dykes which protected their fields and gardens from the ocean which roared above their heads, choosing rather to give their native land to destruction than to see it in the grasp of a tyrant or a persecutor. This courage, prepared for everything except submission—this noble fortitude, which the extreme of ill fortune could not subdue—forms one of the brightest pages of history, and invests the sieges of Haarlem and of Leyden with an interest second to nothing in the annals of mankind. But in proportion to our admiration of those who called in the waves of the German Ocean to protect their faith and their freedom must be the abhorrence inspired by acts so wanton and so ferocious as that of letting loose the waters of the Mississippi over the planta-

tions of the South, and overwhelming under the waves that which it is found impossible to subdue.

At the beginning of the war the North went forth to battle in all the presumption of overweening strength and numbers. Their notions of success were thoroughly Oriental. They had the largest number of men under arms, and doubted not of the victory, especially as they had the largest resources to feed, arm, and recruit them. Received in the field by troops far less numerous than their own, they found to their astonishment how little the leaders of the South had to dread from them in the open field. From that time the whole aspect of the war has entirely changed. In proportion as success has become more difficult the means employed for its attainment have been more odious and cruel. Every effort has been made to light the torch of a servile insurrection, and, as if this was not dreadful enough, water has been called in to supplement the tardy vengeance of that fire which, kindled by the hands of slaves, would, if the pious and decorous North could have had their will, wrap in one mighty conflagration the labours of a hundred years. Men may wrangle and dispute about the causes, the rights and the wrongs of this great quarrel, but as to these measures posterity will have but one verdict to pronounce—a verdict of horror and execration. And this cruelty and ferocity, surpassing so far all that is recorded of the wickedness and barbarity of man in former wars, has been called into action, not for the purpose of meeting foreign invasion, but for a war avowedly intended to restore a Federal Union, which unhappy differences have partially interrupted. The men who are thus letting loose at the same moment fire and water united in an unnatural compact against their adversaries, are never tired of repeating that they fight for the maintenance of the Union, and look forward with unshaken confidence to the time when their great Federation shall be restored, and the brethren so long estranged from each other shall once more unite together in harmony and peace. It is difficult to say what time, what interest may not effect. Nations have shed each other's blood like water on fields of battle. They have covered the ocean with the wrecks of their naval engagements and the bodies of their seamen. These things may be expiated, may be forgiven, may at last be forgotten; but deeds like those by which the Northern States are making their present war with the South singular and execrable among the worst and bloodiest annals of mankind can never be forgiven or forgotten. The moment any idea of reconciliation is entertained these dreadful memories will rise up like a spectre between the two parties, and forbid every attempt at reconciliation unless founded on absolute independence on the one side, and complete renunciation of every claim to obedience on the other.

It is curious to remark how utterly paralyzed for the purposes of legitimate war are the very persons who are anxious to wage it with such extremity of ferocity and fury. The army of the Potomac remains inactive; nay, there is much reason to believe that Washington owes her safety at the present moment to prudential and political, rather than to military considerations, and that the capital of the Northern Confederacy, though able to effect the easy and fruitless crime of drowning whole provinces by breaking down the bank of a mighty river, is incapable to defend her archives, her public buildings, and the seat of her Government. The promised vengeance against Charleston languishes and evaporates in empty threats. Savannah, taken with so much ease by the British in the War of Independence, resists firmly and effectually. Port Hudson has repulsed an attack, and the Mississippi itself has turned traitor, and, by way of set-off for the inundation of Southern territory, has filled up and rendered useless the canal which was to carry the Federal gunboats to the other side of Vicksburg. The Confederates threaten Fort Donaldson, and a new invasion of Kentucky is seriously apprehended.

Under these gloomy auspices the month of March has closed, and the period will shortly arrive when the summer heats will again lend their powerful co-operation to the cause of the North. No one can presume to say what are the reverses and vicissitudes which fortune, not yet satisfied with the sufferings of the American people, has in store for either party. But the information which has just reached us makes it abundantly evident, if it were not so before, that the choice henceforth for the South is between victory and extermination, for the North between peace and ruin—ruin certain if the war be protracted, as it easily may be, to a point which will leave the President without a revenue and without an army—ruin still more certain and complete if the wicked aspirations of fanatical hate be accomplished, and the Central Government, already triumphant over the liberties of the North, shall obtain as the prize of success the unenviable duty of holding down, under the heel of military despotism, the struggling and palpitating remains of what were once the Southern States.

PRIVATE LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH.

The following extracts from private letters, though they contain no important information on political and military matters, are yet valuable as affording an unscreened view into the private life of the Southern people, and a lively picture of the feelings which animate them in this heroic war for national independence. The only alterations made in these extracts are such as were necessary to conceal the authorship of the letters:—

Alabama, February, 1863.

Amid these familiar and peaceful home surroundings, where we pursue our usual avocations, it is difficult to realise that war wastes our beautiful land, and that its soil is invaded by an enemy whose tender mercies are always cruel, who makes homes desolate, and causes the widow and the orphan to cry unto Heaven for redress. Here, in this old homestead, we, a family of women, are gathered; patiently and hopefully awaiting the end; husbands, sons, and brothers gone forth with our blessings and prayers to do and die. The only son, who, as you know, has been reared in every indulgence, entered the army a year ago as a private. We tried to persuade him that he was too young and too delicate, and would not be able to endure the fatigues and privations incident to the life of a common soldier; but he replied that if he had the certainty of death before him he would go, and that he could never hold up his head again among his compatriots, or consent even to live in this country when its liberties should be secured did he not bear his part in achieving them. Such arguments being unanswerable he went, has served through the whole Western Campaign, during which he marched two thousand miles and

suffered extreme hardships, and has since been elected Lieutenant of his company. Do not think I am egotistical in thus dwelling on those in whom I am so deeply interested. The picture, though personal, is applicable to every household in this afflicted land. Women waiting, watching, and praying at home with breaking hearts, while men are enduring, fighting and dying on distant battle fields. I must tell you an anecdote of our great Lee—the Washington of this revolution—which has not been given to the public. At the battle of Sharpsburg, a company of artillery, in which General Lee's youngest son is a private, was in a very exposed position, and after losing the greater part of its men retreated. As they were leaving the field General Lee met them, and asked, "Why do you leave your post?" One replied, "General, our men were being sacrificed." "Can you not fire one round more?" "Oh, yes, we have ammunition for two or three rounds," was the answer. "Then return to your position," said the General. "Oh, Father," appealed his son, "you will not send us back, under that murderous fire again." "Yes," my son, "go back and do your duty to your country." They returned and fired their last rounds. . . . Spite of the infamous proclamation our servants are still loyal, and never rendered more cheerful obedience; indeed, their interest in our soldiers and anxiety for the return of peace seems as great as our own. During the Christmas week we had two thousand soldiers passing through this place daily, and we undertook, in conjunction with our neighbours, to give them a Christmas dinner to remind them of home. This, of course, involved much extra cooking, and it being the servants' holiday we were much distressed that our charity should infringe on their privileges. We, therefore, determined to remunerate them for their trouble, but when I offered them the money they seemed quite hurt, and said, "that they wanted to do their part for our soldiers, and not having any money, could only give their time." The scene of "feeding the soldiers" was a novel one. We had a long rustic table spread in the open air, around which the dirty, rough, and hungry soldiers crowded eagerly, and they were waited upon by ladies, who felt it an honour to serve them. Dirty and ragged though they were, not a rude word or lewd jest was heard, and when crowded two or three rows deep at the table, the first ranks I observed, never forgot those in the rear who could not reach for themselves. We are now daily receiving the wounded from Murfreesboro, and when they are willing we stop them to have their wounds dressed and to procure some rest, before proceeding on their journey to their homes. Such are the occupations of Southern women, and their zeal and enthusiasm know no bounds. . . . Mrs. Bragg, wife of the General, recently passed through Mobile, after leaving her despoiled home. She was absent at her mother's, some few miles distant, when the Vandals reached her plantation, and was quite unconscious of what had passed when she drove up to her house on her return. A Federal officer met her at the door, and said, "Mrs. Bragg," I presume. "Yes," she replied, "and a pretty scene of desolation greets Mrs. Bragg." "Oh," said the pert Yankee, "this is nothing to what you will see a little later." The shrubbery had been torn up by the roots, marble mantle-pieces taken down and broken into fragments, mirrors shattered, and her clothes and jewellery stolen. In fact, every conceivable outrage had been perpetrated upon their property. . . . God grant that the days when we shall once more be able to sit in peace and safety under our own vine and fig tree may not be far off!

Mobile, February, 1863.

You would be shocked to see how shabby we are in our house; without carpets, which have been sent to the army. Wood at \$16 a cord, and coal not to be had at less than \$80 a ton. Everybody has gone a-soldiering, and no one is left to work the mines. I heard there was an order given yesterday to keep the coal for Government use, but that will make little difference, for I have not even thought of it at such a price. I had eggs offered me yesterday at \$1 75c. a dozen, which is 25c. cheaper than they have been selling. Everything is at starvation prices. — wrote me saying they were going to raise the board at the Percy House to \$60 a month, exclusive of fires and lights. . . . If the Yankees drive us from here I do not know what will become of us; "but," as Micawber said, "I hope something may turn up." The most agreeable thing that could turn up now, would be peace, for which we pray daily and hourly. Notwithstanding all our privations you would be surprised to see how cheerful we are; all we want to compensate us is a victory every now and then. From Northern accounts we are to be crushed in twenty days. It is true that they are making gigantic preparations, and have greatly the advantage over us in numbers and war material,—but Southern boys are not easily crushed; their valour and bravery are the admiration of even their enemies. In the battles of Sharpsburg and Perryville thousands had bare and bleeding feet, yet not a murmur escaped their lips, all being eager and anxious to meet their vile foes. I am glad to say that our soldiers are better provided now. Carpets have been taken from our floors and converted into blankets for their use; in fact, it is only necessary to say that the soldiers are in want, for our people to give all they can find which may contribute to their comfort. My dear son is with the army of Virginia. He has been very fortunate so far. He has been in many battles, the last of which was at Boonesboro, where he fell from his horse from sheer exhaustion, and, but for the assistance of two of his men, would have been captured. He had been in the saddle for a week without change of clothes. While the battle of Sharpsburg was raging he was in a house, ill, when a tremendous shell fell within five feet of his bed, but fortunately did not explode.

At the battle of Seven Pines he was knocked from his horse by a spent ball, which occasioned the report of his being killed, and gave me many anxious hours. May God continue to cover his head in the hour of battle. . . . Our people are busy strengthening and fortifying our city, and the obstructions near the city look very formidable. Admiral Buchanan, the hero of the Virginia, or Merrimac, is in command, and expresses himself well pleased. We are very fortunate in having so able a commander. There are a great many naval officers stationed here, most of them Marylanders and very agreeable gentlemen.

Petersburg, Virginia, February, 1863.

You would be surprised to find how little Petersburg has been changed by the war. Things apparently go on just the same as before the war. Ladies walk about the streets dressed as finely, perhaps even more finely, than formerly; almost all the stores are open as usual, and contain far more goods than you would imagine; waggons and carriages are flying about the streets as usual; money is very plentiful, and there is no suffering among the people. Everything is enormously high; for instance, ladies' shoes are selling at from \$20 to \$25 per pair, calico at \$2 25c. per yard, cotton goods at \$1 75c., pins at \$1 50c. per paper, and everything else in proportion, except catables, which have not advanced so much. Flour is selling at \$20, meal at \$2 50c. per bushel, beef at 25c. per lb., and bacon at 62c. per lb. Turkeys, chickens, and eggs are very high just now, this being Christmas time. You will say or think, no doubt, how can the poor get along at these prices without suffering? I must therefore explain the matter. In the first place, the army takes so many of our people that there is plenty of work, at the very highest prices, for those who remain at home. Many of the women, also, get employment in sewing for the Government, and are thus enabled to support themselves. The city, moreover, owns a great many shares in railroads, cotton mills, &c., and as these are now paying enormous dividends, it is able to support the soldiers' families without taxing the people at all. Lastly, we are all united in our determination to suffer anything and everything rather than again become citizens of the same country as the cowardly, bragging Yankees, who imagined they could subjugate a brave people by mere force of numbers.

GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

The following letter has been forwarded to us for publication:—

Guiney's Department, Caroline Co., Va.,
December 10, 1863.

My dear Colonel,—Yesterday I heard that Governor Letcher and yourself were coming to visit the army, but the arrival of the cars without you doomed me to disappointment. I hope you will come before long.

Please give my kindest regards to the governor, and remind him of his long-standing promise to visit me. Colonel Linde says he heard distant artillery, and others agree with him. The direction is towards Port Royal. I have read with great interest the report of the Congressional Committee, recommending the repeal of the law requiring the mails to be carried on the Sabbath, and I hope that you will feel it a duty, as well as a pleasure, to urge its repeal. I do not see how a nation that thus arrays itself by such a law against God's holy day can expect to escape His wrath. The punishment of national sins must be confined to this world, as there are no nationalities beyond the grave. For fifteen years I have refused to mail letters on Sunday, or to take them out of the office on that day, except since I came into the field; and, so far from having to regret my course, it has been a source of true enjoyment. I have never sustained less in observing what God enjoins, and I am well satisfied that the law should be repealed at the earliest practicable moment. My rule is to let the Sabbath mails remain unopened unless they contain a despatch; but despatches are generally sent by couriers, or telegraph, or by some special messenger. I do not recollect a single instance of any special despatch having reached me since the commencement of the war by the mails.

If you desire the repeal of the law, I trust you will bring all your influence to bear in its accomplishment. Now is the time, it appears to me, to effect so desirable an object. I understand that not only is our President, but also most of our Colonels, and a majority of our Congressmen, are professing Christians. God has greatly blessed us, and I trust He will make us that people to whom God is the Lord. Let us look to God for an illustration in our history, that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Please send me a copy of the staff bill, as I may wish to say something respecting it in my letter to Colonel Miles.

Very truly, your friend,

T. J. JACKSON.

Col. A. B. Boteler, Richmond, Va.

THE BLOCKADE.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, March 9th.)

On the appearance of the official announcement that the blockade of the port of Charleston had been raised by the dispersion of the Yankee squadron in the dash of our iron-clads under Captain Ingraham, we expressed the opinion that the transaction on that occasion would not be held to be a raising of the blockade, either by the Federal Government or by "neutral" powers. And, therefore, that whatever might be the law of the case, the blockade was not raised in fact. It was plain enough that England, having recognised the illegal blockade at first, would find good reasons for recognising it to the end, or at least until such time as her own interest and convenience should induce her to disregard or break it. That the Yankees, who know no law in their dealings with "rebels," would take the same view of the matter, was equally indubitable. They gave no sixty days' notice in forming the blockade at first; and supposing it even raised at the time in question, they were not likely to hold themselves bound to any greater formality in renewing it than they had observed in forming it. There is no law for us, as yet, either in America or in Europe.

These views and anticipations were correct. The Federal

enemy of course ignored the act of dispersing their blockading squadron, and immediately sent a stronger force than ever before to cruise off the harbour. The latest advices from England inform us that in England also the blockade is still accounted a good enough blockade for us. In other words, the interest of England (for that is her principle) does not yet call for action in the matter. It serves us no purpose to affirm and to prove that the blockade was legally removed; so it was, perhaps, but there it is in fact, and stronger and more vigilant than ever. Still less does it avail us to proclaim formally to the outside world the fact that the blockade no longer exists in law. The outside world does not know us, and in all matters (whether of law or of fact) relating to our affairs, the world takes the word of our enemies at Washington, who are still our rulers in its estimation. Those emphatic declarations of public speakers and members of Parliament which are accepted here as so great a comfort—that the "Union" is broken for ever, and that a new nation has been actually created on this continent, signify exactly nothing. Mr. Adams is still our official representative at the Court of St. James's; and whatever representations Mr. Adams may choose to make as to the state of blockade or non-blockade of one of his own ports, are received, of course. Charleston is still one of the Yankee ports, officially and diplomatically speaking; and General Beauregard and our Secretary of State may say what they please—their voices are not heard. Not that the English are dead like Sir John Falstaff, it is the disease of not listening, the madness of not marking, that they are troubled withal. They will be exceedingly keen of hearing the very moment that their interest whispers in their ear.

And their interest does not yet plead in our behalf, whatever our good Confederates may calculate and speculate. It is of little use to prove to the meanest capacity that England must perish for lack of our cotton, and might, would, should, must clear away the blockade to procure it. We demonstrate all this; and the blockade is still there. The policy of England is far more complex and multiplex than we are usually in the habit of considering it; and the Government of that country, rather than do any single act tending to shorten our war, would consent that not one fibre of cotton should ever cross the Atlantic Ocean again until the end of the world.

As to the blockade we were always well persuaded that England would find law for respecting it while it suited her; and law for raising it when it incommoded her. Accordingly it did not surprise us to learn that the *London Post*, special organ of the administration, and the *Times*, general organ of everybody, declared that the blockade was not raised; that the Federal Government was not bound to give sixty days' notice before renewing it, nor any notice at all; and that the British Government would not require any such formality. In fact, Mr. Adams informs them officially that there is no blockade—that the Federal Government is merely closing some of its ports for a temporary purpose; but that other of its ports, New York and Boston for example, are still open to commerce, and will be happy to receive cargoes and consignments.

Such is the position in which we stand, and shall stand, until we have won a few more battles from our Yankee enemy.

THE NECESSITY OF SELF-SACRIFICE.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, March 9th.)

Our people have not yet learned the duty of economy, and until this duty to their country is thoroughly learned and sternly practised by the families of the land, the cause for which we are now battling will continue to be in peril. The gallant army that stands an impregnable wall between us and the foe, demand that those they protect should bear burdens at least as great as they are suffering; and among these burdens the self-denial of a rigid economy is painfully prominent. If every householder will rigidly see that no inmate in his house shall consume more than a quarter of a pound of meat a day with such vegetables as the season will supply, and strictly carry into execution such a plan of economy, our present supply of provisions can be made to support the people. The custom of three meals a day should be abandoned; two are amply sufficient; it is a habit—this eating three times a day—and, at present, a bad habit; we can accustom ourselves to two meals, and to two light meals at that, and it is a duty we owe to the cause. It is nearly as bad to grow fat as to get rich while this war is being waged.

Our people have so long lived in plenty that they do not know how to economize; but before they see the end of this war, we greatly fear that they will have learned the lesson from that hard teacher, necessity. Neither the individual nor the nation know what they can do or suffer until the occasion; that call for noble action and heroic suffering are upon them. We would urge our people to begin now to practise economy, to seek substitutes, not for the army, but for their tables; to change their style of living; to come down to the plainest fare.

When the French army were besieged and blockaded in Genoa, they not only practised economy, but the substitutes adopted for the fare they could not obtain may cause some of our readers nausea to read of.

The subsistence issued from 30th Germinal to 29th Floreal, was daily 12 ounces of bread, 4 ounces of flour of millet seed, with oil or cheese alternately, instead of fresh meat, and a half pint of wine—*vin ordinaire*.

Fresh meat being exhausted, they substituted *horse flesh*, "8 onces de viande de cheval."

They made flour from a mixture of cocoa, linseed, oats, beans, rice, starch and bran.

Upon such compounds the French army lived, rather than stain the honour of France by a surrender; but we have *honour property, life*, all at stake, and for these we, too, if necessary, must eat horse flesh, aye—mule flesh; let us take care of the horses and mules; they may become our "*vians de reserve*."

We cannot want if we do not waste; we have sufficient for all our necessities, if we will only economize it; and let every man who has land cultivate it in wheat, corn, beans, potatoes, &c. &c., and not let a tobacco plant be found upon his plantation. Look well to the stock; don't eat veal, let it grow to beef; increase the stock of hogs; multiply the poultry; devote time and care to the production of every article that enters into the staff of life. And, above all things, use economically every article of food. The supply of provisions is now nearly exhausted, in some parts of the country, because of the difficulty of transportation for its proper distribution. This, we hope, will be remedied by the Government; but let every garden and "truck patch" be well planted and carefully cultivated. The exempt must cultivate the soil and support the country; the Government will not, and ought not, to permit our army to want provisions. The people must look out for their own support, and they must look out for the support of the army also. The spring is opening, and we hope that all will go to work, digging, ploughing, hoeing and planting, while the army is marching and fighting.

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 9, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The Federal accounts of the engagement at Port Hudson are absurdly conflicting. The telegraph in the hands of the Yankee is the most inconsistent fabricator in the world. It seems that the first intimation of the attack was conveyed to Washington in a telegraphic despatch to Colonel Stager from C. S. Bulkeley, Assistant Superintendent of the Military Telegraph. This communication is dated South-West Pass, Louisiana, March 15, and is an admirable specimen of Federal reports. Mr. Bulkeley says:—"Commodore Farragut, leading in the Hartford, attacked the Port Hudson batteries last night, at 11 o'clock, with his fleet. The steamer Mississippi ran aground, was abandoned, and burnt. The firing on both sides was rapid and severe. The army is within five miles of the enemy's works, in good spirits, and bound to win. Cavalry skirmishes have been the only fighting as yet." Here, it will be observed, there is a marked reticence as to the result of the engagement, except that it is admitted the Mississippi was abandoned and burnt. Mr. Bulkeley did not think the fleet had got past the batteries, or he would have notified it in his message, instead of having to content himself with the flourish about the army being "bound to win." Curiously enough it was rumoured on the 24th of March in New York and Washington, on the information derived from the message we have quoted, that "Commodore Farragut's fleet passed Port Hudson at 11 o'clock on the night of the 14th instant." This is a fair specimen of the way in which military reports are edited by Federal authorities. Next day, the 25th of March, it was officially reported from Washington that the Confederate accounts were confirmed, that the Mississippi was burnt, that the Hartford alone passed Port Hudson, and that the other Federal vessels were driven back. On the 26th of March the New York papers informed their readers that, "The very latest reports from Cairo state that seven of Commodore Farragut's steamers have run the Port Hudson blockade." Perhaps this "very latest" was got up especially for the European steamer, for the telegram dated New York, March 27, informs us, "It is still doubtful how many of Admiral Farragut's vessels passed the Port Hudson batteries;" and the telegram of the 28th of March informs us that "The latest reports from the Mississippi do not mention any other vessels than the Hartford and the Monongahela as having passed Port Hudson." This uncertainty, fourteen days after the engagement, is strong evidence that the Yankees were badly beaten. Though the army was "bound to win," we hear that

"General Banks had fallen back to his fortified camp, and manifested no disposition to advance." The Northern report, that Admiral Farragut's vessels have recaptured the Indianola without resistance, may be true, but requires confirmation. The probability is that they did not capture the Indianola, at all events without resistance.

The news from the Yazoo is described as "contradictory and unintelligible;" but it may be explained by the forced inactivity of the Federal expedition and the necessity of the Federal Government keeping up the spirit of its subjects by reports of an advance. Fort Pemberton has been bombarded by the gunboat Chillicothe without result—which means that the gunboat was repulsed. And the latest advices from Southern sources, *via* New York, confirm this view, for they state that the Federals were driven back from Fort Pemberton, and were in full retreat from Yazoo Pass. This is an amusing commentary on the Northern assertion we chronicled last week, that the Yazoo expedition was a brilliant success, and that Yazoo City had been captured. The Federals, as usual, heralded the news of a repulse by the announcement of an imaginary triumph.

A Confederate force under General Longstreet has entered Kentucky and taken possession of the towns of Mount Sterling and Danville. General Rosencranz is threatened by a large force, of which it is reported General Joe Johnston will take the command. There is frequent skirmishing at Murfreesboro'. We must wait for the details of the movements before we can judge of their importance; but they cause considerable uneasiness in the North. The Federal commander in Kentucky has published a letter, in which he says:—"The political status of Kentucky is by no means secure, and I deemed it sounder policy to arrest at once the organization of this rebel element before it obtained such impetus, strength, and character, as would demand, six months hence, the exercise of force to retain the State in constitutional obedience."

The following circular, addressed to the consular agents in the Confederate States, has been published in the Richmond papers:—

Department of State, Richmond, Feb. 7.
Sir,—I have again to inform you of the raising of the blockade of two Southern ports by superior forces. This Government is officially informed of the total dispersion and disappearance of the blockading squadron recently stationed off Galveston harbour by the combined attack of land and naval forces of the Confederacy. In this attack the enemy's steamer Harriet Lane was captured, and the flagship of the squadron, the Westfield, was blown up and destroyed. The blockade of the port of Galveston is, therefore, at an end. The armed river boats which raised the blockade at Galveston then proceeded to Sabine Pass, where they again attacked the enemy's blockaders, captured thirteen guns, a large quantity of stores, and a number of prisoners. No blockading fleet now exists off Sabine Pass, and the steamers of the Confederacy were, at the last accounts, cruising off the Pass with no enemy in sight. This information is given for the guidance of such of the merchants of your nation as may desire to trade with either of the open ports of Galveston or Sabine Pass.

Respectfully your obedient servant,
J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

Whilst the South is preparing for a long war, and the Southern press declare there is not the slightest prospect of peace, there are signs in the North of dissensions, which may lead to complications that will increase the difficulties of the Yankees in carrying on the war. There is not that unanimous support of the Lincolnites that the Federal Government is striving hard to make the world believe in. A meeting of the Democratic General Committee has been held in New York, at which some resolutions strongly denouncing the policy of the Federal Government, were passed by acclamation. The "loyal leagues" were described as mere jobs. "We denounce the meetings recently got up in this and neighbouring cities, with

the money and by the agency of office-holders, or would-be office-holders, under Republican patronage, together with contractors, jobbers, and agents for Government plunder, for the purpose of organising 'loyal leagues.'" The resolutions as to the impolicy of continuing the war were very emphatic. They state "that the masses of the American people throughout this whole land are now offering up their daily and heartfelt prayers for peace, and demanding that this most unnecessary, most ineffectual, most devastating, and most cruel war of modern times shall be brought to a close; that the Government at Washington must, before long, find itself powerless to continue a conflict which the awakened judgment of a Christian and civilised people emphatically condemns, and upon which the displeasure of Heaven would seem to have fallen; that, in order to produce even a seeming and temporary unity of public sentiment at the North in favour of coercive war, it required the suppression of newspapers, the intimidation of the weak, and the lawless imprisonment of brave and consistent tribunes of the people in military bastilles, along with an unexampled profusion of the official favours of a corrupt administration, a lavish distribution of civil and military honours, and the shameless plunder of millions from the public treasury; but now, after two years of this terrible fratricidal struggle, when hundreds of thousands of our best and bravest youth lie in their bloody graves, and the land is filled with mourning and suffering, while bankruptcy and grinding taxation are pressing upon us, and the declared object of the war has long since been lost sight of and abandoned, we recur to the words which Abraham Lincoln uttered on the day of his own ill-omened inauguration, when he said, 'Suppose you go to war? You cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain to either, you cease fighting, the identical questions are again upon you.' That the policy of war having had a fair trial for two long, miserable, bloody years, and having failed to bring us, to all appearance, a single step nearer to the restoration of the Union, the people insist that a policy of peace should now be undertaken and attempted; and that a convention should be called, as contemplated and provided for in such exigencies by the Constitution of the United States, at which convention all the States which were adhering to the Union on the 1st day of November, 1860, should be invited to be represented by delegates elected from their people, and that such convention should be held at the earliest possible day, for the purpose of devising means for a reconstruction of the American Union and the restoration of peace."

Nothing stronger can well be said in favour of a termination of hostilities, and the resolutions we have quoted are noteworthy as the first out-spoken protest of the Democratic party against the so-called war-democrats. John Van Buren and James Brady were condemned as recreants from their party, and a mass meeting of the Democracy was called for the 3rd of April.

Not only is the Democracy of the State of New York opposed to the Government, but the Democratic members of the Indiana Legislature have issued a manifesto to the people of that State, complaining of the injudicious measures adopted for the suppression of the rebellion and of the despotic conduct of the Administration, and the Federal Government is so alarmed that it has ordered a seizure of all the arms in the possession of the citizens of Indiana.

Further, the Federal Government has prohibited the public sale of arms in Cincinnati.

Such facts as these, and there are many of them known, and many more, we may be sure, kept from the public, dispose of the ravings of the paid agents of the Lincolnites about the unity and war fervour of the North.

It is reported in New York—not for the first time—that the Confederates are about to abandon Richmond as their capital. If they do so, it will not, at all events, be from any fear of the Federals taking that city.

The difficulties of the Federal Government are increasing. We are informed that since the beginning of the war there have been 130,000 deserters from the Northern army, and the new levees have to be taken to camp as prisoners. Then, again, there is the negro dispute. The Northern soldiers, in many instances, refuse to fight with the impressed negroes. According to the *Portland (Maine) Argus*, there is complete insubordination on Ship Island, in consequence of the negro soldiers and officers there. "One of these drew a pistol on a white soldier, and the negro officer was found the next day in the drink with too much water in him; and others may go the same way." The *Newburyport (Massachusetts) Herald* says:—"A disorderly spirit is reported to prevail among the Federal troops at Ship Island, in consequence of the arrival of a coloured regiment. The whites will not associate or act with the negroes. If the negro is the only saviour of the country, they would say, 'We'll not be saved then.' Indeed, the negro is getting rather badly off. The New Jersey Assembly, by a vote of 33 to 19, has passed an Act for the imprisonment and transportation of every free negro who shall hereafter come into the State and remain ten days. Perhaps, under these circumstances, we ought to regard the drowning of a few hundreds of the helpless negroes by cutting the levees as a humane proceeding. The strikes for higher wages have lately been embittered by the Erie Railway Company employing negroes, who were driven from their work, and would have been badly used but for the interference of a guard. The negro must not come near the free North, and the best thing his warm friend General Hunter offers him is garrison duty in peculiarly unhealthy stations. The Christian philanthropist may well feel devoutly thankful that there is not the most distant prospect of the negroes falling under the dominion of the Yankees, and that only a small per-centage of them are likely to suffer from Yankee hatred.

The Lincolnite faction is sparing no pains to increase the ill-will towards this country. The *New York Times* calls upon the Administration, "if it have a drop of American blood in its veins," to issue letters of marque against English merchantmen if another pirate leave our shores; though, by the way, it has been decided that a bond given to a Confederate officer for vessel and cargo must be held valid in the Federal courts. Meantime, the Confederate vessels continue to play havoc with the Yankee merchantmen. Much excitement is "got up" in New York because the *Florida* arrived at Barbadoes "in distress" and was allowed to repair damages and to coal. According to Northern reports Captain Mallit had an ovation, and was loudly cheered by the negroes as well as the white people. The negroes are evidently not such fools as the Yankees think them. The Federal representative, Mr. Trowbridge, is reported to have had an interview with the Governor, and said:—"My Lord, I hereby, in the name of the President of the United States of America, warn you from supplying or permitting any of your people aiding and abetting the rebels. My voice is raised without power to back it; but the consequences will one day or other show themselves to the British Government. Calling upon all loyal citizens to take notice of my declaration, my lord, I take my departure." The *Florida*, after leaving Barbadoes, is reported to have burnt three vessels. One of the vessels was a valuable guano ship. The *Florida* was chased by a Federal war ship, but the Federal commander was too discreet "to catch a Tartar."

Admiral Wilkes, who is a very discreet bully, and knows how to eat humble-pie when he is opposed by any force that may give him trouble, threatened, about the 16th of March, to seize the *Aries* and another vessel, if they left the Port of St. Thomas. The captain of the *Aries* applied to the British steamer *Phaeton* for protection, which was granted. Upon this Admiral Wilkes sailed out of the port in the *Vanderbilt*, to which he has transferred his flag. The threatened ships left the port under the convoy of the *Phaeton*. The commander of the *Phaeton* is reported to have communicated with Admiral Wilkes respecting the capture of the *Peterhoff*. The *Peterhoff* has arrived at New York.

The Confederate steamer *Parallel* has been burnt to prevent her falling into the hands of the Federals, and the British steamer *Nicholas* has been captured in endeavouring to run the Wilmington blockade.

The Federal General Sumner is dead.

There has been a further decline of gold at New York, "not justified by any cause within cognizance of the public." On the 28th gold was 42½ per cent. premium,

and fluctuating hourly. The *Times* of yesterday thus refers to the reaction:—

The private commercial advices to-day from New York contain the important statement that two well-known merchants, one from Boston and one from New York, have been commissioned by the Washington Government to proceed to London on financial business. The former sailed from Boston by the steamer which arrived last week, and the latter was to sail in the present steamer, the *Australasian*. It was understood that they are instructed to dispose of £2,000,000 of six per cent. bonds, with which they are furnished, and that they also have authority to negotiate a further sum of £10,000,000 to £20,000,000. With regard to this it is remarked, 'If Englishmen know the feeling that is entertained towards them here and at the East and West, it is not very likely they will buy a single bond.' The Commissioners in question are expected, it is also said, to employ part of the £2,000,000, of which they are instructed positively to dispose, by buying up 'the gun-boats now building in England for the rebels,' a device which seems to have excited great admiration and confidence among the mercantile community of New York. These circumstances, which had been assumed almost as accomplished facts by the ignorant and credulous multitude, will, in a great degree, account for the fall in the premium on gold, especially as the Government had made a general effort through the press to strengthen the chances of the proposed loan negotiations by simultaneous representations in all parts of the Union that the war is now undoubtedly to be brought to a close forthwith. A late 'report' from Cairo, contradicting the official news received the previous afternoon of the repulse of the Federal fleet at Port Hudson, is thought to have been created as part of this arrangement just in time for the present steamer. Sanguine predictions were put forth that the premium on gold would decline to 40, and then to 20, if Vicksburg should be captured, but in better informed circles the opinion is evidently prevalent that before July next it will be higher than ever. Very little gold, it is said, is coming into New York, either from the country or from California, so that the shipments to Europe on their present scale will soon absorb all the available stock. That they will continue large is rendered certain by the fact that at the present quotation of exchange every article of produce is too high to ship to Europe at a profit. The total exportation of specie from the 1st of January had already amounted to £2,820,000 against £1,600,000 in the corresponding period of last year. This is apart from the amounts now sent direct to England from San Francisco, and the recent magnitude of which will help to account for the reaction in the premium on gold at New York, since they lessen the pressure of the demand at that point.

The fall in gold has caused a panic in all the markets.

ENGLAND.

According to the returns of the Poor-law Board, there is again an increase in the number of paupers in the manufacturing districts. But Mr. Farnall, in his report to the Manchester Executive Committee, states that serious errors have been committed in regard to these returns; and the figures which he gives show a considerable decrease. We cannot pretend to explain the discrepancy. This only is certain, that there has been no material amendment in the prospects of the cotton trade, or in the condition of the operatives; and that no one seems to entertain any hopes of such amendment, while the present war continues. The promises of an abundant supply of cotton from India have proved altogether deceptive; and it is to be feared that there will be no more mills opened this year than last. Under these circumstances, the resource of emigration naturally engages the thoughts of the operatives. Many of the colonies are not only willing but anxious to receive them; and already one hundred persons have left for Queensland, Australia, at the expense of the Colonial Government. They may not be the best possible colonists; but it is probable that their intellectual aptitude and high character will more than compensate their inexperience of out-door labour. The returns of the revenue for the years 1861-62, and 1862-63, have been laid before the country. There is a marked falling-off in the Excise, which is the most sure test of the general prosperity of the people. The income-tax is as yet little affected by the cotton famine and the interruption of American trade; but this is owing, not to any compensation for the losses sustained thereby, but to the peculiar method in which the tax is levied on those incomes included in Schedule D. During the financial year now closed, merchants have been paying on the profits of a Triennium, including 1859 and 1860—two of the most prosperous years which the cotton trade had ever known. We expect that next year there will be a serious falling-off. The following comparative tables are worth examination:

	Year ended March 31, 1862.	Year ended March 31, 1863.
Customs	£23,674,000	£24,034,000
Excise	18,332,000	17,155,000
Stamps	8,599,945	8,994,000
Taxes	3,160,000	3,150,000
Property Tax	10,365,000	10,567,000
Post Office	3,510,000	3,650,000
Crown Lands	295,000	300,000
Miscellaneous	1,747,534	2,753,561
Totals	£69,674,479	£70,603,561

The Customs increase, as usual; the cessation of the cotton supply not much affecting them. For Customs duties are levied chiefly either on the luxuries of the rich, or on those great articles of general consumption which, next to bread, are treated by the poor as neces-

saries—on tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco. The consumption of articles paying duty at the Customs is, therefore, little affected by distress. The Excise, falling on the luxuries of the poor, and chiefly on beer and spirits, is immediately reduced by any serious reduction in the means of the working classes. Grumblers attribute the increase in the yield of the income tax rather to extortion than to prosperity. The *Economist* notes that it is due merely to the unusual deficiency in the collection of the quarter ending March 31, 1862; and the *Economist* is generally right on a question of this kind. The increase in the Miscellaneous revenue exceeds the whole net increase. But for this there would have been an inconsiderable falling off; and it is necessary to remark that this increase is never more than incidental, and in the present case is merely a matter of account; £730,000 of Indian repayments being included in the accounts of this year (on both sides) which has been hitherto omitted. In the real revenue, therefore, there has this year been no increase.

The following is the comparison between Mr. Gladstone's estimates and the actual result:—

	Estimates.	Actual Income.	Excess.	Deficiency.
	£	£	£	£
Customs	23,550,000	24,034,000	484,000	—
Excise	18,340,000	17,155,000	—	1,185,000
Stamps	8,625,000	8,994,000	369,000	—
Taxes	3,180,000	3,150,000	—	30,000
Income Tax	10,100,000	10,567,000	467,000	—
Post Office	3,650,000	3,650,000	—	—
Crown Lands	300,000	300,000	—	—
Miscellaneous	2,445,000	2,753,000	308,000	—
Totals	70,190,000	70,603,000	1,628,000	1,215,000

The two points noticeable in this table are, first, that Mr. Gladstone under-estimated the probable yield of the Customs under the working of his new system; and, secondly, that the deficiency in the Excise justifies the gloomy vaticinations of his opponents, who warned him that he must expect a serious falling-off in this direction. But Mr. Gladstone may fairly congratulate himself that, in one of the most trying years the country has ever known he has contrived to restore the balance between income and expenditure; and may rightfully claim credit on this account for the successful working of the financial policy inaugurated by him in 1860.

The following remarks from the *Economist*, on the financial prospects of next year, deserve attention:—

There is no doubt that our finance is in a satisfactory state. Our real revenue has been .. £70,603,561
Our estimated expenditure was .. 70,040,000

Surplus £563,561

If we have not spent more money than we intended. This is not the surplus, as our readers well know, on which Mr. Gladstone has to operate. This is what we may call the historical surplus,—that which is the result of the actual accounts of last year. The surplus on which we remit taxation is the anticipated surplus of next year. We say we are going to expend such moneys next year; we must have these moneys, and a fair surplus over; if our existing revenue gives more than that fair surplus, we reduce taxation. Now, the Army and Navy Estimates are together £2,000,000 less than they were last year, and £500,000 for the old Chinese war will not be required now. If we calculate on the same revenue this year as last, the account will stand:—

Anticipated revenue £70,603,000
Anticipated expenditure 67,504,000

Surplus of next year £3,063,000

But it may be as well to observe that there is an Exchequer bond for £1,000,000, payable on the 8th of May next, which should not now be renewed if it is ever to be paid, and which the public balance may not suffice to pay without intrenching on the surplus of the year.

The annual field-day of the Volunteers at Brighton came off with exceeding success on Easter Monday. The spectators always complain on such occasions—first because they cannot see; and secondly, because they cannot understand what is going on. But as the object is not to amuse a holiday-making crowd, but to supplement the training and display the efficiency of the Volunteers, such grumbling is of little consequence. Last Monday the spectators were permitted to be very troublesome, crowding upon the regiments as they passed the general in command, and not a little impeding their movements, and marring the effect of their discipline and good order. The day was spent, after the ceremony of marching past was over, in a general sham fight, in which the Volunteers acquitted themselves with great spirit and skill, and went through the complicated manœuvres in a manner which would have done credit to any regiment of the line. The Inns of Court, (composed of lawyers and law students, and familiarly called the Devil's Own), attracted the especial approval and admiration of the general in command. After all, gentlemen and men of education make better soldiers, as well as more useful citizens than others—it would be shame to them if they did not.

Lord Palmerston has made some more speeches in Scotland, and enjoyed a continuous ovation throughout his journey. It would be difficult to find a subject on

which Lord Palmerston would not be heard with pleasure, or a place in which he would not be received with enthusiasm. And yet he is not a brilliant speaker, and, if it were not for his personal reputation, would be altogether eclipsed as an orator by any one of the five or six foremost of Parliamentary speakers. It is first to the extraordinary popularity achieved by his personal character and political conduct, and secondly to his quick appreciation of and sympathy with the temper of his audience, that he owes his wonderful success as an orator, both in and out of the House of Commons.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice (Princess Louis of Hesse) gave birth to a daughter at Windsor Castle, on Easter Sunday, at 5 in the morning. The medical bulletins reported favourably of the health of her Royal Highness and her child.

About noon, on Sunday, Mr. E. Morgan, one of the Customs' surveyors, acting under instructions from the Board of Commissioners, went on board the small wood-built screw steamer *Alexandra*, recently launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Miller and Sons, and now being fitted for sea in the Tockth Dock. No official intimation was made by the officer as to the grounds on which he acted. He merely went on board, marked a "broad arrow" on one of the masts, and remained on board, keeping the vessel under surveillance. No official reason had been intimated as to why the *Alexandra* had been put or was kept under surveillance, but it was believed to be in consequence of information communicated to the authorities that she is built as a gunboat, and is meant for the American Confederate Government. She is a fine, tidy-looking craft of 265 tons builders' measurement, is nicely coppered and copper fastened, and presents the appearance of possessing great speed and comparatively considerable power. It is said that a legal investigation will be immediately made into the circumstances connected with the building and outfit of the vessel. It may be worth mentioning that the *Alexandra* has no gunports, has no magazine, and is not provided with a shellroom, or any other similar arrangement ordinarily pertaining to a war ship, and has no engines on board. In short, she presents merely the appearance of a fast schooner-rigged steam yacht.

A meeting of the friends and admirers of President Lincoln and General Butler was held at Manchester on Monday evening. It was addressed by four gentlemen, all notorious in their way as advocates of ideas which the English nation regards with abhorrence, and which most sane men and all sober statesmen treat with profound contempt. There was Mr. Goldwin Smith, who advocates the abandonment of Canada and the cession of Gibraltar. There was Mr. Samuel Pope, the champion of the Maine Liquor Law. There was Professor Newman, chiefly known by certain scholarly and sentimental works against Christianity. These three gentlemen spoke, on the whole, in the ordinary language of respectable English Radicals. But of argument there was an amazing lack, and denunciation had to supply the void. Mr. George Thompson, chartist agitator, denounced the Alabama and her country in the style of Sumner and Cassius M. Clay, and spoke of the Southern leaders as "that felonious and traitorous conspiracy that for the present rules despotically the so-called Confederate States." Yet his respectable associates did not protest or withdraw. Abolitionism, like misery, makes men acquainted with strange bed-fellows.

Class 3 of the civil service estimates, published on Tuesday, shows a net increase of £17,053 on the estimates for law and justice—that is, the maintenance of law courts, salaries to public officials connected with them, &c., and the expense of prison and convict services at home and abroad; the total of the vote for last year having been £2,763,808, and the estimate for next year being £2,780,841. The estimate for England is £928,038 (last year £901,573); for Scotland, £134,738 (last year £136,310); and Ireland, £905,131 (last year £957,218), while prison and convict services are to cost £812,434 (last year £768,207). In addition, the following sums connected with law and justice are chargeable on the Consolidated Fund:—England, £129,411; Scotland, £111,716; and Ireland, £149,126—total, £690,253, which makes the total expenditure for this branch of the public service amount to £3,470,594.

EUROPE.

The *Courrier du Dimanche*, a Paris weekly newspaper of considerable reputation, as well for its ability as its want of favour with the Ministry of the Interior, has published, in a French translation, a despatch addressed by Earl Russell to Lord Napier, urging upon the Russian Government concessions to Poland, and the

circular to the English diplomatic agents at foreign courts, instructing them to communicate the despatch to the Courts to which they were respectively accredited, and urge them to address notes to the same effect to St. Petersburg. The version of the *Courrier du Dimanche* appears to be correct. The organs of the English Government have reprinted it without suggesting any doubt of its genuineness. Earl Russell commences by expressing the concern with which her Majesty's Government view events in Poland; he points out that, although the suppression of the insurrection is the natural and probable result of the struggle, still it will only be obtained by a deplorable effusion of blood and material calamities of every description, the effect of which would make themselves felt for many years to come, and must breed feelings of hatred which will embitter the future relations of the Russian Government with Poland. Nevertheless, his Lordship goes on to say her Majesty's Government would not have deemed it advisable to express officially their views upon the subject, if special circumstances had not placed them with regard to Poland in an exceptional position. His Lordship then refers to the treaties of Vienna, and the engagements made by Russia. Great Britain, he says, as a party to these treaties, and deeply interested in the peace of Europe, considers herself justified in making known her opinion on the events of which Poland has been the scene, and does so with the most friendly disposition towards Russia, and the sincere wish to contribute to what may be most advantageous to all the parties interested. "Why should not his Imperial Majesty, whose benevolent intentions are universally known, put an end, once for all, to this sanguinary struggle, by generously proclaiming an immediate and complete amnesty, and announcing his intention to restore, without delay, to the kingdom of Poland the civil and political privileges granted by the Emperor Alexander, according to the stipulations of the treaties of 1815? A diet and a national administration would very probably content the Poles, and at the same time give satisfaction to public opinion throughout Europe." Earl Russell's despatch is dated the 2nd of March, and his circular the 4th of March.

The excellence of the Foreign Secretary's intentions will be generally admitted; and the mode in which he has urged concessions upon Russia is conciliatory enough. But we fear that no hope can be entertained that Russia will yet make concessions which she will esteem so great; whilst it is quite certain that the Poles would not be satisfied with concessions they would deem so small. Indeed, as the strength of the insurrection at the present moment lies in Lithuania, it can scarcely be expected that the promise of national institutions to Congress Poland would allay it. The Poles have taken care to declare that they will be content with nothing less than the independence of the whole of those parts of Poland which are in the possession of Russia. They will have to yield; but no promise of national institutions will hasten the surrender. The concession of national institutions when the insurrection is completely overcome may conciliate the Poles, because they will then have every reason to believe in the sincerity of the offer.

France has not been idle in this Polish business. The Emperor, who seems with reason to attach much importance to the co-operation of Austria, has at last succeeded in obtaining the despatch from that Court of a note identical with those despatched from Paris and London, apparently differing somewhat from the original note of the 2nd of March, summarised above. The exceptional relation of Austria to the Polish question seems to have rendered the arrival at this understanding a matter of considerable difficulty. Still the weight of her co-operation will amply repay the trouble spent in procuring it; and (if diplomacy can profit the Poles at all) the identical notes of Austria, France, and England are the most efficacious instruments which it can employ.

There is no intelligence from Poland which is at the same time reliable and important. Two important announcements have been made—the one from Warsaw and the other from Cracow—but although each may possibly be true, neither is deserving of credit. From Warsaw *via* Danzig came the story that a body of insurgents had disbanded by the direction of the Warsaw Revolutionary Committee, which had come to the conclusion that it was useless to continue the struggle, and that by the order of the same Committee the recruiting agents of the revolution had ceased enlistments. This would have been good news indeed, inasmuch as no one can now believe in the success of the insurgents, and a continuance of the struggle will be so much wanton butchery; but it was very improbable in itself, as the revolutionary leaders still hope for something from foreign intervention, and the men who have taken arms have so little confidence in Russia that they will only give up the struggle with their lives. The statement has been vehemently denied, and the contradiction, no doubt, deserves acceptance.

The other piece of information comes from Cracow. According to telegrams from that city, an insurrection has broken out throughout Samogitia from Poniewiez to Polangen on the Baltic, in which the peasantry, nobility, and middle classes have joined *en masse*. Prussia, alarmed at the outbreak, sent troops to Memel, and Russia sent a regiment of the Imperial Guard from St. Petersburg to Riga. This statement may, as we have said, be true, but the quarter from which it comes is not worthy of much credit. Cracow is at the extreme south-west of the kingdom of Poland. Samogitia, to adopt the ancient name, is a province which borders the extreme north-east of the kingdom. Is it credible that we should first have this intelligence from Cracow when the frontier of Eastern Prussia borders the provinces said to be in insurrection; and is it moreover likely that they would know at Cracow that a regiment had been despatched from St. Petersburg to Riga, a place which assuredly has little or no communication with Cracow? The truth, we may safely say, is that the whole story is an invention of the ardent patriots of Cracow, to induce Europe to believe that the insurrection is still making progress.

It is quite true that there is discontent in the Government of Kowno, and that in Lithuania generally a kind of partisan warfare is carried on, but the statement that a revolution *en masse* of the whole population is a gross fiction. In the South-east several bands still make head against the Russians. This kind of warfare will go on for a long time.

A telegram from Breslau announces that great agitation prevailed in Kalisch—on the frontier of Posen—on account of the approach of the insurgents. If this news be true, the insurgents must be in considerable force in this district, as Kalisch is the capital of the district of that name, and is held by a large Russian garrison.

The nobility of the Government of St. Petersburg have voted unanimously an address to the Emperor, in which they express their devotion to him, their indignation at the pretensions put forward to Russian territory, and their resolution not to shrink from any sacrifices to preserve the integrity of the Empire. An address like this has, of course, very little significance. It may have been a genuine expression of feeling—it may just as likely have been made to order.

An attempt of the Polish refugees here to succour their countrymen has failed. It seems that, in spite of the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the Poles, aided and assisted, it may be safely asserted, by some of the persons who complain most loudly of the equipment of the Alabama, hired a steamer belonging to the Hartlepool Steam Navigation Company, the *Ward Jackson*, and that about two hundred of them, with a large cargo of arms supplied by the contributions of the committee of which Mr. Stuart Mill is a member, got clear from this country on their way to some point—we must suppose, on the Baltic coast, in the province of Wilna. Somehow or other the English crew left the vessel. One statement given is that they abandoned her on account of the neighbourhood of Russian cruisers, and the vessel was carried into Malmo, where the Swedish Government laid an embargo upon her. And so has ended the expedition.

At last the sanguine navigators upon the dreary Schleswig-Holstein sea fancy that they catch a glimpse of land. It may be but another *mirage* which gladdens their eyes, but there is this circumstance, at least, in favour of their assumption, that the ship is decidedly put in the right course. The King of Denmark has issued a proclamation in which he abandons all attempts to establish a common constitution, and accepts the Eyder-Danish programme. Referring to his proclamation of January, 1852, in which he announced his intention to combine the different provinces of the Monarchy by means of a common constitution into one single well-regulated state, he points out that all his attempts to effect that object have failed through the interference of the Federal Diet in the internal affairs of the Monarchy, and their persistence in putting forward demands incompatible with the independence of the Crown and the privileges of provinces with which the Diet could have no concern. The States of Holstein have rejected every proposition for the establishment of a common constitution based upon common representation. This discord has, for ten years, paralyzed the independence of the kingdom, and the King, therefore, considers it his duty to settle the position of Holstein to the monarchy in accordance with his Federal duties. That position is an isolated and independent one. In future the King of Denmark will govern Holstein as its Duke, without any reference to his Danish Ministers or his Danish Parliament. Holstein is to have its own army, to be regulated by the Duke and the Estates. It is to contribute a proportional sum to the normal budget for the public debt, the

navy and the foreign department; to contribute and receive, in a fixed proportion, for customs, ports, telegraphs, and to grant or refuse, as it pleases, any additional sums which the exigencies of the Government may compel it to ask. The Duke of Holstein will govern the duchy, not from Copenhagen, but Itzehoe, in conjunction with the Estates of the Duchy. Its position towards Denmark and the German Diet is to approach, as nearly as possible, to that of Luxembourg towards Holland and the Diet. This, at least, is what the King, in his proclamation, promises.

It seems a radical settlement of the difficulty, and would undoubtedly at once prove so, if the professed aims of Holstein and of the German Diet were their real ones. It gives Holstein and the Federal Diet more than they have the right to ask, or have ventured to ask, but not what they have desired. The object of the Holsteiners has been to renew the old connexion with Schleswig, and to obtain a veto over the whole policy of the Danish Government. The object of the German Powers has been to weaken, or, as the King puts it, to paralyze Denmark by sustaining these demands. They have together prevented the King from fulfilling his promise of giving a common constitution, by refusing every proposal which did not give to Holstein, Lauenberg, or Schleswig this right of veto, and consequently establish the rule of the German Powers over Denmark; and now that the King, yielding to force, admits the full power of the Diet to determine his position to Holstein, they will insist upon the common constitution, which they know cannot be granted, and revive the pretension to a union with Schleswig, the invalidity of which they have solemnly acknowledged. Fortunately Prussia, the chief agent in this most disgraceful conspiracy, is not now in a position to interfere with Denmark, and if the Danish Government pursues resolutely the policy it has inaugurated, we may hope that it will settle the question. No doubt the separation of Holstein from the rest of the monarchy involves a sacrifice which so small a state can ill bear. No doubt, too, the danger of a conflict is incurred, but the question imperatively demanded a settlement; and as the sacrifice puts the right entirely upon the side of Denmark, we may hope that the conflict will be averted, or that it will result in a signal triumph of Danish policy.

Again a hitch about the throne of Greece. It seems that the consent of Prince Christian to the candidature of his son was not an absolute one. He assented generally, but reserved to himself the right to consider the matter at his leisure in Germany. Upon that consideration he formulated certain conditions, to which it is said the English Government is unable to give its consent, and so the matter at present stands. The Danes seem disposed to make some political capital out of the matter. The *Dagbladet* insists that as Denmark will lose by the elevation of Prince William to the Greek throne one of the heirs to the Danish throne, she has a right to ask as the consideration of her consent a guarantee from the Great Powers for the integrity of the Monarchy and, in point of fact, a settlement of the Schleswig question according to her own views. This is, however, asking a great deal too much, as the Danish Government, if it should be ill advised enough to make the demand, will find to its cost. It has a right to insist upon an arrangement which will give it back to Prince William if other heirs to the throne fail. More than this, it has no business to claim.

The Sultan has arrived at Alexandria. Troubles are brewing between him and his tributaries. The three principalities of the Danube are in a ferment which must soon lead to an explosion; and his Majesty, with a providence somewhat foreign to Mussulmans, intends to strengthen himself for the conflict by borrowing money from the Giaour.

THE EAST.

The telegraph brings very unsatisfactory news from the East. The Imperial forces have sustained a severe defeat in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, and the defence of that port, we may presume, will now devolve upon the British forces in China. The Japanese have blown up the house of the British Legation at Jeddo—about the third or fourth notice they have given it to quit. This will bring affairs to a crisis. The British Government must either withdraw its Minister and Consuls, or take some violent measures to ensure the protection of its representatives.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, April 8.

Our cotton market this week has exhibited no new feature of interest, and with a fair trade demand from day to day prices show no variation from our last quotations.

On Thursday the sales reached 7,000 bales at steady prices; on Saturday, the day after Good Friday, the market was

closed. The business done on Monday was again to a fair extent, the sales reaching 8,000 bales without change. Yesterday, in sympathy with Manchester, our market was quiet, with sales of 4,000 bales. To-day, 6,000 bales have been sold at steady prices, and we quote Middling Orleans 22d., and Fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttee 17½d.

The accounts of the Indian cotton crop received by last mail are very discouraging; it was generally believed that the shipments to England from Bombay this year will not exceed those of last, whilst, from the lateness of the crop, less cotton than usual will be shipped before the monsoon, and a larger proportion come forward in the latter half of the year. The first arrivals of Omrawuttee cotton were very inferior, much stained and discoloured through late rains.

A continued good business was still doing in the Indian goods and yarn markets by latest advices, and prices were again higher.

These accounts give confidence in Manchester, and spinners getting a ready sale for their yarns, have been induced to buy more freely here, their consumption of cotton is now on the increase.

MANCHESTER, April 7.

Although the amount of business done in yarn and cloth during the past week has not been quite so large as during the previous week, still it has been of considerable extent, and quite of a legitimate character, speculators keeping entirely out of the market.

India qualities have been the principal staples inquired for, and the extreme rates of last week were paid for them readily.

Spinners of Nos. 40s, 50s, and 60s, mule yarns in bundle are now pretty well in order, which will find work for some mills for three months to come, and such is the favourable tenor of the India advices as regards these sorts, that shippers are offering orders at such prices as are inducing more mills to commence running again.

The Bolton spinners of from Nos. 60s upwards, are also well in order, spinning for manufacturers of India jaconets and green end mulls, at very good prices.

Blackburn descriptions of yarns, such as Nos. 32s to 50s twist and pincops, are in steady demand, and for which extreme prices are paid.

In cloth the demand is principally for 6lbs., 7lbs., and 8½lbs., shirtings, also jaconets and mulls for shipment to India, the lighter weights being now made to order, as stocks have been pretty well cleared off lately.

To-day our market has been very steady, although very little business has been transacted, owing, in a great measure, to spinners and manufacturers having sold freely the last three weeks, and not feeling much inclined to enter into further transactions for the present.

Altogether our market may be said to be in a much more healthy state than has been the case for many months past.

THE CASE OF THE PETERHOFF.

The following correspondence on the seizure of the Peterhoff by Admiral Wilkes has been published:—

London, March 26, 1863.

My Lord,—A few months back my firm made arrangements for despatching a line of steamers between this country and Matamoras, in Mexico, and advertisements have appeared in the daily papers for freight by such vessels.

The first vessel despatched was the *Gipsy Queen*, which vessel has made the voyage out and home without any interruption.

The second vessel despatched was the ship *Peterhoff*. She left this port on the 7th day of January last, with a general cargo, containing, however, nothing contraband, and having a regular British and Mexican clearance, and carrying her Majesty's mail, as well as despatches for the Mexican Consul. She was to call at St. Thomas for coals.

On the 21st of February last, and when within three miles of St. Thomas, the *Peterhoff* was boarded by an officer from the Federal war steamer *Alabama*, who, after examining the ship's papers, left the vessel, having expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

The *Peterhoff* coaled at St. Thomas, and left on the 25th of February.

By advices received by the West India mail, just arrived, I am informed that on the *Peterhoff* leaving St. Thomas, and when within sight of the port, the Federal war steamer *Vanderbilt* hove in sight, and, having communicated with Admiral Wilkes, went in chase of and stopped the *Peterhoff*, putting an armed crew on board.

By advices received from the United States to-day I learn that the *Peterhoff* has been taken to Key West for adjudication as a prize.

I hold myself at your Lordship's disposal to submit the manifest of the *Peterhoff*'s cargo and any other documents which your Lordship may desire to see in proof of the above facts.

A third vessel, the steamer *Sea Queen*, is nearly loaded and about proceeding to Matamoras, and a fourth vessel will shortly commence loading, cargo having been already engaged.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to your Lordship the illegality of the capture and the unwarrantable proceedings of the United States' officers.

I hasten to bring the subject before your Lordship, with a view of soliciting the intervention of her Majesty's Government in taking the requisite steps to ensure the immediate restoration of the *Peterhoff*, with such damages as the owners of that vessel have sustained.

I also avail myself of this opportunity to ask your Lordship to take whatever measures may be requisite to prevent a repetition of such a proceeding by the United States' officers, in order that the mercantile community of this country may be assured their property and interests will not be subjected to similar consequences, and as the owner of the *Sea Queen*, about to sail, having come under engagement with the shippers of cargo, I trust your Lordship will not consider I am asking

too much in soliciting your Lordship's assurance that the ship and cargo will receive due protection from her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

JOSEPH SPENCE,

Of the firm of Pile, Spence, and Co.
To the Right Hon. the Earl Russell, her Majesty's
Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Office, March 26, 1863.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day respecting the capture, by the United States' steamer *Vanderbilt*, of your steamer *Peterhoff*, on her voyage from this country to Matamoras; and I am to acquaint you that the matter will have his Lordship's immediate attention; but, as it will be necessary to lay before the law officers of the Crown the fullest details respecting the case of the vessel, I am to request that you will immediately forward to me every document in your possession throwing light upon the destination and cargo of the vessel, her voyage and capture, including any reports or protests made by her master. To save time these documents may be forwarded to me in original, and I will afterwards request you to furnish me with copies of such of them as it may be necessary to retain for the records of this office.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

E. HAMMOND.

J. Spence, Esq., 2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill.

2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, E.C., March 27.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and in reply beg to enclose the following documents relating to the *Peterhoff* steamer, the subject of my communication of yesterday:—

1. Copy agreement, dated the 27th of October, 1862.
2. Advertisements for cargo which appeared in the *Times* and *Shipping Gazette*.
3. Certified copy manifest of the cargo of the *Peterhoff*.
4. File of bills of lading of cargo.
5. Four original policies of insurance on *Peterhoff* from London to Matamoras, and back to Liverpool.
6. Copy private instructions from myself to Captain Jarman, master of the *Peterhoff*.
7. Original letter from Captain Jarman to Messrs. Pile, Spence, and Co., dated St. Thomas, the 24th of February, 1863.
8. Extract of letter from Messrs. Lamb, Ball, and Co., St. Thomas, dated the 2nd of March, 1863.
9. Extract of advice from Lloyd's agent at Key West, to Lloyd's, London.

With reference to your inquiry for reports and protest by the master of the *Peterhoff*, I beg to say that no communication has been received from him since his above letter of the 24th of February, when he was about leaving St. Thomas, and for the reason that there has not been at present sufficient time for him to communicate with England. There cannot, however, be any doubt of the fact of the *Peterhoff* having been captured by the United States' naval officers at St. Thomas, for we learn from Captain Weller, of the West India mail steamer *La Plata*, recently arrived at Southampton, that he was an eye-witness to the capture, and herewith you will find extract of a private letter from Captain Weller to Captain Wake.

In conclusion, I would add that I have made application to the Mexican Consul for a certificate of the due clearance by him of the *Peterhoff* for Matamoras, but owing to his absence from town till Monday I am unable to procure it until then.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
E. Hammond, Esq. JOSEPH SPENCE.

2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, March 28, 1863.

Sir,—Referring to what passed in the conversation I had with you yesterday relating to the *Peterhoff* steamer, I now enclose the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* of the 24th inst., containing a note of the extraordinary judgment pronounced by the United States' Prize Court at Key West, in the case of the *Adele* steamer, and which entitles me, I think, to ask the Government to relieve me from the certainty of a similar result.

In this paper you will also find a statement of the circumstances attending the capture of the *Magicienne* steamer by the United States' vessel of war *Onward*, apparently identical with the *Peterhoff*'s capture, and which, in my humble judgment, renders it incumbent on her Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to prevent a continuance of the extraordinary course which the United States' naval officers appear determined to adopt in all such cases.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. Hammond, Esq.

JOSEPH SPENCE.

Foreign-office, March 28, 1863.

Sir,—I have laid before Earl Russell your letter of this day's date, enclosing a letter containing a report respecting the decision of the Admiralty Court at Key West, in the case of the *Adele*, and I am bound to state to you that the same shall be referred to the law officers of the Crown for their consideration, with the other papers now before them in the case of the *Peterhoff*.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

E. HAMMOND.

Joseph Spence, Esq., 2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill.

2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, E.C., March 30, 1863.

My Lord,—Referring to my previous communication on the subject of the *Peterhoff* (steamer), I have now the honour of enclosing copies of the following documents:—

- No. 1. Letter from Captain Jarman, master of the *Peterhoff*, to Messrs. Pile, Spence, and Co., dated Key West, March 7, 1863.
- No. 2. Copy of letter from Captain Jarman to Mr. Gerard, dated Key West, March 7, 1863.
- No. 3. Copy of letter to me from Mr. Gerard, dated New York, March 7, 1863.
- No. 4. Letter from Mr. Redgate and Mr. Brandon, passengers in the *Peterhoff*, to Messrs. Hird, Mundella, Smith, and Co., of London, shippers of cargo per *Peterhoff*.
- No. 5. Letter from Samuel J. Redgate to Captain Halsted, secretary of Lloyd's, in London, dated Key West, March 7, 1863.
- No. 6. Official report of Mr. Redgate to the secretary of Lloyd's, detailing the circumstances attending the capture of the *Peterhoff*.

These documents, your Lordship will observe, while they

more than confirm the facts already communicated respecting the seizure of the *Peterhoff*, disclose a conviction on the part of the officer in command of the *Vanderbilt* (steamer) that his proceedings were altogether unjustifiable, and that to Admiral Wilkes is to be attributed the execution of a premeditated design to seize and take the *Peterhoff* to a Prize Court.

Your Lordship will not overlook the conduct of the prize crew towards the officers, crew, and passengers of the *Peterhoff* in keeping them confined to their cabins for several days in such a climate.

The pretence assigned for seizing the *Peterhoff*,—namely that she had on previous occasions run the blockade, is without a particle of foundation; the fact being that the ship left England on her first voyage in the month of July last, when she sailed for Bermuda and Nassau, at the latter of which ports she loaded a return cargo direct for Liverpool, where she arrived in the month of October last. On the completion of that voyage she became my property, and the present is her first voyage since I became the owner, and the second voyage since she was built.

Now that the facts are before your Lordship, free from any possible contradiction, I venture to renew my request that your Lordship will lose no time in demanding the immediate restitution of the *Peterhoff* and her cargo, together with damages for the gross outrage perpetrated by the unwarrantable proceedings of the United States' naval officers; and, further, that your Lordship will convey to me the assurance of Her Majesty's Government that my line of steamers, engaged in lawful trade between this country and Matamoras, will receive such protection as will effectually put an end to the arbitrary proceedings of Admiral Wilkes, or any future interference by the United States' naval authorities.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's obedient, humble servant,
JOSEPH SPENCE.

To the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign-office, March 31st, 1863.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, enclosing further papers respecting the capture of the *Peterhoff*, and I am to state to you that your letter has been referred for the consideration of the law officers of the Crown.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
E. HAMMOND.
Joseph Spence, Esq., 2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill.

Foreign-office, April 3, 1863.

Sir,—I am now directed by Earl Russell to make you acquainted with the conclusion, at which, having considered, in communication with the law officers of the Crown, the circumstances attending the capture, by the United States ship of war *Vanderbilt*, of the British vessel *Peterhoff*, as set forth in your letters of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 30th ult., Her Majesty's Government have arrived at in regard to that matter.

The Government of the United States has clearly no right to seize British vessels *bonâ fide* bound from this country, or from any other British possession, to the ports of Vera Cruz and Matamoras, or either of them, or *vice versâ*, unless such vessels attempt to touch at, or have an intermediate or contingent destination to some blockaded port or place, or are carriers of contraband of war destined for the Confederate States; and, in any admitted case of such unlawful capture, her Majesty's Government would feel it their duty promptly to interfere, with a view to obtain the immediate restitution of the ship and cargo, with full compensation, and without the delay of proceedings in a Prize Court.

Her Majesty's Government, however, cannot, without violating the rules of international law, claim for British vessels navigating between Great Britain and these places any general exemption from the belligerent right of visitation by the cruisers of the United States, nor can they proceed upon any general assumption that such vessels may not so act as to render their capture lawful and justifiable.

Nothing is more common than for those who contemplate a breach of blockade, or the carriage of contraband, to disguise their purpose by a simulated destination and by deceptive papers, and the situation of the ports on the coast of Mexico, with reference to the Confederate States, is such, as to make it not only possible, but in many cases probable, that an ostensible Mexican destination would be resorted to, as a cover for objects which would really justify capture. It has already happened in many cases that British vessels have been seized while engaged in voyages apparently lawful, which vessels have been afterwards proved in the Prize Courts to have been really guilty of endeavouring to break the blockade, or of carrying contraband to the Confederates.

It is the right of the belligerent to capture all vessels reasonably suspected of either of these transgressions of international law, and, whenever any cause of capture is alleged, the case cannot be withdrawn from the consideration of the Prize Court of the captor.

After the case has undergone investigation it is the duty of the Prize Court to restore any such prizes, unlawfully made, with costs and damages; and the proper time for the interference of her Majesty's Government is in general when the Prize Courts have refused redress for a capture which the evidence shows to have been unjustifiable.

Her Majesty's Government cannot, upon *ex parte* statements, deny the belligerents in this war the exercise of those rights which, in all wars in which Great Britain has been concerned, she has claimed herself to exercise.

As regards the allusion which has been made to the case of the *Adele*, before her Majesty's Government can form any opinion as to the judgment stated to have been given in that case, they must have before them a correct report of that judgment it being impossible to rely upon the general representation of its effect contained in a newspaper paragraph, founded on printed letters, especially as none of the other judgments of the United States' Prize Courts, which have been reported to her Majesty's Government during the present war, evince any disregard of the established principles of international law.

As regards, however, the particular case of the *Peterhoff*, in which you are more directly interested, her Majesty's Government, having taken into consideration the papers transmitted by you, and being satisfied that those papers disclose no *prima facie* ground of capture, and that there is every reason to believe the voyage to have been lawful and *bonâ fide*, and the seizure of the vessel wholly unjustifiable, they will instruct Lord Lyons to make an immediate representation of the circumstances of that case to the Government of Washington, and if no legal ground of capture should be alleged then to press for the release of the vessel and her cargo, with compensation and without the delay of proceedings in the Prize

Court. But if any legal grounds of capture should be alleged by the Government of the United States, this case, like all others, must unavoidably follow the ordinary course.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
E. HAMMOND.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONFEDERATE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The following is that part of the report which relates to the operations of the war:—

Confederate States of America, War Department,
Richmond, January 3, 1863.

His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America:

Sir,—I have the honour to submit to you the following report of the action and condition of this Department.

After the toils, privations, and many battles of the past year, it is gratifying to be able to present the army as fully equal, if not superior, in all the elements of strength to what it has been at any previous period of the war. Its numbers, though still seriously inadequate to fill fully its organizations, yet afford a nearer approximation than heretofore to that result. When, in addition, it is considered that a large proportion of these consists, not of new recruits, but of soldiers inured to the exposures of service and made veterans by the ordeal of constant danger, its superior endurance and stability must readily be acknowledged. It is not deemed requisite to state its precise aggregate, nor to detail the exact proportions of its respective branches of service. It may be sufficient to say generally, in respect to the latter, that it is believed they exist in such respective proportion as approved military judgment considers most promotive of efficiency and co-operation.

The army, thus constituted, could it be recruited and maintained to its full complement, would, in all probability, be the largest in proportion to population ever maintained in actual service by any nation, and would attain the maximum which the production and the resources of even the wide expanse and fertile regions of the Confederacy would, without oppressive exactions of the people, render judicious to sustain. Nor, when it is recollected how, with numbers much short of this standard of completion, it has, in the past, generally wrested victory from the far superior forces of the enemy, and repelled the hordes of invaders on which, with the presumptuous insolence of anticipated success, our foe have relied to overwhelm us, can it be doubted that such an army would be fully adequate to all future needs and exigencies, and sufficient to assure final peace and independence.

To secure the completion of its numbers, reliance must be placed on the measures known popularly as the Acts of Conscription, approved, the one on the 16th of April, 1862, and the other on the 27th of September, 1862.

By the first of these acts, all the white male citizens of the Confederacy capable of bearing arms, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, with a few guarded exceptions, were constituted soldiers of the Provisional army, and devoted first to filling up the ranks of the old organizations. This was one of the most remarkable ordeals to which the patriotism and self-devotion of any people was ever subjected. It was demanded by the imperious necessity of the crisis. Without decadence of the real valour of our people, or their invincible determination to achieve their independence, the first flush of enthusiasm, and the rush of volunteers fired by threatened invasion, had comparatively ceased. Not unnaturally, under experience of the diseases, privations and hardships of the soldier's life, and the influence of delusive hopes of speedy peace inspired by early victories, the spirit of volunteering had died out. While, however, the ardour of the individual did not suffice for the proffer of self-devotion, the sentiments and convictions of the mass recognised as the most sacred obligation the stern duty of defending, if needs be, with their entire numbers, their imperilled liberty, fortune and honour. They were engaged in a righteous war for all men hold dear. Foes, as malignant in intent, as unscrupulous in means, with numbers unexampled in modern war, aided by patient training, complete organization, and all the appliances of military science, were pressing on for their subjugation or extermination. The contrast presented at the same time by our banded forces was not less striking than discouraging. The periods of enlistment of more than two-thirds of our soldiers were very near their termination, and it was manifest that, notwithstanding the ulterior purpose of the great majority, at some future time to re-enlist in the ranks of the armed defenders of their country, their resolution was not sufficient to resist the prospects cherished for months, amid the sufferings and monotony of the camps, of returning to their homes and there temporarily enjoying their habitual comforts and pleasures. They had, too, for self-justification the plea that they had borne their part of the burthen and peril, and that it was inequitable that numbers equally interested and capable, but only less bold or more prudent, should enjoy all the benefits without sharing in their trials and dangers. Our army was in incipient disorganization, and on the eve of dissolution. The natural consequences ensued in a series of grave disasters. Reverse succeeded reverse. In the east, Roanoke Island, the key to the inland waters of North Carolina, was captured. We had to fall back from Manassas, abandon our defences at Yorktown, and yield Norfolk, with all the advantages of its contiguous navy yards and dock. In the west, Forts Henry and Donelson fell, with the loss, at the latter, of the gallant force who had victoriously repelled, till exhaustion disabled them to meet, overwhelming numbers. All defences on the Upper Mississippi had to be yielded or abandoned, and Nashville, the capital, and Memphis, the leading city of Tennessee, became the unresisting prey of the victors. Finally, as the crowning stroke of adverse fortune, New Orleans, the commercial emporium of the South, with the forts that guarded the outlet of the great artery of the trade in the west, after resistance so feeble as to arouse not less of shame than indignation, passed into the occupancy of our foes. It was the darkest hour of our struggle, and with a people of less heroic resolve and invincible spirit, waging war against hosts avowing such malignant intents, it might well have caused discouragement and dismay. But, to their honour be it said, it only roused a more indomitable will, and nerved to sterner struggles. A supreme effort of self-devotion and courage was recognised as necessary. The bill of conscription was passed and bravely accepted. Its first effect was to retain in the army the soldiers whose terms of enlistment were just expiring. How great the sacrifice involved in the renewal of all their privations and dangers, and the renunciation of their anticipated release and enjoyments, may be better conceived than

portrayed. Yet, was there scarce a murmur of disappointment and disaffection, and not an instance, as far as known, of resistance or revolt. Scarce less meritorious was the action of the great body of the people, who, with full realization of all to be encountered, yielded themselves or their dearest kindred to the call of their country's need. The results worthily rewarded such sacrifices. The army was speedily reorganized and recruited, and with sterner sense of its task, and renewed hope, it prepared to meet the exultant foe.

By the rapid concentration of the armies in the west, General A. Sidney Johnston was enabled, with some approximation to equality of force, to strike a decisive blow, and to win the brilliant victory of Shiloh, where the enemy were only saved from utter destruction by the hasty arrival of reinforcements too numerous to be more than successfully repelled.

In the east, the happy boldness of General Magruder at Yorktown, stayed at a critical time the advance of the grand Federal army, destined for the capture of our capital, until our forces, rescued by the consummate strategy of General J. E. Johnson, from the pressure of enveloping armies, could arrive to the rescue. Signal checks, given in partial battles at Williamsburg and elsewhere, dismayed and baffled the Federal army in its advance, until General Johnson had securely withdrawn his forces to his chosen lines of defence. Meanwhile, General Jackson, by a series of rapid movements and bold attacks, in which strategy equalled valour, with far inferior numbers, defeated successively four Generals, with as many armies, swept the Valley of Virginia of hostile forces, made the Federal authorities tremble in their capital, and frustrated the combinations by which the enemy had purposed to aid General McClellan and environ Richmond by large converging armies. During these operations, the grand army of McClellan, inveigled by the skill of General J. E. Johnson to settle down on the swamps of the Chickahominy to the prudent occupation of digging trenches and earthworks, was, on the first favourable opportunity, stricken with marked success in the severe engagement of the Seven Pines. Unfortunately, before his guidance had consummated victory, General Johnson was wounded and disabled. Our army was then transferred to that consummate commander, General R. E. Lee. Soon thereafter, summoning to his aid General Jackson, the prestige of whose name and recent exploits sufficed for the security of the Valley, he, in pursuance of a plan, as admirably conceived as on his part boldly executed, assailed McClellan in flank and rear, and by a series of bloody victories, drove from their laboured defences his grand army. Shattered and dismayed, it cowered for protection under cover of its gunboats, there to swelter and waste beneath the oppressive sun and pestilential malaria of a shadeless plain on the banks of the Lower James. Even that measure of good fortune was due solely to those accidental miscarriages in combinations which in war often mar the wisest arrangements. The execution of General Lee's plan, with vigour equal to its conception, must inevitably have eventuated in the capture of the whole demoralized army of the enemy.

While these triumphs were being won, another large army of the enemy was advancing through Piedmont, Virginia, towards its central lines of railroad communication, under the command of General Pope. He had disgraced the character of an officer by braggart boasts, and outraged humanity and civilization by stimulating and sanctioning desolating ravages and vindictive cruelties by his unscrupulous troops. General Jackson, despatched with a moderate force to stay his progress, administered a speedy rebuke to his arrogant vanities, and gave an earnest of coming chastisement by defeating, in the sharp engagement of Cedar Run, his advanced division under General Banks.

Soon after, General Lee, despising the shrunken proportions and quelled spirit of the grand army in its unenviable asylum, proceeded, with the larger proportion of his forces, to unite with Jackson and confront the then collected and imposing army of Pope. By a succession of movements, too masterly to be comprehended, and too rapidly executed to be withstood by Pope, he broke up his communications, intercepted his supplies, and by throwing forces in his rear, drove him to rapid flight, chased him from the Rapidan to Bull Run, and at last forced him, but not until sustained by large reinforcements from Washington, to a decisive battle on the already memorable field of Manassas. There a second victory, scarce less decisive than the first, attested the continuing superiority of our troops, and the unchanged favour of the God of Battles. The enemy fled to refuge under their old defences at Arlington, and again spread dread and confusion in their quaking capital. Instead of wasting strength and resources by either assailing the strongholds of the enemy or tarrying in the country wasted by the repeated ravages of war, General Lee, with boldness and dexterity, passed his army rapidly into Maryland. There, with part of his forces, he penetrated to the centre of the State, collecting large stores of much needed supplies, and by stirring appeals, rousing the people of that oppressed State to strike for their own deliverance. With another portion, the rapid Jackson moved to the capture of Harper's Ferry, with its hostile force of 11,000 men and great stores of munitions and supplies. This was crowned with perfect success, and must be recognized as among the most brilliant achievements of the war.

Under the shock of our victories, in the Valley and around Richmond, and of the successes of our arms in the west, the Federal Executive, still tenacious of the hope to crush us by surpassing numbers and resources, had ordered a draft of six hundred thousand more men to be at once furnished and hurried to the support of his still superior but disheartened armies. From the numbers of this call may be inferred, both the extent of the panic and the losses of the enemy, from our successive victories. At the commencement of the campaign they had based their boasts and their hopes on having seven hundred thousand men in arms for our overthrow, and before that campaign was half completed, their fears called for nearly a duplication of their original numbers. While the events last described were occurring, rapid and great additions under this call had been made to the Federal armies, and not merely of untrained levies, since the judicious disposition of them in garrisons and the remoter and less exposed theatres of action, had placed at disposition large numbers of their best troops, whose spirits had not been broken by defeats. By these means General McClellan, who had been summoned with his shattered remnant of the grand army to the defence of the capital, was enabled at the head of an immense army, to issue forth to attack General Lee and relieve Harper's Ferry. The movement, though more prompt than was anticipated, was too late for the latter purpose, as Harper's Ferry had already yielded, yet it brought him in the face of our forces before they had been concentrated from that and their other operations in Maryland. The first shock of his whole force was thus cast on one of the columns of General Lee's army, guarding his rear at Boonsboro', and though

most bravely sustained and even repelled by the gallant General D. H. Hill, yet his necessary retirement to the point of embarkation selected by General Lee gave to the enemy the appearance of a first success, and was unscrupulously trumped up as a great victory, to animate the hopes and courage of the Federal army. Thus reinvigorated, with treble odds of numbers and artillery, they ventured an attack on General Lee in the position near Sharpsburg, where he had collected the larger portion of the forces remaining to him after so many arduous marches and glorious victories. The battle, protracted from morn to night, was stubborn and bloody, but resulted in the final repulse of the enemy from all our positions. The field remained in our occupancy, and the next morning, to the challenging fire of our guns, no response was made, and no enemy appeared. McClellan had withdrawn, as afterwards appeared, some five miles in retreat. The victory was ours, but gained over numbers already overwhelming and certain to be immediately reinforced, it could not be followed up and improved. Exhausted by the unwonted celerity of past movements, and by the inevitable losses of his many victories, and exposed to have his communications and supplies intercepted by his host of foes, General Lee judiciously withdrew his army with all its numbers and stores in safety across the Potomac. The enemy finding in this movement of wise precaution a pretext for the arrogant claim of victory, followed to the river bank, but ventured not to assail their retiring conquerors, much less to cross the river in pursuit. Our gallant army, in proud defiance of the hosts gathered on the opposite shore, rested and recruited on the Virginia side, with the satisfaction of having well nigh destroyed two grand armies of invaders, and severely staggered a third, more numerous than either. A pause of martial inaction followed for some weeks, and may be considered as affording a termination in the east to one of the most remarkable campaigns of history.

In the west, less brilliant, but still very decisive, successes attended our arms. From the effects of the victory of Shiloh, and of the reinvigorated ranks and spirits of our forces under the action of the Conscription law, our armies in each department prepared to make active advances, and by combined movements pressing forward their discouraged and retreating foes, to repossess the country previously occupied by them, and to go forward to the redemption of the State of Kentucky, and the attack of one or more of the leading cities of the West. In the prosecution of this plan, North Alabama and Mississippi were speedily cleared of the footsteps of the foe. All of Tennessee, save the strongholds of Memphis and Nashville, and the narrow districts commanded by them, were retrieved, and by converging armies, nearly the whole of Kentucky was occupied and held. The signal victory of Richmond was won, with the capture and dispersion of nearly the whole much superior forces of the enemy, by the skill and valour of General E. Kirby Smith and his brave command. While a series of brilliant cavalry movements and successes, won by the gallant Colonel Morgan, broke up all efforts on the part of the disaffected Unionists or scattered Federal forces to rally and combine, and afforded at once, protection and encouragement to rise, to the loyal citizens of the State. These movements threatened the safety, and excited the greatest consternation of the cities of Cincinnati and Louisville.

Meanwhile, General Braxton Bragg, with a well-appointed army, trained and disciplined under his efficient organization, moved boldly forward through Tennessee and Kentucky. By doing this he so flanked and endangered the rear of General Buell, in command of the leading army of the enemy in the west, as to compel him to rapid retreat, for refuge and reinforcements, on the Ohio and Louisville, or elsewhere. Had General Buell, as might naturally have been expected from his numbers, been more bold to encounter his enemy, or less rapid in his flight, General Bragg would probably have accomplished, after sweeping all foes from before him in Middle Kentucky, the great object of overthrowing Buell's army and capturing Louisville. Unfortunately, Buell effected evasion of battle, and escaped safely to that city which under the occupancy of his army, became too strong for assault. Sheltered in Louisville, Buell was enabled to receive and organize the very large reinforcements which the draft of the Federal Government, and the dread of invasion in the populous States of the North-west, caused to be forwarded with extraordinary despatch. His forces, before superior, became vastly larger than all our commands in Kentucky, and he began by various movements threaten our connections and communications with the more Southern States. About the same time, the diversions which were expected to be made by our forces still remaining on the southern borders of West Tennessee, towards Memphis and Nashville, failed of anticipated success. One division sustained a check at luka and was obliged to fall back, and some time later the whole command, in a most daring and determined attack on the entrenched positions of the enemy at Corinth, were defeated with serious loss and driven to a rapid retreat.

Before these events had fully occurred, General Bragg had concluded that prudence required the present withdrawal of our armies from Kentucky, and the removal into security of the large and, under our circumstances, most valuable supplies of every kind which had been collected during the occupancy of that abundant and unexhausted country. His arrangements were being made with due care and deliberation for these ends, and portions of his forces, preceded by immense trains, were already moving Southward, when General Buell, under the encouragement of his great numbers, at last ventured an attack on one of his divisions. The result was, when comparative forces are considered, the brilliant victory to us of Perryville. Its results were seen in the subsequent prudent avoidance of all interruption or disturbance by the enemy to the quietly retreating columns of our armies with their gathered stores, who resumed commanding positions of their selection in the State of Tennessee. Thus, in Kentucky, as in Virginia, our armies, not conquered or repelled, but diminished by their own successes, were, from mere paucity of numbers, constrained to retire to avoid environment by overwhelming forces, but under the protecting prestige of victory, were prudently respected and unassailed by their enemies.

Of the various operations of our forces on more limited theatres, it is impracticable, within reasonable limits, to give a succinct account. It is sufficient to say, generally, that from the reorganization of our army, and the turn in the tide of fortune, that successes have been numerous and reverses very few, and that with scarce an exception, in small actions as in great engagements, the superior skill of our officers and valour of our soldiers have been signally vindicated.

More special allusion, however, is due to the memorable repulses of the enemy with their formidable gunboats at Drewry's Bluff, near Richmond, and at Vicksburg. At each

were illustrated not more signally the fortitude and valour of the armed defenders, than the heroic resolve and self-devotion of the citizens, who preferred for their fair cities destruction to subjugation. The examples were pregnant with monition and encouragement. The gunboats lost their prestige of terror. Cities ceased to be abandoned or surrendered on the approach of a foe, and all were taught how freemen, above fear and ready for all sacrifice, may proudly defy the most potent agencies of modern warfare.

The foregoing detail has been indulged in from a double purpose. First,—to render a tribute of justice to our armies, whose grand achievements, being then in process of accomplishment, my predecessor, from considerations of prudence, abstained in his last report from commemorating; and secondly, and more especially, to demonstrate the imperious necessity that demanded the first enactment of conscription, and the glorious effects that at once vindicated the wisdom of its adoption, and repaid the sacrifices of our soldiers and people in accepting it. It is hardly too much to say that it wrought our salvation from destruction or infamous thralldom. Could it indeed have been somewhat sooner adopted, or more speedily and thoroughly executed, it may well be doubted whether the first act alone might not have sufficed to have extorted from our obdurate foes, in their own capital, or on their own conquered soil, permanent peace and independence. At the culminating point of our late successful advances, could fifty thousand more troops of the Confederacy have been added to the victorious armies of Generals Lee and Bragg, the full fruition of our highest hopes would almost have been assured. In no spirit of vain regret is the reflection indulged, but because of its deep practical monition for the future. In lieu of such happy consummation, our triumphal progress was arrested and our victorious armies compelled to retire before the hosts summoned to the field by the large draft of the Federal Government. The same necessity is therefore again pressing on our people with scarce less stringent urgency. In wise prevision of it, the second act of conscription, heretofore referred to, was judiciously provided by Congress at its last session, giving to your Excellency the power to call into the Provisional Army all subject to military duty between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five, or such part thereof as in your judgment was necessary to the public defence. Under this act you have called into service, for the present, only those between the ages of thirty-five and forty, who are subject to military service, and not exempted by an act passed soon after, known as the Exemption Act, exempting certain classes of persons, and such others as the President shall feel satisfied on account of justice, equity, or necessity, ought to be exempted. The call, as well as the first Act of Conscription, are now being actively executed by the department. A sub-bureau, attached to the Adjutant-General's Department, has been organized, charged with this subject exclusively. In every State one or more Camps of Instruction for the reception and training of conscripts, has been or is being established in judiciously selected locations. To each State an officer, styled a Commandant of Conscripts, is appointed, charged with the supervision of the enrolment and instruction of conscripts, and he recommends a surgeon, a quartermaster, a commissary, and the drillmasters requisite.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

On the 12th of February, in the Senate, Mr. Sparrow, of Louisiana, submitted a resolution, declaring it to be the purpose of Congress to maintain the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, as stated in the Act of the Provisional Government. Referred to the Committee on Commerce. The House bill, repealing the clauses of the Exemption Act relative to overseers on plantations, was discussed until the hour of adjournment.

In the House Mr. McKee introduced an Exemption Bill, repealing the present laws, and leaving the subject in the hands of the President and Secretary of War. Referred. The Impressment Bill was discussed, but no action was taken.

On the 13th, in the Senate, several important bills were introduced. The Committee on Military Affairs reported adversely on the proposition to enroll the Government employees as conscripts. The Exemption Bill was then taken up and discussed until the time of adjournment.

The House passed the bill allowing the soldier five dollars a month for deficiencies in rations. The Impressment Bill was also passed. It empowers any officer commanding a military district or department to authorize the impressment of property when it cannot be procured otherwise; the impressment of slaves to be made in accordance with State laws, but, in the absence of such laws, in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of War. No slave are to be impressed where they can be hired at the usual market rates. No individual is to be deprived of provisions required for the comfortable support of his family; nor, except in extreme cases, of grain, forage, slaves, or other property necessary for his plantation. Compensation is to be made for property seized, and if the owner and impressing officer cannot agree to terms, it shall be determined by three disinterested persons. Property lost, destroyed, or injured, is to be paid for by the Government, and penalties are attached for any officer impressing property in violation of the act.

On the 16th, in the Senate, a bill was introduced making Columbia a port of entry. A bill was passed authorizing the employment of pilots. The Exemption Bill was discussed by Messrs. Yancey and Phelan, the pending question being on the motion to lay the Senate Bill on the table and take up the House Bill, which simply repeals those clauses of the Act of last session relative to the police of plantations. The question was decided in the negative, and the Senate Bill was then discussed until the hour of adjournment.

The House passed the bill to refund the State of Alabama the amount overpaid on account of the war tax of 1862. Also a bill to allow minors to hold commissions in the army. The House then went into secret session to discuss the currency question.

On the 18th, the Senate concurred in the House amendment to the Senate Bill authorizing the issue of bonds for funding Treasury notes. The 3rd section of the act provides that bonds issued under the Hundred Million Loan has been filed, will be made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government, at the expiration of five years from the date of said bonds. The Exemption Bill was further considered until adjournment.

On the 20th, the Senate was occupied with the further consideration of the Exemption Bill. An amendment was adopted exempting one person on any farm on which there resides a family of women and children, not less than ten in

number, dependant on the labour and presence of a white man for support and protection, with various conditions to prevent the abuse of the exemption.

In the House, proceedings were unimportant, that body having gone into secret session on the Currency question.

On March 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Smith introduced a Bill to grant to the principal officer of each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor. The Bill was taken up and discussed until adjournment.

In the House of Representatives Mr. Barkdale introduced joint resolutions declaring the firm conviction of the people of the Confederate States in the justice of their cause, and their confidence of a final triumph in the end; and that they will continue to make whatever sacrifice is required; that they would accord a respectful consideration to any proposition looking to the accommodation of differences, but preserving a separate and distinctive national character. Whenever any State bordering on the Mississippi should desert from their unprovoked war the Confederate Government will secure them the free navigation of that river.

The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Smith, of North Carolina, introduced a resolution on the same subject, which was referred to the same Committee.

ORDERS OF GENERAL BEAUREGARD.

The following general orders have been issued by General Beauregard in anticipation of an attack upon Charleston. The last, in relation to shipping entering the harbour from abroad, deserves special attention from parties trading with Charleston:—

Head-quarters Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, Charleston, S.C., February 17, 1863.

It has become my solemn duty to inform the authorities and citizens of Charleston and Savannah that the movements of the enemy's fleet indicate an early land and naval attack on one or both of these cities, and to urge that all persons unable to take an active part in the struggle shall retire.

It is hoped, however, that this temporary separation of some of you from your homes will be made without alarm or undue haste, thus showing that the only feeling that animates you in this hour of supreme trial, is the regret of being unable to participate in the defence of your homes, your altars, and the graves of your kindred.

Carolínians and Georgians! the hour is at hand to prove your devotion to your country's cause! Let all able-bodied men from the seaboard to the mountains rush to arms! Be not too exacting in the choice of weapons; pikes and scythes will do for exterminating your enemies—spades and shovels for protecting your friends.

To arms, fellow citizens! Come to share with us our dangers, our brilliant success, or our glorious death.

(Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD,
General Commanding.

Official: JOHN M. OREY, A.A.G.

Head quarters Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, Charleston, February 17, 1863.

[Special Orders, No. 44.]

* * * * *
VII.—All furloughs to officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, belonging to this Department, not based on Surgeons' certificates, are revoked, and both officers and soldiers will repair, without delay, to their respective stations, to be ready to meet the enemy. Patriots and true soldiers will not linger by the way side.
* * * * *

By Command of GENERAL BEAUREGARD,
G JNO. M. OTEY, A.A.G.

Head-quarters First Military District, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, Charleston, February 17, 1863.

[General Orders, No. 8.]

I.—Vessels navigating the harbour will avoid passing through Hog Island Channel, between Mount Pleasant and Sullivan's Island, and the Channel between the flats East of Castle Pinckney and Crab Bank.

II.—Hereafter no vessels entering the port at night, from abroad, will be allowed to pass Forts Moultrie or Sumter, until daylight. Their course will be pointed out by the Commanding officer at Fort Sumter, to which post each vessel will be required to send a boat to report.

By Command of Brig. Gen. RIPLEY,
WM. F. NANCE, A.A.G.,
First Military District.

ALEXANDER GALT, THE SCULPTOR.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

At a time like the present, when the people of the South are called upon to bewail so many gallant spirits, who have perished either on the field of battle or on the more fatal couch of disease, it may not be deemed wholly inappropriate to pause a moment at the shrine of departed genius, and drop a tributary wreath on its bier. But the lamented Galt not only possessed that brilliant spark which shines forth only in long intervals, whether of peace or war; but he was a patriot, and cherished with a generous enthusiasm the honour and glory of the ancient Commonwealth in which he was born. The first offspring of his skill, wrought in a foreign land, he named in her honour; and when Virginia seceded a second time from a Federal Union, he was among the first to tender his services in the impending struggle, and was soon engaged in the erection of a battery designed to protect his native city from the hostile forces which were threatening it by land and upon the water. He had just returned from Italy on the eve of the secession, full of hope in his calling, when the avalanche of war, so unexpectedly to him, fell upon us; and it was interesting to observe how a mind like his, which was teeming with the gay images of art, became instantly engaged in the laborious details of fortification, and in the bustle of actual life. Like Michael Angelo, who, on the approach of war, stepped from his studio, and planned the defences which protected his flowery home on the Arno from the approach of the enemy, Galt, who worshipped with true fervour the genius of the great Italian, sought in his own sphere to imitate his heroic example.

He was born in the city of Norfolk, about the year 1828, and was the son of the late Alexander Galt, who was postmaster of that city for several years, and fell a victim to yellow

fever in the fatal summer of 1835. Another victim to the disease, or to the sorrows which the disease brought in its train, was Annie, the sister of our artist, whose genius, exerted in a kindred art, was not unequal to her brother's. She delighted to chant the praises of his chisel; and her lines on the Bæchante approach nearer the flowing rhythm, the brilliant perspective, and the living grace of Childé Harold, than any other production of the Virginia Muse.

The genius of Galt began to manifest itself at an early period. When a child, he carved small busts and likenesses with his penknife, which displayed tact and skill; and the ladies of Norfolk ever took pleasure in showing the concheliæ which the modest and beautiful boy had cut from the shell of the oyster. In due time he was sent to Italy, where he devoted all his energies to the study of art; as he well knew that even his livelihood depended upon his success; for in his case, as in so many others, fortune, which gave him genius, had denied him wealth; and it is believed that he maintained himself abroad, either directly or indirectly, by his own efforts in his profession.

The first work from his chisel, as stated above, was a female bust, very sweet and very pretty, which he called Virginia, and which is in possession of a gentleman of New York. He now returned home with this proof of his skill, and some of the prominent citizens of Norfolk united in making up a purse for another work; and the result was the production of a female bust, with a Greek outline of the face, in which beauty and intelligence are finely blended, and, like the aspect of genius in repose, verging to the serious, and draped with uncommon skill.—He called it Psyche, as the embodiment of the soul; though, perhaps, a better name would have been *The Penserosa*, as exhibiting, in a feminine form, what Milton has so charmingly depicted in the masculine. The citizens of Richmond had an opportunity of seeing this work some years ago, in the hall of the Historical Society; and it is now safe from hostile hands in the collection of him who traces these lines. The birth of Psyche, or rather the first appearance in our city, was celebrated in some graceful verses by the late Mr. Maxwell, and also by the muse of his sister.

His next production was the bust of a lovely woman, in nadraped and freshly developed womanhood, with a smile on her countenance, and with lips slightly parted, as if she were saying some silly thing to her partner in the dance. The features are full and flush, as becomes a Bæchante, a votary of the god of the grape; the hair, which is dressed with exquisite skill, and evenly parted on the forehead, is nicely adjusted behind the ears, which are left free for the music of the dance or the whispers of love, and is bound behind with a fillet which gives a striking outline to the back part of the head; and about her temples she wears a wreath of vine leaves, each one of which, though an exact transcript of nature, differs from its fellow, while the neck and bosom are worthy of the face that smiles above them. The late Mr. James, the novelist, declared in a public lecture that this bust alone "was sufficient to make the fame of a city;" and it was his wont to bring his distinguished foreign visitors to see it as a specimen of the genius of the South; and among those visitors, we recall a son of Lord Dunmore, of revolutionary memory, who spoke of it with rapture. The triumph of the piece is the smile which, as you look upon the face, seems to flash instantly with the distinctness of present life from the lip and cheek and eye. This bust also delights in the name of *Allegra*, and is in strong contrast with her elder and more serious sister, as she stands by her side in the same collection. Of this bust, the artist made several copies, one of which, is, or was, in the Philadelphia Academy, and there is a copy somewhat less in size than the original model in the possession of General Anderson of this city.

The next effort was the bust of Columbus, which is as large as life. The artist was required to make a head of the great discoverer, such as he was when he landed on the shores of the new world—a point of time in the life of Columbus not represented on canvass, and intermediate between the youthful face painted by Passignano, which was done long after the death of Columbus, and is rather a likeness of some member of his family than his own, though adopted by Mr. Prescott in his history, and the broad, bluff, weather-beaten, but more authentic likeness, taken in the decline of life, which now crowns the colossal monument at Genoa; and in this composite work, which required some skill in reasoning backward in anatomy, if we may so speak, Galt succeeded so well as to call forth an eloquent commentary, through the Florence press, by an eminent Italian, who afterwards declared, as he saw the busts packed for its American home, "that the best head of Columbus in existence was inclosed in that box." The discoverer is represented as clothed in the armour, tipped with the ruffe about the neck of the knights who figured in the tent of Isabella the Catholic, on her visits to the camp of her husband in the wars which ended in the conquest of Grenada, at the taking of which city we know that Columbus was present. The face grave and calm, yet not fretted with the responsibility of his great mission, and forming a fit base for the pyramid of forehead that soars above it. Of this bust, which was made to order, there is but a single copy in marble, which, we rejoice to assure one of our contemporaries, is safe from the grasp of the enemy, and has its place in the same collection with the Psyche and the Bæchante. This was the last of his works that were greeted by the muse of the sister of the artist. Long before the others had reached our shores, her frail tabernacle had dissolved, and her gentle dust had been laid away in patrimonial earth in the cemetery of the Cedars.

He executed other busts of individuals as well as of his own ideal creation, among which we may mention that of the late Judge Standard, of Mrs. Charles Bruce, and of Mrs. Joseph R. Anderson, which two last, apart from their intrinsic value as likenesses, are exquisite specimens of art and the bust of sincerity, in the possession of Captain David Walker. His skill was also called into requisition by citizens of South Carolina, and we believe he made a bust of Rutledge for that State, or for the relatives of the patriot.

The last female bust which he executed in Italy, and which he deemed his masterpiece, was that of Sappho; and it had reached New York in safety in the spring of 1861, on its way to take its station beside her elder sisters, the Psyche and the Bæchante; but unfortunately it was too late, and was detained on its arrival in that city. Let us hope that war, which respects the arts abroad, will not wholly disregard them on American soil, and that this lovely production of Southern genius will ultimately find its destined home.

But the work of Galt which will keep his memory alive in future times is his statue of Jefferson. Our citizens have had an opportunity of seeing it; and those who are best qualified to pass judgment upon it as a representative of the original, have expressed a most favourable opinion of its merits. Placed in the hall of the University of Virginia, it will bring freshly before the eyes of successive generations of young men the

noble form and features of the great original; and with the recollection of the qualities of our most illustrious statesmen will come the grateful tribute to the genius whose skill designed that faithful image, and whose hand struck it from the massy marble. It was the darling wish of the departed artist to behold the inauguration of the most memorable work of his life, which he fondly hoped would be accompanied by the ministry of the kindred arts of Eloquence and Song. But vain are the aspirations of man. Who would have thought, when, during the inauguration of the Statue of Washington, five years ago, the distinguished orator invoked the sympathies of the thousands who heard him for the untimely fate of its gifted Sculptor, that on the next similar occasion death would again rear his spectral form, and darken the general joy?

We cannot sufficiently express our sense of the public loss in the death of Alexander Galt. Had he lived, he would have been the artist in this wondrous era in our history. All know that hardly a vestige of the bodily semblance of the patriots of the revolution of 1776 has come down to us. Here and there a few miserable portraits may be pointed out; but when we have gathered them together, the mournful office alone is left us to lament our poverty. It was the province of Galt to preserve the likeness of the eminent men who have stood forth at this time in the council and in the field as the champions of their country, and who have earned for her, at this early stage of our new Confederacy, the respect and the admiration of the world; to snatch their frail features from the worm, and impress them on the imperishable rock. And this mission he was engaged in fulfilling, when death smote him at his task.

PEACE AND THE NORTH-WEST.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, February 22.)

We have been so often deluded by hopes of peace, and have suffered so severely from those false expectations, that we are admonished not to lend a willing ear to those reports and statements which promise deliverance in a short time from the calamities caused by this terrible contest. All these statements concerning the disaffection in the army threatening Vicksburg may be true, and it may likewise be true that Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Ohio, are prepared to solicit admission into the Southern Confederacy, and in the event their request is refused to establish a separate Independency, all these statements may be true—true to the letter, and yet it is dangerous to bottom our hopes of a speedy termination of our troubles on those advices.

The people of the North-West are in a bad humour because, after having done the most brave and bloody fighting, they are suffering for the want of a market for their grains and bacon. The Emancipation Proclamation has also a great deal to do with the mutinous spirit of the inhabitants of that region. But though they have given expression to their just and sensible sentiments in terms so plain and forcible, and have even gone so far as to call a Convention for the purpose of adopting measures for the adjustment of the momentous questions at issue, before the date set for the assembling of that body events may transpire that will change the tone of their feelings.

For these demonstrations and designs do not in any measure impair the vigour and weaken the determination of the men in power at Washington. They are as bitter and as resolved as they were before the muttering of these murmurs and complaints and curses reached their ears. In truth, so far from making them less earnest and determined, those words of menace and denunciation have intensified the fierceness of their wrath, and aroused the more deeply all their mighty energies.

The feeling in the North-west, that may break out into revolution, only serves to hasten the prosecution of the campaign now in progress. And if any one of those campaigns is successful the victory may hush these notes of disaffection, and cause the war to be waged with more fury and obstinacy.

The course of the North-west depends upon the result of the battle at Vicksburg. The dwellers in that region are uncomfortable and mutinous because they cannot avail themselves of the navigation of the Mississippi. If we can keep that river closed we can maintain and increase their opposition to New England and the Yankee Administration. They will grow more and more disloyal to the Government, they will continue to devise means to deliver themselves from their galling and disgraceful bondage, they will adopt measures in harmony with their greatness, and those measures will be executed with a spirit and energy that will secure success.

But if the many-hilled city falls before the guns that will in a short time thunder upon its earthworks, that victory may arrest the movements on foot, and give a different complexion to matters in that quarter. Having been relieved of their heavy load of woes, the people of the North-west may abandon their intentions, submit with grace to the usurpations of the Government, and co-operate with renewed ardour in the wild scheme of reconstruction. If disaster befall our arms at Port Hudson and Vicksburg, the Convention may fall to the ground, and those powerful States now on the verge of revolution and inspired by high motives of patriotism and honour, may retire from the position they have taken, and swallowing the infamous Proclamation and the stupid and cruel Negro Regiment Bill, give their earnest support to the party they at present so detest and denounce.

These tidings that have come to us over the wires are pleasant, but it is dangerous to build our hopes of an early peace upon them. If the North-west does carry out its purposes, we may expect the war to terminate at no distant day. But the execution of their designs depends upon events which are yet in the womb of the future, and we should not suffer those movements to abate our vigilance, or relax our energy. The expellations that are now ready, the attitude of Foreign Powers, the advantages possessed by the enemy, warn us not to give place for a moment to seductive influences. If guided and strengthened by divine wisdom and might, we are equal to the demands of duty. Without human help we are able to achieve independence. Let us be more earnest, and patient and valiant, and we shall conquer an enduring and honourable peace, when it seems good in the eyes of Him whose approval and assistance we have invoked.

BLOCKADE NEWS.—The steamers *Eagle* and *Douro*, also schooner *St. George*, have reached Wilmington, North Carolina, from Nassau. A private despatch from Wilmington to Mr. Power, owner of the privateer *Retribution*, received in this city Saturday afternoon, says that a prize schooner taken by the *Retribution*, and loaded with fish, salt, &c., had been run aground in New Inlet, under the guns of Fort Fisher.—*Charleston Courier*, February 23.

THE PRIVATEER RETRIBUTION.—A correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, writing from Nassau, N.P., gives a list of the captures of this gallant little Confederate privateer. This vessel, it will be remembered by the readers of *THE INDEX*, came out of Wilmington, North Carolina, with a cargo of cotton and naval stores, consigned to Mr. C. W. White, of St. Thomas. Discharging her cargo at the latter port, she shortly afterwards appeared on the high seas as an armed and efficient privateer. The following is a partial list of her captures:—The Confederate privateer *Retribution*, Captain Parker, came into Nassau this morning, from a very successful cruise, during which she has been spreading devastation amid the commerce of the enemies of our country. Among the Yankee vessels which have fallen into the hands of the gallant privateersman are the following:—Bark *Mary Wright*, Miller, bound from Portland, Maine, to Trinidad, with an assorted cargo. She was destroyed by fire. Brig *J. P. Ellicott*, Deveaux, bound from Bucksport, Maine, to Cienfuegos. A prize crew was put on board and she was sent to the Confederacy. Brig *Erie*, bound from Camden, Maine, to Demerara, with a load of lumber. She was destroyed by fire. Schooner *Hanover*, Case, bound from Provincetown, Mass., to St. Domingo, with an assorted cargo. A prize crew was put on board and she was sent to the Confederacy. Brig *Emily Fisher*, Staples, bound from St. Jago de Cuba to New York, with a cargo of sugar. This vessel was captured and run ashore on Crooked Island, one of the Bahamas. Captain Parker brought the crew into Nassau, as prisoners. While off Blanquilla, in the Caribbean Sea, the *Retribution* met an unknown whaler. The Yankee showed fight, firing upon the boat's crew of the privateer, and killing one man. One shot from the *Retribution* sank her, and, it is supposed, all on board. Information has reached here that the *Elliot* has been recaptured by the Yankees at St. Thomas. The officers and crew of the privateer are all well and in fine spirits. After the necessary repairs are procured, she will go forth again upon the high seas upon her mission of retribution.

The 10th and 19th South Carolina Regiments, in Tennessee, have been consolidated, with the following field officers:—Colonel A. M. Manigault, of the 10th Regiment; Lieut.-Colonel J. F. Pressly, of the 10th Regiment; Major Porcher, of the 10th Regiment. The 10th Regiment was reduced to six companies, and the 19th was reduced to four companies. Captain Robert N. Chatham's, and Captain H. R. Peterson's companies form the 7th company, under command of Captain R. N. Chatham, with Lieuts. McDonald, Vonsant and Denny. Captain R. Richburg's, Captain J. L. White's, and Captain Addison Clinkscales' companies form the 10th company, under the command of Captain Clinkscales, with Lieuts. McLeod, McCaslan and Crawford. Captain E. W. Horne's, and Captain T. W. Getzen's companies form the 8th company, under the command of Captain Horne, with Lieuts. McDevitt, Randall and Hester. Captain H. R. Dean's, Captain — Turner's, and Captain I. B. Courtney's companies form the 9th company, under the command of Captain Dean, with Lieuts. Buzzard, Waddle and Hoolly.—*Charleston Courier*, 23rd February.

SEIZURE OF AN ALLEGED CONFEDERATE GUNBOAT AT LIVERPOOL.—About noon, on Sunday, Mr. E. Morgan, one of the Customs' surveyors, acting under instructions from the Board of Commissioners, went on board the small wood-built screw steamer *Alexandra*, recently launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Miller and Sons, and now being fitted for sea in the Toxteth Dock. No official intimation was made by the officer as to the grounds on which he acted. He merely went on board, marked a "broad arrow" on one of the masts, and remained on board, keeping the vessel under surveillance. Up to two o'clock yesterday afternoon no official reason had been intimated as to why the *Alexandra* had been put or was kept under surveillance, but it is believed to be in consequence of information communicated to the authorities that she is built as a gunboat, and is meant for the Confederate Government. The *Alexandra* has no gunports, has no magazine, and is not provided with a shell-room, or any other similar arrangement ordinarily pertaining to a war-ship, and has no engines on board. In short, she presents merely the appearance of a fast schooner-rigged steam yacht.

LETTERS from Hamburg state that the notary employed by the firm of Messrs. J. H. Schröder and Co., of that city, having had occasion to apply to the American Consul for an attestation of his signature to a document in which the name of Messrs. Schreder was inserted, the Consul refused to grant it on account of that firm having been connected with the American Cotton Loan.

DEATH OF HON. EDMUND RUETT.—This distinguished gentleman died at Spartanburg Court House, on Sunday last. On Friday his friends had heard with surprise of his dangerous illness, but, nevertheless, were astounded yesterday by the sad tidings of his death. No one's prospects for a long and useful life seemed brighter than his during the recent session of the Legislature. "In the midst of life we are in death." Society can ill afford the loss of such a member. In offices of public trust he was always able, learned, pains-taking, and thorough in the discharge of duty. In private he was pure, unselfish, energetic and conscientious. To any community sad is the day when such a man is taken from it.—*Charleston Courier*, February 23.

FLORIDA REFUGEES.—The following is a list of persons recently banished from St. Augustine, Florida, by the Federals. It is furnished to the *Charleston Courier* by one of the refugees:—Mrs. C. Andreu and three children; Mr. Joseph Baya, wife, and two children; Miss C. Baya, Mrs. H. Benet and child; Mrs. Joseph Capo and three children; Mrs. S. Capella and two children; Mrs. William Genovar and child; Mrs. J. V. Hernandez and three children; Mrs. R. M. Leonardy and four children; Miss J. Leonardy; Miss F. Leonardy; Miss C. Leonardy; Miss A. Leonardy; Mr. G. E. Lambias; Mr. D. J. Lambias; Dr. Joseph A. Lambias and wife; Miss A. Lambias; Mr. M. Masters and wife; Miss P. Masters; Miss B. Masters; Miss C. Neligan; Miss J. Canova; Miss D. Pappy; Miss F. Pappy; Miss C. Pappy; Mrs. M. Neligan; Mrs. John L. Phillips; Mrs. B. D. Ponce; Mrs. D. J. Mickler and three children; Mrs. B. J. Pacetty and two children; Mr. Gabriel Masters, wife, and four children; Miss C. Masters; Mr. C. Pomer, wife, and four children; Mr. J. R. Pacetty; Mrs. C. D. Segui and child; Mrs. W. H. Williams; Miss V. Williams; Miss E. Sanchez; Miss Ellen Sanchez; Master John Oliveros; Mrs. P. Leonardy and two children.—Total 85.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bonville-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1863.

The Wall Street Victories.

There is something very characteristic in the thorough self-confidence with which the Yankees are waging war with the South, something which we could almost admire, if it did not continually land them in such profound and ludicrous humiliation. From Mr. Seward down to the lowest print in the United States there never seems to be an admission of reverses or a doubt of ultimate success. The infallibility of Federal generals and the invincibility of Federal arms are a settled creed with them; and although taken off his guard and hardly recovered from the Bull Run "Stampede," a Yankee colonel might acknowledge that his regiment "had been whipped into a cocked hat," we may be quite sure no such impeachment of the prowess of his country will ever again be recorded from the lips of a Federal officer. About a century ago a French poet wrote a stanza on the military qualities of his nation, which we are tempted to transcribe, so admirably do they illustrate the martial fervour of the American eagle:

Le coq Français est le coq de la gloire,
Par les revers il n'est point abattu;
Il chante fort, quand il gagne la victoire,
Plus fort encore, quand il est bien battu.

We may find in every page of Mr. Seward's despatches, and of the Northern press, abundant testimony to the truth of the parallel. It seems to be a canon of military orthodoxy never to admit a disaster. When McClellan changed his base, it was for "strategic reasons;" when he was beaten at Sharpsburg, he had saved the Republic. Mr. Seward announced twelve months ago that the Mississippi was open, though Vicksburg was untaken; Banks won a victory at Cedar Mountain, and Pope captured 10,000 men at Corinth. We have not a doubt that when the Yankee historian relates, for the benefit of posterity, the incidents of this tremendous struggle, his narrative, compiled from authentic documents from Washington, will be replete with similar truths. The latest illustration of this tendency is exhibited, as might be expected, in the latest mail. When the Australasian left New York, everybody was in spirits; the rebels were "caving in." They could not hold the Rappahannock. Port Hudson was used up; Vicksburg was, or was about to be, abandoned; in short, the campaign was all but over; and to adopt Mr. Seward's language last November, "a general conviction that the war is moving on towards an early and successful conclusion, was taking possession of the popular mind." We were at a loss to understand the origin of all this elation. There was nothing in the telegrams from the seat of war to warrant it. The authorities at Washington are not in the habit of delaying the publication of good news; and therefore we may be quite sure they had nothing of a very exhilarating character to disclose. Yet "the popular mind" was quite decided there was good news. Rumour set to work to mould the popular impression into form—and gold declined. The public made up its mind to a little blaze of triumph. The blaze has probably died out by this time; but it lasted long enough to create a sensation and to tickle Yankee

vanity, and to answer a financial purpose. They can afford in New York now to acknowledge a trifling miscarriage.

Two or three reports combined to excite the Northerners, and the first of these was the rumoured passage of the batteries of Port Hudson by Farragut's flotilla. The *Richmond Whig* had scared them terribly, for it announced that the attack had been made and repulsed, that the Mississippi was burnt in front of the batteries, and that the rest of the squadron, with the exception of one gunboat, had been driven back with considerable damage. If this statement was true, the struggle for the Mississippi was virtually over. Farragut's flotilla could not possibly be in a position to renew the attack without serious risk to the Federal garrisons at Baton Rouge and New Orleans, for some weeks to come. The garrison of Vicksburg would be free to draw its supplies as heretofore, from Louisiana and Texas by the Red River. A telegram from Baton Rouge persuaded the North that the *Richmond Whig* was at fault, and that the Federal flotilla had passed Port Hudson. But an official report to Mr. Welles confirmed the Southern news. Farragut's Secretary stated "that the Hartford (flag ship) passed the fort, but that the others were repulsed, and one was seen in flames." A third and still later, but unofficial account from Cairo places at seven the number of the ships that had run the blockade, *i.e.*, the whole flotilla, with the exception of the Mississippi; and states further that two of the gunboats are at Warrenton, a few miles below Vicksburg, and in communication with Grant's army, and the rest blockading the Red River. The truth seems to be that the Hartford and Mononghela have succeeded in passing Port Hudson, that the rest of the squadron is still below the batteries, and that a land attack by Banks has been made and repulsed. Supposing, for argument's sake, the worst to have happened, and the batteries of Port Hudson to have been passed by the whole squadron, the control of the Mississippi river is by no means lost. Twelve months ago there was no works at Port Hudson, and the two Federal squadrons, the one from New Orleans, the other from Cairo, met at Mississippi, and withdrew after an ineffectual bombardment. The only immediate injury the Confederates will sustain will be the stoppage of supplies by the Red River.

But the Federals have, it is said, achieved another triumph. They have found a new passage into the Yazoo River above the batteries at Haines' Bluff, which will bring them into the rear of Vicksburg, and close upon the city of Yazoo. It is now understood that the expedition down the Yazoo Pass is a failure. After penetrating all sorts of obstacles, a portion of the Federal squadron which had suffered the least from snags and shoals and overhanging trees, had arrived within a few miles of the city of Greenwood, when further progress was barred by a Confederate battery, Fort Pemberton, covering some artificial river obstructions, and rendering the river impassable. After an attack by the gunboats, in which the Federals appear to have suffered severely, it was resolved to land some guns, and erect a land battery. This attack, however, fared just as badly. According to the last accounts the guns had been dismounted, and the Federals were themselves besieged. Reinforcements were on the way, but it is plain that the expedition was in great peril. It can hardly reascend the Yazoo Pass into the Mississippi. It must fight its way down the stream. The works at Fort Pemberton are strong and well manned. A few miles lower is the City of Yazoo, whose natural defences are still more formidable. The Federals are fairly trapped, and unless they can at once bring an overpowering force to bear upon the various fortified positions on the Yazoo, they must suffer very considerable losses. Foiled in this attempt to invade the rear of Vicksburg the Federal commanders have essayed a new passage. Entering Cypress Bayou, a few miles above the mouth of the Yazoo, they have penetrated, it is said, by a very circuitous route through Steele's Bayou, Deer Creek, and Sunflower River into the Yazoo River,

a short distance above Haines' Bluff, thus turning the works of this formidable battery, and having the way open either to the rear of Vicksburg or to Yazoo City. We cannot speak positively of the results of this discovery. But, at least, we can state that the exultation of the Yankees over this North-West Passage is premature. In the neighbourhood of Jackson, and in the rear of Vicksburg are 60,000 Confederate troops. There are great battles to be fought, rivers to be crossed, swamps to be forded, ravines to be bridged, before the Federals gain a dangerous proximity to Vicksburg. It is not with an army debilitated and cut up, as Grant's forces have been by long exposure to malaria of the most deadly character, that this new invasion is to be brought to a successful issue.

We have shown that there is no very satisfactory prospect for the Federals on the Mississippi. In Tennessee and Kentucky affairs are hardly more promising. The Confederates have resumed the initiative on a grand scale in both States, and Rosencranz finds himself occupied with a powerful army in his front and on his right flank, whilst the enemy is massing considerable forces in his rear, threatening his communications, and even imperilling the Federal hold upon Kentucky. It is not yet known whether the inroad into Kentucky is a feint or a regular invasion. The Confederates have crossed the frontier at three different points, with forces of some magnitude, and seem to be converging upon Lexington. It may be a renewal of General Bragg's invasion of last year, which nearly lost Nashville to the Federals. It may be a mere raid for supplies. Anyhow, it is an evidence that the Confederates feel themselves tolerably secure in Tennessee. They would not march into Kentucky if they were in doubt about successfully opposing Rosencranz's advance. Indeed, their increasing boldness, their recent dash upon Franklin—their appearance within four miles of Nashville, and their concentration in front and on the flank of the Federals at Murfreesborough, point rather to an attack by the Confederates. Altogether it is difficult to understand the unabated confidence of the Yankees. The next mail will, perhaps, explain the mystery; but we fail to discover in the last a single promise of early, or even ultimate triumph.

Belligerent Rights and Neutral Wrongs.

We publish in another column the correspondence which has passed between the Foreign Office and the owners of the *Peterhoff*, in regard to the capture of that vessel while pursuing a lawful voyage between London and Matamoras. It is important to observe the official notification of the intentions of the British Government in reference to seizures of this kind, and also the interpretation of international law which they have adopted, and on which they intend to act; for no one can suppose that the case of the *Peterhoff* will be the last of its class. The whole question of trade between England and her West Indian colonies, as well as between England and Mexico, during the continuance of the present war, is at issue. For if the capture of the *Peterhoff* be admitted to be legal, or if, not being legal, it be nevertheless allowed to pass with impunity, then the Federal cruisers are at liberty to seize any outward-bound ship which they may find in the Western Atlantic; while on the other hand, the broad grounds on which the illegality of that capture must be affirmed cover the whole of the trade between Liverpool and the West Indies, or between this country and Mexico. It is satisfactory to learn that Her Majesty's advisers pronounce the capture of the *Peterhoff* altogether unwarrantable, and express their intention of requiring explanations from the Government of the United States, as well as of insisting, in case no legal ground of capture be alleged, on the restoration of the vessel. It is not so satisfactory to be told that if any legal plea that might, if substantiated, suffice to condemn the vessel should be alleged by the Federal authorities, the decision must be left to the Federal Prize Courts. For no

one has any faith in the honour and impartiality of judges appointed for the nonce by a President who has not only given instructions to his naval officers to commit high-handed violations of the maritime law of nations, but who has also treated the judges and the laws of his native land with unparalleled insolence and contempt. The judges in these Courts do not occupy the position of Lord Stowell and his successors in England. They are not men independent of Government, and superior to popular clamour. They are the mere creatures of Mr. Lincoln's will; and are as completely his servants and instruments as are those officers on the legality of whose acts they are called upon to pronounce. It is somewhat unfair to English merchants that they should be referred to the decisions of such tribunals as these. To the verdict of the Supreme Court no one would venture to demur; for the judgment of Mr. Lincoln's Prize Courts, no sensible man entertains any more respect than for that of Captain Wilkes.

Again, it is not very pleasant to learn that her Majesty's Government considers the Federal cruisers entitled to make prize of any vessel which, though bound for a neutral port, may have on board goods contraband of war, destined for the service of the Confederate States. We should very much like to see the dictum or precedent on which this opinion is based. We conceive that between neutral ports there can be no such thing as contraband of war; and we have always understood that, unless the cargo of a ship whose destination is neutral, be actually the property of an enemy, the probability that it may eventually pass into the enemy's hands affords no pretext whatever for its seizure. We thought that no rule of international law was more clear than this, that a cruiser has no concern with the ultimate destination of the cargo, provided the immediate destination of the ship be neutral. It is evident that if the principle laid down by our Government be conceded, no vessel whatever trading to the West Indies or to Mexico can be safe from detention and probable condemnation. She may evidently be bound for a neutral port, and intend to land her cargo there, and yet, as a part of that cargo will probably consist of goods held by Federal cruisers to be contraband of war, and as these may certainly be destined for the Confederate States, the vessel may lawfully be seized and sent in for adjudication. It would seem that a case of quinine on board a ship bound for Nassau or Matamoras might ensure her condemnation—for Mr. Lincoln has ventured to declare medicines contraband of war. We hope that the Foreign Office will reconsider this matter, and explain the meaning of language which is likely to be construed as a justification of the most outrageously illegal acts of the Federal Government. It is affirmed that despatches are contraband of war. If the present decision of the Ministry be allowed to stand, we do not see but that a letter from Mr. Mason to the Confederate Government, enclosed in an envelope directed to a citizen of Nassau or Havannah, might subject steamers carrying her Majesty's mails to confiscation, as having on board contraband of war, destined for the Confederate States.

All voyages, from neutral port to neutral port, whatever their purpose, are lawful to a neutral ship, that is, to a ship belonging to a neutral nation and not actually engaged in the service of a belligerent Government. The character and destination of the cargo cannot affect the ship on such a voyage. For instance, it is perfectly lawful for a British ship to carry to Havannah a cargo assorted with a view to sale in Charleston; and if an American cruiser meddles with that ship, he does so at his peril; and if an American Prize Court condemns that ship, it commits a wrong which England would be entitled to punish by immediate reprisals. It is not until that cargo has been shipped for a blockade—or, if contraband of war, for an enemy's port—that the belligerent has any power over it. Often and often, during the Napoleonic wars, were our Prize Courts obliged to release vessels under such circumstances as these. It is enough that the belligerent has the right to seize ships and cargoes actually on their way

to his enemy's shores; it is too much that he should pretend to seize those which may possibly, on a subsequent voyage, find their way there. If any such pretensions as the Federalists are now advancing had been made by England in former wars, they would have united all neutral Powers in league against her, and at the head of that league would have stood the Government of the United States.

It follows, then, that the seizure of the *Peterhoff* was wholly unjustifiable; and also that all captures of ships trading between Liverpool and Nassau are equally unjustifiable. It follows, too, that the condemnation of any ships pursuing a voyage either to Mexico or to a West Indian port, would be a wrong which might give rise to war. But it is worth while to notice a plea set up to excuse the seizure of the *Peterhoff*, first because of its extreme impudence, and secondly because, if admitted, it would serve to legalize many other illegal captures. It is, that the *Peterhoff* had on previous occasions been engaged in running the blockade. It appears that the statement is false; but if true it would not be relevant. The liability incurred by an unlawful voyage ceases with the voyage. A ship trading between Liverpool and Nassau cannot be touched, because she may ten times have run through the blockade from Nassau to Charleston. If it were allowed that a ship may be captured on a lawful voyage, because at some time or other she may have violated a blockade, it would be difficult to deny that she may be captured for intending to run the blockade at the end of her present voyage. But the law is as we have stated it—that during any voyage between port and port, a ship is affected only by the circumstances and conditions of that voyage, and not by her past acts or her intentions for the future. It is plain that on a strict adherence to this rule depends the safety of all neutral trade in time of war.

We may remark that there are two special aggravations of the wrong committed in the capture of the *Peterhoff*. First, she carried the mails to Matamoras; so that there was no possibility of her going anywhere else. There was conclusive evidence of her real destination to a neutral port. Secondly, she was captured in neutral waters—an act which, if she had been laden with contraband of war and bound for Charleston, would have entitled us to insist on her release.

The Foreign Office says, truly enough, that a belligerent has the right of capture on the high seas; and that it is for the Prize Court before which the vessel seized is sent to decide whether that right has been exercised without due reason. This is an unanswerable, but it is a partial argument. The rights of search and of capture are strictly analogous to the right of a constable summarily to arrest and search persons whom he may suspect to be guilty of felony. It is impossible to define the cases in which the right may be exercised; but it is quite clear that if it be exercised without reasonable ground of suspicion, a wrong is committed for which reparation must be made. Now, if an offence of this kind be once committed, the remedy is obvious. If a policeman once exceeds his duty, he is liable to be sued before a Court of Law, or reprimanded by his superiors. If a captain makes one or two wrongful captures, the sufferers have their remedy in the Prize Court, and his Government may call him to account. But if a series of unreasonable arrests were made in a particular locality, with a manifest view of driving passengers thence, it is clear that an inquiry into the conduct of the police, and the orders given to them, would promptly be demanded. And when we find that all ships trading in certain directions are invariably seized by Federal cruisers, we are obliged to treat the captures as premeditated acts of wrong, and to inquire what is meant by them. Now, what is meant happens in the present case to be very clear. Captain Wilkes and his subordinates are avowedly acting under distinct orders from the Federal Government, which appointed the commander of the *San Jacinto* to his present post precisely on account of the affair which ought to have sent him before a court-martial—the kidnapping of

Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board the *Trent*. He was selected because he had shown himself contemptuous of law and careless of consequences. And his orders are to stop the trade between England and the ports contiguous or convenient to the Confederate States by a vexatious use of the rights of search and capture. Such ships as the Prize Courts dare condemn, they will condemn; where they dare not, they will give only nominal damages; if forced to release a vessel "with full compensation," they will do so; but the Federal Government know that no compensation will really atone for the capture and detention of vessels, and the consequent interruption of trade; and that even if every captured vessel were released, the risk of seizure would be sufficient to suspend the regular course of commerce, and to inflict immense injury on British merchants and shipowners concerned in the trade which it is desired to intercept. Such an abuse of the right of search to stop, by systematic vexation, a lawful commerce, is an act of hostility against England, which—in justice to her subjects and in vindication of her own honour—she is bound to resent, to stop, and to punish.

The Last Threat.

The North is learning to provide for the contingency of defeat. Whilst victories at Vicksburg, Charleston, Port Hudson, and elsewhere, are freely discounted in Wall-street, and the world is admonished that the war will be over in about a fortnight, it is suggested that, in the event of the Federals not succeeding in all their undertakings, and exterminating the Southerners before the middle of April, the "rebels" are to be subjugated by starvation. Of all the miraculous mistakes or impudent pretensions of the Federals, this surely bears the palm. In the history of sieges, when large armies have been investing small towns, it is remarkable how difficult it was to prevent the ingress of provisions, and for how long the beleaguered garrisons have endured almost incredible privations. What the United States proposes to do is, not to starve a garrison or a city into submission, but a people numbered by millions, and a country of upwards of 800,000 square miles—a country, too, which is purely agricultural, and its inhabitants accustomed to agricultural pursuits—a country wondrously prolific, where the earth teems with such plenty, that besides feeding its own people, it has yielded the greater part of that fibre which constitutes the staple clothing of mankind. It may be worth while to briefly expose the monstrous absurdity of the last Yankee threat.

In the United States there has lately been published an abstract of the census for 1860, which gives an account of the productiveness of the sections of the late Union. Let us see what prospect that holds out of the North being able to starve the South. The population of the Free States is set down at 18,907,753; and of the Slave States, including the slaves, at 12,252,293. The number of acres of improved land in the Free States was 88,181,466, and in the Slave States 74,623,055. The number of horses, asses, and mules in the Free States was 3,669,239; and in the Slave States 3,557,236. The number of bushels of wheat, rye, Indian corn, barley, buckwheat, and oats produced in the Free States was 700,386,888; and in the Slave States 523,902,461. Bearing in mind that the population of the Free States is set down at eighteen millions, and the population of the Slave States at twelve millions, it will be perceived that in respect to acreage of improved land, the number of horses, asses, and mules, and the production of cereals, the latter has in all a decided, and in some cases an immense, advantage over the former. But this is not all. In the Free States the production of rice was 4,139 lbs.; and in the Slave States 187,136,034 lbs. The value of animals slaughtered in the Free States was \$105,669,980; and in the Slave States \$106,362,027. Yet, with these facts before them, the Yankees are foolish or impertinent enough to talk of starving the Confederates. Europe has

been so accustomed to look upon the South as the cotton-field of the world, that it has not considered that cotton, though her staple, was not by any means her sole product. It is surprising—but it is true—that the South, which in 1860, besides her large yield of sugar, tobacco, and hemp, and of 5,196,092 bales of cotton, of 400 lbs. to the bale, was also able to produce the above quantities of food.

It is not to be denied that the war has considerably affected the Southern supply of food. Here and there fertile districts have been laid waste by the ruthless invader. Some States, especially Virginia, have been impoverished by the presence of contending armies, and the exigencies of war have so interrupted the communications, that certain districts have suffered from comparative scarcity. But without going into details, it is manifest that the Confederacy could not keep such a vast force in the field without seriously diminishing its productive power, and at the same time, by reason of the waste of warfare, rather increasing its consumption of the prime necessities of life. Therefore food is dearer than formerly in the Confederate States; but the famine prices paraded in Northern papers are no gauge of this comparative scarcity, since they are due to the enormous inflation of the currency. What, under these circumstances, is the conduct of the Confederates?

They deserve danger from afar, and manfully prepare to meet it. They cannot, whilst the war lasts, produce as much as in time of peace; and, so, they propose to give up the cultivation of cotton, that is, to grow no more of it than is sufficient for seed; and in place of cotton and tobacco, to grow grain. This gives them a margin, that, notwithstanding their diminished resources, will ensure them a superabundant supply of food. All the Southern papers urge upon the farmers the duty and prudence of not cultivating that which they cannot sell, and of growing that which their country needs, and which will command a remunerative price. The Confederates must submit to the consequences of the war and the blockade, and, whatever the cost, become temporarily independent of intercourse with the rest of the world.

These urgent appeals of the Southern press have, to some extent, misled the Yankees, who are so accustomed to empty boastings, that moderation and truthfulness seem to them like a confession of weakness and the cry of despair. Whilst the defeated North is boasting of its prowess, threatening to exterminate the South, and to whip all creation, the victorious South is anxious and watchful, and instead of celebrating past triumphs, is making ready for fresh encounters. Whilst the North impiously declares that the Union shall be restored though at the price of the desolation of a Continent, the South is using all the means in her power to repel the invader, and is humbly seeking the blessing of the God of Battles. And now, because the South acknowledges all her sufferings, shows all her wounds to the world, and is bent upon securing the needful supplies for carrying on the war, even if it should be protracted for twenty years, the North declares that the South is giving in, and is nearly exhausted. What marvellous blindness! A people that has the courage to face menacing dangers and to employ at any sacrifice the proper remedies, is evidently strong; whilst a people for ever keeping up a false appearance and afraid to contemplate the inevitable results of its acts is manifestly weak.

The South will not be starved, particularly as it makes due arrangements for amply supplying contingent wants and possible deficiencies. When the Mississippi dries up because the Federals blockade its mouth, or when it changes its course in obedience to a Lincoln proclamation, or leaves Vicksburg high and dry from the terror inspired by the threat of making the Great Union River, then the Federals may hope to achieve the greater miracle of starving into submission a people inhabiting a country of upwards of 800,000 square miles, and embracing within its confines some of the most fertile regions of the globe. We must say the threat of the South being starved into submission is clumsy bunkum unworthy of Yankee ingenuity, and not likely to have any other than a risible effect upon Europe.

Consol Bonds.

On Saturday last the Chancellor of the Exchequer was thrown from his horse, but happily the accident was not of a serious character, and it will not interfere with the transaction of public business. If, however, the fall had resulted in broken bones instead of a bruised face, great would have been the disappointment and anxiety of the public. Some years ago England and, for the matter of that, Europe was kept in suspense from day to day because Mr. Gladstone was hoarse and could not make his financial statement; and men dreaded the slightest indication of an east wind, lest it should further postpone the announcement of the Budget, from which so much was hoped and feared. Though there is not an equal anxiety now, the Budget speech is eagerly looked for. Mr. Gladstone is in an unenviable plight—he has to deal with a surplus, and that is, we believe, the most trying fortune that can befall a Chancellor of the Exchequer. That distinguished functionary should pray for neither riches nor poverty, for both involve him in difficulty, but of these evils too little is far less to be dreaded than too much. A deficiency necessitates fresh taxation, and the class on which is conferred the patriotic privilege of rendering the Exchequer solvent becomes, at all events temporarily, hostile to the Finance Minister; but then all who escape the imposition feel grateful for their exemption, and laud the enlightened Minister for his moral courage and political sagacity. When there is a surplus the class relieved from taxation is grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but all the classes not so relieved, look upon him as a man who ought to be scouted from public life. In dealing with a deficiency the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes a few enemies and many friends; in dealing with a surplus he may gain a few supporters, and is sure to array against himself many bitter opponents. It may be very natural and proper to congratulate the country upon a surplus, but it must be an awful bore to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Gladstone has about three millions sterling at his disposal: a million from the excess of income over estimated expenditure, and about two millions on account of the reduction of the estimates. He may not see fit to forthwith dispense with taxation to the amount of £3,000,000, for he may think that there are causes at work which will tell upon the revenue during the current year; or that ere he presents another budget, additional and imperative demands are likely to be made upon the Exchequer. Whilst it would be opposed to our practice to retain a larger revenue than we want to provide against possible or distant contingencies, it would be equally foolish and unprecedented to give up taxes that might probably have to be almost immediately reimposed. But the British taxpayer no sooner hears of a surplus than he assumes that the revenue will go on increasing, and that there is no probability to justify the Chancellor of the Exchequer in retaining taxes that he does not presently need. Well, then, all are agreed that Mr. Gladstone has a disposable surplus, and further that it should not be used for the reduction of the national debt. The only reign in which the national debt was reduced instead of being increased was the reign of George the Fourth, and there is no disposition to make any further reduction, at least on the same scale. What then will Mr. Gladstone do with the surplus? Will he reduce the Income-tax, notwithstanding his memorable reply to the pathetic appeal of Mr. Hubbard respecting the inequalities of that prolific impost? The tobacco duties have been settled, and since the excise on spirits is not too high to make the attempt at evading the law profitable, it will not be lowered. There is a whisper about tea having to pay less duty, and a little talk about untaxed breakfasts for the working classes. We do not know how much of the three millions the Chancellor of the Exchequer may appropriate to the relief of the taxpayer, but we do know that all the taxpayers not relieved of a portion of their burdens will consider themselves shamefully ill-used.

But whatever difference of opinion there may be about the Budget of 1863, there can, we should think, be no disagreement as to the expediency and soundness of the change proposed by Mr. Gladstone with regard to the arrangement of a portion of our national debt. Like the Lord Chancellor's scheme respecting church livings, it is a change that promises to work beneficially, and will cost nothing. Mr. Gladstone proposes to give the holders or purchasers of certain stocks—the new Three per Cents. and the Three per Cent. Consols—the option of either having their investments registered according to the present system, or of having bonds with coupons attached, for not less than five years. These bonds and coupons will be as transferable as a Bank of England note, or by being endorsed with the name of the owner, made specially payable to him or his attorney. The plan is used with continental stocks, and the only novelty is its application to the English funds. The one objection urged is that it will open the door to frauds; but those who are timid need not avail themselves of the privilege—trustees, unless especially authorised, will not be allowed to hold stock in coupon bonds; and further, it is not the usual experience that a simple arrangement encourages wrong-doing. Despite the checks of the present system, there are many frauds perpetrated, and foreign stocks and colonial and home coupon bonds are not specially liable to be forged. The fact is, people are so particular as to the character of parties from whom they receive valuable securities, that it is easier to forge, than to dispose of, forged securities. Excepting this objection, which is a matter of detail and of prejudice, we have not heard of any other. The advantages will be manifold. The investment of small sums will be easier, and the bonds will always be available for business purposes, for no banker would refuse to advance on them. To some extent the coupons will be used as currency, for they will be payable to bearer, and will represent specie. To bankers and merchants the Consol bonds will be as convenient for temporary investment as Exchequer Bills; and the new system will facilitate the investment of foreign capital in our funds. Though just at first the plan may not meet with general favour, we doubt not it will speedily be extensively used; and if so it may be found desirable to extend it to the whole of our debt. One probable and desirable effect will be the increase of the normal price of the funds, in consequence of the additional capital that will be attracted to them; and another that it will discourage bubble schemes for catching small savings, by enabling the small capitalist, who is content with moderate interest, and good security, to invest his money in the public funds without difficulty, and to collect his interest with the utmost facility.

The Field-Day at Brighton.

To a superficial observer it might seem that at the present moment large armies and navies and warlike preparations are rather the accidents than the requisites of the civilized world. Doubtless on the other side of the Atlantic, the case is exactly of the contrary character, and it is, perhaps, true that, with the single exception of France, from the Revolution to the fall of Napoleon, no country has within the records of modern history made such gigantic efforts in war, or achieved a more commensurate success than the Confederate States. Deeply as every man, who has the smallest pretension to an honest or humane mind, must deplore the miseries of the American conflict, yet the soldier, and the man of administrative faculties cannot but contemplate with admiration the vast hosts engaged, the enterprises of generals, and the organization of departments, while speculation dwells with intense interest on the results of each experiment, and science waits for the solution of some of the thousand problems of modern warfare. Yet if we put out of the question the "Second American war of Independence," what is there in the nature of war to be found in all the world? Asia is in profound repose, Algeria demands only the pacific efforts of the great French Marshal; and the Moorish people, the only other combative element in Africa, has been glad to bow even to Spain. All the Governments of Europe are at peace. Lord Palmerston boasts that England, and Napoleon III. boasts that France is in a state of amity with all the nations of the three old continents. It is true that Russia is engaged in a struggle, the extent and violence of which increases in

geometrical progression with a nation which, like Rome opposed to Hannibal,—

—ab ipso
Ducit opes animique ferro."

But that struggle is yet an insurrection, and has not risen to the dignity of a war. In spite, however, of these boasted amicable relations the Powers of Europe expand their armies and navies, their budgets, their floating and permanent debts. The three military empires keep between them at least a million and a half of men under arms. The Italian army is enormous, and the Prussian king thinks an immense military establishment preferable to a good understanding with his own subjects. England is infected with the same disease. In addition to her native Indian army and some colonial regiments, she thinks it necessary to maintain nearly 150,000 regular troops, a militia of about the same numbers, and a powerful and most costly fleet, manned by seventy thousand sailors; and yet that is not enough. The Government has organized a great volunteer naval reserve, and the people have organized a great volunteer military reserve. The truth is, that all prudent men find that Europe is face to face with a thousand possibilities of danger, which require but small immediate agencies to make them facts. They see everywhere ambitious military empires, insoluble difficulties of races in contiguity but not in harmony, revolutionary elements at rest, not extinct, with all the ancient antagonisms of liberty and authority, of reason and prescription in full force and vigour. Abroad the Governments have acted upon these facts; in England, the people have appreciated them. In short, these considerations originated, and have, in fact, maintained what is here called the Volunteer movement; and even if the considerations were exaggerated the value of the institution can scarcely be so.

We have been led to make these few preliminary remarks in view of the great Volunteer celebration which took place on Brighton Downs on Easter Monday. It is not our purpose to go into the details of that Field-day, which the columns of our daily contemporaries have so amply illustrated. It will be sufficient for us to state for the aid of those of our readers who may not have had the opportunity of studying a full account of the proceedings, the few following facts. In the first place, then, the troops that assembled on that day at Brighton numbered upwards of 14,000, with thirty guns (6-pounders and 18-pounders), worked entirely by volunteers. There was but one volunteer regiment of cavalry drilled on the old "dagoon" principle, but the 9th Regiment of Lancers, perhaps the finest cavalry regiment in the world, made that portion of the *corps d'armée* respectable. In the second place, nearly all these 14,000 men, with the principal part of the guns, were carried from London to Brighton—a distance of fifty miles, and brought back again between 5.30 A.M. and midnight of the same day, without the smallest mishap, and without the slightest hindrance to the ordinary railway traffic. In the third place, the battle was in all respects admirable. It commenced about half-past 1, and continued till half-past 4, and the "enemy," about 1,500, with eight guns, who was supposed to have landed in the immediate vicinity of Brighton, was driven by hard fighting over a distance of two miles of difficult positions, and fasilated and cannonaded in his final stronghold by the combined efforts of two divisions and twenty-two guns. The skirmishing in the early part of the action was extremely fine, and the men fought not as machines, but with the individual skill and independence which is supposed to be the pride and monopoly of French troops, yet with an attention to orders and a steadiness that betrayed the German element. Two charges of the 9th Lancers, first upon a company of skirmishers, and second upon a battalion in retreat, were received with the utmost coolness in that formation of squares which Waterloo made immortal; and perhaps the finest feature in the whole battle was the retreat of three regiments of infantry in hollow squares, with the terrible Lancers hovering within a few hundred yards, and eagerly watching for the slightest confusion. We may add, that the weather was, in all respects, delightful, and the country, from its vast and open downs with deep inclines, admirably adapted for testing the endurance of the men and charming the eyes of the spectators.

Now, the men engaged were, for the most part, inhabitants of the metropolis, and to them Easter Monday has always been a high holiday. Setting aside, then, all military and political considerations, can any one imagine a more advantageous or really more enjoyable method of celebrating a festive day than that under discussion? Instead of an excursion—the chief features in which would probably be the amount of food and drink consumed, equalled only by the difficulty of finding pleasure in doing nothing—the Volunteer has in these field-days all the true pleasures of an excursion without its usual drawbacks. He has hard work undoubtedly; he must get out of bed at 3.30 A.M. and be at parade at 4.30 A.M.; he will be perhaps *rather* tired when he reaches his home shortly before midnight; but what of that? He has added to his stock of health, he has breathed the fine air of Brighton Downs, he has exercised the muscles of his frame, his faculties of endurance, observation, intelligence, and obedience; he may, perhaps, if he has a touch of the heroic in his character, have formed a faint idea of what his mighty German forefathers were, and why they overthrew the weak and dissolute herds of the old Roman Empire. At least, he has done an act of duty, and he who sees no pleasure in that is unworthy of even the name of a citizen.

But as eye-witnesses of and actors in the doings of Easter Monday, we venture to go a little further than this, and

honestly wish that some master of the art of war, not an Englishman, but some Marshal of France or a General Lee, had seen the Volunteers at Brighton, who we firmly believe might be led into action without tarnishing the honour of such officers. General Lee, at least, has won battles with men scarcely so well drilled and assuredly worse armed, and his adversaries were neither weak nor cowardly, however indifferent their commanders or their cause may have been. Moreover, if the realities of war arose, the additional ardour and the additional drill and discipline would produce immense effects on troops already fully organised and equipped.

If these conclusions are just, what a source of pride is such an institution to a free country; what a contrast to other communities, where such schemes would seem the act of an insane administration! For these volunteers are raised, clothed, drilled, and equipped almost entirely at their own expense; the only aid which is furnished by Government is the supply of arms and a small capitation grant; and this patriotic sacrifice of time, of ease, and of money has produced kindred effects in all classes. To give one example, we believe that we are correct in stating that the whole county of Sussex is mapped out and catalogued, and that the War Office has returns of the horses and oxen waggons and carts which each landowner and farmer has volunteered to supply in any emergency. Nothing, indeed, can be more gratifying than such patriotic acts and undertakings so developed by the Volunteer system, and it must be the desire of all Englishmen that the institution may flourish, and that Easter Monday at Brighton may be as much honoured as Lord Mayor's Day, or even as the Epsom Derby.

We might, perhaps, wish that we could draw some further inferences concerning what may be called the principles of fighting from the field-day at Brighton; but where no one is killed it is not always easy to say how this or that style of action has answered the intended purpose. It may also be conceded that very much must depend on national character, and much also on the causes and circumstances of each particular war. The Austrian soldier is the steadiest in the world and the most dependent; the French soldier is simply the very opposite; but no course of instruction would make an Austrian fight in the Zouave style, or prevent a French Chasseur from lying down and avoiding unnecessary exposure. Again, the Polish Scythian is terrible; and perhaps Stonewall Jackson's division would be very awkward customers if armed only with pikes; but it is the cause that makes them such, and it would probably be as absurd to drill men without regard to character and circumstances, as to adopt the Procrustean method in politics, and fancy that the same political institutions are adapted equally to every variety of nation. The genius of the people, and even the genius of the commander, must be allowed their sway. The Parthian, who seems to have been the personified object of the satire that

"He who fights and runs away,
Lives to fight another day,"

had his peculiar method of fighting, but he annihilated Crassus and the Roman Legions. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how any one could in the present day admire the style of fighting immortalised by Leonidas, which simply consisted in fighting till you fell on the exact spot to which you had advanced. Yet reasons other than strategic might make such a system even now advisable, and mercenary troops might refuse to face desperate men fighting for liberty if the former were convinced that the motto of the latter was "Victory or death." Certainly at Brighton the troops were not exposed to such alternatives they fought with intelligence; and what would have been courage had there been danger. The action was a retreat before a superior force; the object was to perform that retreat with as little damage to one side, and as much to the other as was possible. After all, it is the main purpose of all strategy to destroy your enemy and save yourself, and the Field Day at Brighton was a good illustration to novices of one of the many ways in which that purpose may be accomplished.

English Universities.

(Continued from No. 49.)

The formation of the character by influence and association and the formation of the mind by studies, so that the two may combine to produce a youth adapted for the various walks of educated life or the pursuits of science, has been already defined to be the objects of the University system. There is, perhaps, no subject on which so much variety of opinion has existed as the befitting field of intellectual exercise for the mind of man, and perhaps the number of educational philanthropists and amateur schoolmasters is not exceeded by the cloud of amateur politicians. The energies of the English *doctrinaires* in this particular line of busyness have been for the last two years entirely expended on the rival schemes for educating the masses in the Government schools, and the Universities have been, perhaps, as much unassisted by the advice of philosophers as they have been free from the interference of "quacks." Our object is to give information; we wish neither to be didactic nor polemical, and we endeavour to keep our opinion to ourselves as much as possible; but in justice to the labourers in the vineyard of education at our English Universities, we think it right, before entering upon an exposition of the studies pursued at one of them, to repudiate to some extent the common accusation, that the advice, arguments, and views of great and prudent men on the subject of intellectual training are rejected and contemned by the

leading authorities of Oxford and Cambridge. We think the accusation unfounded; there are bigots, stiff-necked, blind, and infatuated, to whom learning has only a dædal conceit, in all places and under all systems; but many men of large and liberal ideas are ready to welcome the suggestions and adopt the conclusions of enlightened philosophers, and do not stop to inquire whether these are of the initiated or not. Perpetual routine teaches a faith in routine, and the victims of it feel the power which they are unable to resist; aid from without, the untrammelled and unbiassed wisdom of a stranger, is their best hope of freedom which they will neither condemn nor reject. If the mouse is a welcome liberator to the entangled lion, surely the lion will not despise the aid of his fellow hunter.

That the University of Cambridge has opened its gates wide to the admission of new sciences, we shall presently show, but first, the ancient subjects claim attention. Now, we have in former articles frequently spoken of the degree of "Bachelor of Arts," which we have shown to be the usual result of a three years' residence in the University. To the attainment of this degree an examination is, of course, a condition precedent; but these examinations, though the same degree is the common result of all who differ widely in their nature, their difficulty, and their attendant honours. The student whose heart shrinks alike from the corrupt intricacies of *Æschylus* and the appalling feature of the Binomial Theorem, may content himself with a rather moderate acquaintance with the first rudiments of mathematics, a little classics, and still less history and divinity, but he must bow to that destiny which consigns his relative superiority or inferiority to his competitors to an untimely and perpetual oblivion. He is as much a "Bachelor of Arts" as Whewell or the Professor of Greek ever were, but posterity knows not by what ladder he reached that glorious eminence. Fortunately for Cambridge ambition is the ruling passion of her sons, and the numbers of those who reach the goal by the highway of glory is far greater than that of the men who seek it by the paths of a painful mediocrity.

The great renown of Cambridge in point of wisdom is said to rest on the wonderful proficiency of her mathematicians, and it is on their examinations that she pours forth the energies of her laborious ingenuity. One hundred and twenty of her sons emerge annually from the ordeal, and the first of these is the "god" of the hour. The successful candidates for "honours" in this field of competition as in all others are arranged in three classes, and the members of each class are arranged in order of merit. The struggle lasts for nine days; the abstruseness of the questions and the intricacy of the problems increase day by day in geometrical progression, while the number of those to whom the subjects are intelligible, of course, decreases in an inverse ratio; the result of the whole process being that the gradual elimination of the beaten competitors at length places the enthusiastic Examiner face to face with a select band of invincible calculators. The whole business is transacted on paper, and the system of a *viva voce* inquiry is now never employed in the matter of "honours." The sittings last for about three hours, and first-rate men write incessantly, and with a rapidity which thought rather aids than impedes, and which would leave far in the rear the speed of a copyist or even of a writer to dictation. In fact, quickness of hand and neatness in execution are indispensable to supreme success, in a case where the test must necessarily be the highest combination of quantity and quality.

The next department of knowledge and competition, both in usage and importance, is that of the classical languages and literature, and here also the ordeal necessary to success is almost as terrible as that already portrayed. It is evident, however, that the classical scholar has more scope for natural genius, that he may substitute taste and accuracy for rapidity of execution, and that the touches of a refined imagination and the purity of an artistic elegance will not lose by comparison with the results of a grosser but more voluminous compositor.

So much then for the examinations; the subjects themselves, perhaps, claim a passing notice. As to the mathematics, it is not necessary here to dilate upon their adaptation to the purpose of hardening the comprehensive powers of the intellect, and strengthening the reason and memory; nor, perhaps, is it worth while to argue a proposition pretty generally allowed, even by detractors, that mathematics at Cambridge are taught thoroughly well, and that the standard of excellence is very high. But one word about the classical studies may be essential. No one doubts, probably, that it is right to make classical studies an early and prominent part of liberal education, but the question is in what spirit and with what purpose are the great Greek and Latin authors to be studied?—It is said, and with much truth, that these authors are read at Cambridge, *not so much for what they say, but how they say it*; or again, that the *Historians* are not read for the great historical truths to be learned from their works; that Plato and Aristotle fail to excite a spirit of philosophical or ethical inquiry, and that the vast imagination, exquisite taste, and grand conception of the poets are unperceived; while all undergo a process of verbal dissection and microscopic inspection of style, only that their language may be a subject for a formal and vain criticism, and that their words and phrases may be reproduced in the prose and verse composition of the student, by a method of imitation as unmeaning and servile as it is destitute of the spirit and power that dictated the original. Such is a not uncommon accusation, and to a portion of the indictment Cambridge must plead guilty. The language of the Greek and Latin writers is her first care. She thinks that philo-

sophy and ethics have a domain of their own, and are not, strictly speaking, classical. She especially adds a knowledge of Greek and Roman history as an important element in the classical examination, and she argues that the painful investigation of the author's language is not necessarily unobservant of his ideas and imagination. For our part, we have no wish to speak authoritatively. We know that Oxford has adopted the very opposite system, while Germany has gone almost hand in hand with Cambridge; but it must not be ignored that by the united efforts of the devotees of verbal criticism, the study of the classical languages has in reality assumed the form of a fixed and abstract science, is possessed of similar attributes, and is capable of producing similar results. With regard to the relative dignity of the honours obtained in the mathematical and classical examinations, it will suffice to say that public opinion knows no distinction, and that fellowships at the various colleges are conferred on the students who have attained to the most exalted positions in each with rigid impartiality. A nominal precedence is conceded to the first mathematician, because of the greater antiquity of the institution of that ordeal, but whether it be more desirable to be the first mathematician or the first classic of the year is a point which individual taste and inclination can alone decide.

In addition to these, Cambridge has lately instituted new themes for the trial of the intellectual powers, and holds an annual examination in moral sciences and natural sciences. Not only has the degree of "Bachelor of Arts" been offered to the successful candidates in these departments, but arrangements have also been made to enable the mathematicians and the classical scholars, who are sufficiently ambitious, to gain farther honours. Certainly the list of subjects in each of the new sciences is by no means contemptible. Under the head of Moral Sciences are ranged moral and mental philosophy, logic, history, and political philosophy, political economy, general jurisprudence, and the history of philosophy; under that of Natural Sciences, we find chemistry, mineralogy, geology, botany, zoology, with comparative anatomy and comparative physiology. How far the new institutions will be able to hold their own against their time-honoured rivals it is not easy to determine. At present they only number eleven years of existence, and though by no means hindered by the authorities, they have found but little favour with the students. The average number of the successful candidates in mathematics has been already given: the classics claim sixty annual aspirants for honours, while the moral sciences have had but seventy in ten years, and the natural sciences fifty-eight in the same time. But what is more unfortunate still, they rather sink than rise in popular favour. Indeed, in one instance, within the last three years, one of them has displayed a list of but three devotees, and the other not one. Success without adversaries is absurd; hence men of great talent refuse to compete, a general distrust of the reality of the test is engendered, and the honour seems too barren to compensate for the labour. Degrees in laws, medicine, and music are conferred on the University, but the candidates are not numerous, and we have no space to dwell on this unimportant portion of the subject.

Having now considered the nature and results of these intellectual contests, it is necessary that we should say a word as to the means by which the knowledge requisite for the successful competitor is acquired; and remarkable as every English institution, political or social, is for its contradictions and anomalies, it may be doubted whether any one of them can boast anything so strange, and apparently so indefensible as the department of instruction at Cambridge. In the first place, each college undertakes the education of its own students; and as each charges for the article "tuition," it might reasonably be supposed that the particular commodity would be supplied to the required extent. Undoubtedly each has a staff of tutors and lecturers, and it would be false to deny that lectures are delivered and attended. But, although a conjecture might be hazarded by a stranger, that the nearer the time of the struggle the more frequent and the more assiduous would be the meeting of tutor and scholar, the contrary is the fact. In some colleges a fixed number, and never an excessive number of lectures is delivered during the terms, that is, during about twenty-five weeks in the year, and all students of the particular species of learning are expected to attend. In others, dispensations are granted in increased numbers as the third year of residence approaches, till at length absolute emancipation is attained. It may be, and often is the case, that the tutor, zealous of the credit of his college, and conscientious in his work, spends hours and days in the preparation of a candidate who bears unmistakably the mark of success, but he does so of his free will, by way of patriotism, and not because it is part of his regular business. If the teachers of mathematics and classics are sought, they will be found in a race indigenous now to Cambridge, not originally part of the system, still theoretically ignored, practically the sheet-anchor of learning. These are the private tutors. Of course they are members of the University, and live within the walls of the colleges, or in the town; but they are not officials, they neither exercise control over their pupils, nor are they either paid or recognised by the regular tutors. On the other hand, they are miracles in their line of art; they not only possess the most consummate skill in the science of imparting knowledge, but they stand in the front ranks in scholarship and mathematical power. From the great experience possessed by the leaders of their class, and from the fact that men of the same calibre place themselves under the same private tutor, it not unfrequently happens, that the latter can form a

most accurate estimate of the relative chances of success in the several competitors; at times also there is a concentration upon one private tutor as upon a great barrister. Perhaps this is more frequently the case in classics than in mathematics. Indeed, we recollect but a very few years since, that out of eleven candidates, whom the examiners thought worthy to be placed in the first class in classics, ten had been prepared by the same master-hand. The best scholars will go to the best teacher, and to the inferior scholars the great critic is unintelligible. At the present moment, when the services of one who is in our opinion the first scholar in England can be obtained, it is no marvel that there is on the one side an insatiable demand, and on the other an approximate monopoly. Probably, if the neglect of duty on the part of the Colleges be set aside, the system has no decided blot beyond the increased expenditure of the education. All private tutors, however, are not Porsons nor Newtons, and every student may rest assured that, whatever be the character of his individual enterprise, he will experience no difficulty in finding the professor of that particular line, and that he will enter the lists trained and prepared after a fashion that would excite the envy of a prize-fighter or the owner of a Derby favourite.

There is yet another class, more brilliant in position and of conspicuous renown—the great army of Professors. In assigning to them functions of utility in the immediate and practical sense of the word we should be in error. At the first blush the thought naturally occurs that in them the true powers and instruments of instruction are to be sought. It is not intimated that they despise the task; perhaps they were never intended for it, perhaps they do not harmonise in their gravity and wisdom with the rush and struggle of the competitors for honours. In numbers they are twenty-six, and among them are Professors of Divinity, Languages, and Moral and Natural Sciences. Some deliver lectures at stated periods of the year to well-filled benches of *involuntary* students, others to select parties of *volunteers*. In the former case the advantages to learning are slight, for the student who aspires to honours is never included in the "conscription;" in the latter case the audience is composed of devotees of a particular line of Physical Science. Indeed, the Professors at an English University must be regarded as the embodied representatives of Arts and Sciences; they are the aristocracy of learning; they wear the purple and fine linen of philosophy; they are authorities accepted not only in Cambridge and Oxford, but in England and in Europe; their toils, self-instructive, if not teaching others, carry forward the standard of knowledge, and mark the way for followers. In the deeper sciences, in those that require the devotion of a life-time, to know little or to know superficially is worse, perhaps, than declared ignorance. The few must be accepted for the many, and must compensate for the lack of numbers by the plenitude of excellence. They demand recognition, and they have the right to it; that which they profess is necessary to the human race, and the passive recipients cannot refuse duly to honour those that supply the want. Attempts have been recently made with the view of utilising more extensively the professorships for the purposes of instruction; such an experiment would neither be a great hinderance to the original objects of the institution, nor deteriorate the standard of talent attained; but the results of the experiment are bounded by the fact that but two Professors represent the subjects in which "Honours" are eagerly sought, and that one of these is already so employed. Such a question is not of any deep importance, and is only mooted perhaps in deference to a supposed agitation. We think that at a great University all Arts and Sciences, in the pursuit of which in all ages the genius of man has been developed, should be represented, and while the bench of the Professors of them is worthily filled we are not much allured by a scheme the tendency of which is merely to add to the abundant list of ordinary teachers.

(To be continued.)

Easter Monday.

We lately looked over a comprehensive collection of Nineteenth Century ballads, and though they were not so spirited as those of an earlier date, or perhaps did not appear so spirited on account of their newness, they were amusing and instructive. We could trace in them the great political changes that have taken place since the year 1800. Gradually the ballads lose their political significance. Social questions take the lead, and if public affairs are referred to, it is only to make a joke, not to point a moral. A composition called "Finality John," and which, we were told, sold prodigiously, was evidently not inspired by any ill-will to Lord Russell, but merely by the desire of not missing a promising opportunity of having a little fun by caricaturing an eminent personage. This political indifference does not arise from the apathy of political decay, but the masses of the community never care about parties, and fortunately for many years we have not been divided into factions. Amongst other ballads, we glanced over those that were written and bawled in honour of the marriage of Queen Victoria, and we were struck with the stress laid upon the incident of a Monday being selected for the celebration thereof. It was evidently regarded as a droll and remarkable circumstance. Saturday was and still is the fashionable day, as Friday is the unlucky day, and Monday the unfashionable day. Whether Belgravia was shocked at the selection of the last instead of the first we know not, but

undoubtedly it amused the crowd. Monday is the holiday of the working classes, and in some trades all the Mondays in the year are observed as "blue" Mondays. One reason for this is that Sunday is not with us a day of pleasure. It is true there are Sunday excursions, but there is a comparative sobriety and decorum, a kind of sedate and sober restraint observed by the Sunday excursionist that would rather astonish those well-intentioned but mistaken individuals, who would make it a punishable offence for the artisan to visit the green fields on his only day of leisure; the consequence is that Monday, which is so conveniently near pay day, is, as far as possible, devoted to pleasure-seeking.

Easter Monday is the carnival of the English working classes; and it must be a poor heart that does not sympathise with the enjoyment of the multitude. From early morning until midnight, railroads, public gardens, theatres, music halls, and all places of recreation are thronged with men, women, and children, who are determined by sheer hard work to get as much pleasure out of the day as they can. Nothing depresses them. If it is wet they enjoy the fun of being crammed into inconveniently small covered places,—if the sun shines so much the more comfortable for them. Perhaps they determine to have eight hours at the seaside, and after investing their half-crowns in return tickets, find themselves penned like sheep in miserable railway carriages, and travelling at the rate, including stoppages, of an old stage coach, so that when they get to the sea, they have only just time to glance at it, to return to the station, and to fight for places in a train that is about four hours over due when it reaches London. Well, they do not grumble, or threaten to write to the papers; but they laugh, joke, and sing,—or at least they try to sing, for in spite of the skill of Mr. Hullah in the art of teaching we have not yet become as musical as the Germans.

One of the most popular amusements of the people has been nearly put down by the rigid construction of an Act of Parliament and the unwonted exertions of the police. Why fairs should be so persecuted we know not. Is there anything sinful in indulging a taste for gingerbread nuts, or in taking "three shies a penny," or in having a turn at the roundabout or the whirligig? As for the dancing booths, we presume they are quite as respectable as London casinos. However, the police are bent in this case upon obeying their superiors, and fairs are only held here and there, and their jollity and attractiveness have departed. But though Greenwich has lost its famous fair, it continues to be a favourite resort on Easter Monday, and is as well attended as though there was no such place as Brighton, or no such sight as "the Volunteer Review." The holiday folk, dressed in their best and thinnest—the damsels who make holiday on Easter Monday appear in summer attire, no matter what may be the state of the weather—stroll about the fine old park, or run and roll down the charmingly steep hill, as did their fathers and mothers before them. There is not much chance of imbibing pure country air in consequence of the quantity of genuine shag burnt in pipes of wood and clay, and of the number of those "far-famed Cubas, ten for a shilling," that are puffed by the young men who look upon a cigar in the mouth as a certificate of manhood and a mark of gentility. We hope Mr. Gladstone's recent legislation will enable those who cannot afford dear cigars to procure cigars that are cheap and not nasty. It also occurs to us that free-trade in wine might provide for the holiday folk a more wholesome and pleasant beverage than ginger beer, a vile compound at all times, but which on such a day as Monday last is much more so than usual, for when depressed by the cold east wind, it refuses to pop, comes from the bottle as flat as ditchwater, and looks like bilious soapsuds.

Our national holidays are few, perhaps too few; and we wish better provision could be made for the amusement of the people. The Volunteer Review is excellent, and it suggests a review of regular troops in London. A review in Hyde Park would cost little and gratify thousands. Besides, the country owes something to the holiday folks; for their pleasures incidentally contribute to the national coffers. The smoking and the drinking—even the Greenwich tea at ninepence a-head—brings in a revenue to the Exchequer. The shareholders of the metropolitan railroads get a little profit out of Easter Monday excursions, and that little profit pays its quota of property tax. In France, reviews are frequent; and we never heard that they impaired the efficiency of the soldiers, but on the contrary, they are thought to be useful for the purpose of discipline.

Easter Monday at the theatres was this year duly observed and celebrated. At the Haymarket, there was a panorama of the Prince of Wales's Eastern tour, ending with a picture of St. George's Chapel during the celebration of the royal wedding. At the Olympic, a comic version of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* was produced, and though it was a success, we think the selection of the subject shows questionable taste. At the Strand, a burlesque, by Mr. H. J. Byron, was played for the first time, founded on the tale of the "Forty Thieves," and entitled "*Ali Baba, or the Thirty-nine Thieves*," in accordance with the author's habit of taking one off. We need not add that every line was enlivened by a pun; and that when the puns were not good, they were so egregiously bad as to provoke loud laughter and hearty applause. The judgment of an Easter Monday audience is, however, not of much account, for on that evening all the theatres are filled, and all the pieces and actors are applauded. The holiday folks pay their money to be amused, not to criticise, and they are right, for fault-finding is the business of those who do not pay.

A GLANCE AT SOME NEW BOOKS.

About four thousand books are annually published in England, in addition to the streams of periodical literature that are constantly issuing from our prolific and exhaustless presses; yet there is little new under the sun, so far as the world of letters is concerned. From the gross total we must deduct new editions and translations, and of the remainder—the so-called original works—very few have any claim to novelty, even in style and arrangement. The student who reads abundantly the classics and the books that were written prior to or immediately after the invention of printing, will find little to instruct him in the literature of the nineteenth century; but for all that, we do not deny that in the multitude of new books there is much gain, for with the general reader old truths have more influence when presented in new forms. For instance, the “History of England” by Macaulay, although, to quote Mr. Bright’s bull, it displays a warm neutrality to the Whigs, has done wonders in making Englishmen familiar with the history of their country, and in making constitutional Government understood and appreciated on the Continent of Europe; yet it was not new in the full meaning of the term, and to have so characterised it would have been to incur the indignant displeasure of its brilliant author. But not many books are so far new as Macaulay’s History, of which not only the style and arrangement are original, but many of the facts contained in it were dug out with as much research and assiduity—and by a process involving as much genius—as the man of science brings to bear upon his experiments. Mr. Sutherland Edwards, the *Times*’ special correspondent in Poland, has just published a useful book on that country, that ran through a first edition in a few days, and will run through many editions ere the year closes, if Russia does not sooner proclaim that Poland is tranquil, whether it be the tranquillity induced by a generous peace or by the national death; but Mr. Edwards has not done more than bind up together, without an attempt at order, a number of authenticated statements all valuable in their way, and all relating to the Polish question. Good digestion is as much promoted by the proper order of the courses as by the wholesomeness of the several dishes, and upon the digestion of the food depends the nutriment derived by the body. We wish Mr. Edwards’s good food had been better cooked, and that the roast had not come before the soup, and the sweets before the meat. Nevertheless Mr. Edwards did well, considering how short a time he was allowed to prepare his MS. for the printer—there is intrinsic evidence that there was a devil at his elbow plaguing him for copy from the moment he undertook the work until he had written the last folio—and those who feel a special interest in the Polish revolution ought to read the “Polish Captivity,” and having read it, to feel grateful to the author.

Our sensation novelists are not more original than our sensation dramatists. Long before Mr. Boucicault adapted *The Collegians*, and *Colleen Bawn* was the rage, actors had made terrific leaps upon feather-beds, yet that agile actor obtained, as we understand, a species of copyright in the jumping scene; and it now appears that years before Miss Braddon published “Lady Audley’s Secret” and “Aurora Floyd,” a Mr. Fullom had published a novel called “The Man of the World,” which Miss Braddon says she did not read until her own works were notorious, but which, if we had not this assurance, we might very well have supposed to have suggested them to her mind, so many and close are the coincidences, as may be seen from the following points of resemblance selected from the thirty or forty given by Mr. Fullom in his letters to the *Morning Herald*:—

Man of the World.—The story opens with the marriage of Rosalie, a girl of 20, with Sir Blundell Haughton, a baronet of 50, whom she accepts for his wealth, and who has a daughter about her own age.

Man of the World.—Lady Haughton has jilted her lover to marry the baronet, and the lover appears immediately after the marriage, to her great discomposure.—(p. 38.)

Man of the World.—The narrative describes the impression made on Danvers, Lady Haughton’s lover, by the portrait.—(p. 79.)

Man of the World.—The secret passage at the old country house is accidentally discovered by Amy.—(p. 353.)

Man of the World.—The portrait at the old country house is connected with the secret passage.—(p. 353.)

Lady Audley’s Secret.—The story opens with the marriage of Lucy, a girl of 20, with Sir Michael Audley, a baronet of 56, whom she accepts for his wealth, and who has a daughter about her own age.

Lady Audley’s Secret.—Lady Audley has thrown over her first husband to marry the baronet, and he appears just after the marriage, to her great embarrassment.

Lady Audley’s Secret.—The narrative describes the impression made on Talboys, Lady Audley’s first husband, by the portrait.—(p. 142, vol. i.)

Lady Audley’s Secret.—The secret passage at the old country house is accidentally discovered by Alicia.—(p. 5, vol. i.)

Lady Audley’s Secret.—The secret passage at the old country house leads to the portrait.—(p. 136, vol. i.)

Man of the World.—The scene in Mrs. Addlefield’s apartments reveals the mysteries of the toilet, as performed by the lady’s-maid, showing how the mouth is “furnished” with “a complete set of pearls,” the “cheeks with a delicate bloom,” the “head with flowing locks,” this “transformation” being “effected” by the French maid, and a comparison is suggested between the relations of a lady to her maid and those of a hero to his valet.—(pp. 316, 317.)

Man of the World.—Eleanor changes her name on flying from home (p. 126), and is engaged by Mrs. Mayburn without a reference and without inquiry about her antecedents, which afterwards provokes the sarcasms of Mrs. Windham.—(p. 195.)

If not so passing strange, it is more amusing to find authors unconsciously original. “Nobly False” is a sensation novel by Mr. J. McGrigor Allan. It appears this gentleman intended to portray the character of Shelley in fiction. What he has produced is as much a fac-simile of Shelley as it is of Mr. Spurgeon. Indeed, we should have classed “Nobly False” as original, but that we have a shadowy remembrance of having on other occasions had to read similar originals by the same author; in one of which, if we recollect rightly, we were introduced to a fashionable Countess, living somewhere in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly, who devoted her mornings partly to callers, and partly to teaching a charming young author how to use a pistol, so that he might shoot a fashionable villain who had wronged her; and another, which was something about the last moments, or the last hours of a bachelor. Every Jack has his gill, and it is possible that every author has his readers; but, certainly, if the reading public sympathised with our taste, Mr. Allan would be a dire enemy to those careful housewives who hoard up and ultimately sell their waste paper.

Another case of unconscious imitation is worth passing notice. We have not examined the matter for ourselves, and only give the facts secondhand. Dr. Wynter wrote an excellent little book called “Our Social Bees,” and his admirers, or perhaps his publishers, were disgusted at seeing an article in a popular serial, which bore a very striking resemblance to a part of “Our Social Bees.” At length it is discovered that before “Our Social Bees” was written an article appeared in another popular periodical, from which it might seem to ill-natured people the Doctor derived some of the materials for his work. In politics and history, as well as in popular science, it is curious to note how information is gleaned. First comes the special correspondent’s letters, then leaders thereon, then articles in reviews, and then a book which is a jumble of special correspondents’ letters, and review articles. But let those who feel disposed to sneer at this way of preparing history recollect upon what much less reliable witnesses than newspapers historians have hitherto had to rely. If there had been an independent daily press when the Stuarts were kings of England, we do not say that liberty would have been preserved without the decapitation of a monarch, or that the Constitution would have been saved without the expulsion of James II.; but assuredly the story of their times would have been told much more effectively, “The History of England, from the Accession of James I. to the Disgrace of Chief Justice Coke,” by Mr. Samuel B. Gardiner, which has just appeared, would, in that case have been more satisfactory, though we should be sorry, by this remark, to be thought to disparage Mr. Gardiner’s painstaking and valuable work. He is neither so lively nor so deeply read as Macaulay, but, then, he does not seek by the history of the past to glorify his political friends or to damage his political enemies. Mr. Gardiner is not free from prejudice, or even from the heinous offence of marshalling facts to support pet theories, but his prejudice is not excessive, and his theories are plausible and not insisted on dogmatically. With regard to the defence of Bacon, we can only remark that we consider it an unnecessary labour, for it seems to us that Mr. Hepworth Dixon’s vindication is all-sufficient, so long as those who delight to picture Bacon as the meanest as well as the wisest of mankind tacitly confess they are unable to answer it.

There is not a royal road to learning; and authorship—except the writing of love stories and tenth-rate sensation novels—can never be made easy; but the labour will be diminished by such publications as Mr. Noel Sainsbury’s “Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. East Indies, China, and Japan, 1613-1616.” Mr. Sainsbury

Lady Audley’s Secret.—The scene in Lady Audley’s apartments reviews the mysteries of the toilet as performed by the lady’s-maid, showing how she is aware that “pearly teeth are foreign substances supplied by the dentist,” the “ivory complexion bought,” and that “the glossy plaits are the relics of the dead;” the “lady’s-maid is by to see the transformation effected,” and a comparison is suggested between the relations of a lady to her maid and those of the veiled prophet of Korazin to his valet.—(pp. 57, 58, vol. iii.)

Lady Audley’s Secret.—Helen changes her name on flying from home, and is engaged by Mrs. Vincent without a reference and without inquiry about her antecedents, which afterwards provokes the sarcasms of Miss Tongs. (p. 166, vol. ii.)

is an admirable editor from his complete self-abnegation. He gives us unadorned facts, but for all that, he produces a very readable volume. Englishmen may justly feel proud of their ancestors, for our Eastern supremacy, which has been so valourously maintained, was established by their dauntless spirit of enterprise. The daring adventurers of the sixteenth century were worthy to prepare the field for such men as Sir James Outram, the Lawrences, and Sir Henry Havelock. Our forefathers, too, were highly inventive and suggestive. The overland route is a modern institution, but two hundred and fifty years ago it was proposed to send persons from the East Indies by the way of Aden and thence by the Caspian Sea to England.

Not to know that one has a digestive organization is health and happiness. Directly a man is practically conscious that he has a liver and a heart he is a fit subject for medical treatment. This is even more true of the body politic. A people may have a history, and a very bloody and exciting one too, and thrive; but so soon as they have a disposition for studying the constitution of their country they are almost sure to attempt to improve it, and the more perfect the Constitution the sooner it is destroyed by quack-doctoring. It is our happiness that we are content to know that our Constitution works well, and not to care one jot about its anomalies, or to desire to see it defined with the precision of a religious creed. “The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III., by Thomas Erskine May, C.B.,” is not an attempt to so define the Constitution, but as its name implies, a history of its working. It is a valuable contribution to our literature, and whilst it is a text-book for the politician and the public writer, it will find favour with the general reader. Mr. Erskine brings his work down to our own times, and though he betrays a partiality for Lord Palmerston, that is, a tendency to defend as well as state the noble lord’s policy, we must give him great credit for wonderful impartiality. Mr. Erskine is a Liberal, yet no more Liberalism appears in his work than would be approved by a vast majority of the Conservatives.

“The Best Form of Government,” by Sir G. C. Lewis, is also a neutral work, but not likely, we think, to prove of any utility. Accepting our War Secretary for a political guide, we must assume that all forms of Government are equally susceptible of being turned to good account, or of being misused. It is unnecessary to say that what proceeds from the accomplished pen of Sir G. C. Lewis is marked with thought and betrays deep and extensive erudition; but if any people on the face of the earth are thinking about adopting a new form of Government, and are uncertain what form to try, we hope they will not get hold of this book, as they may then possibly vote all forms of Government bad, and essay to do without any form of Government at all. We are glad, however, that Sir G. C. Lewis does not adopt the patriotic prejudice of our countrymen, and recommend our own form of Government as the very best for all nations. It is the best for us, no doubt, but it does not follow that it will do for other peoples and countries.

“The Nationalities of Europe,” by R. G. Latham, M.A., M.D., is a very learned work, but only valuable to those who take a deep interest in the subject, and who will therefore study it. We mention these volumes by way of caution. If any one, seeing the title announced, should imagine that they will help him to learn what the map of Europe would be if every nationality was a separate power, he will be greatly disappointed. Dr. Latham’s book is calculated to make us think the only practical definitions of nationality are geographical boundaries. It seems to us that the question of descent ought not to be mixed up with the question of political nationality. We do not imagine that the present inhabitants of Greece are descendants of the ancient Greeks; but they nevertheless constitute a nation. Where there is the same religion, the same tongue, strong political affinities, assimilation of character, and identity of interests, there we have what is politically a nationality. A common descent is *a priori* evidence of a nationality because it involves these identities.

“Incidents in My Life,” by D. D. Home, *the Medium*, is a business circular on a large scale, and it will doubtless pay. Mr. Home says many respectable people believe in him, and to this we reply that many respectable people believed in those rank impostors, the Cock Lane Ghost and Johanna Southcote. Respectability—*id est*, having money and station—is not necessarily allied to wisdom. Mr. Home must not suppose that he and the rappers are the sole dealers in the supernatural. The so-called gipsies, whose fingers have such an affinity for family plate, find a multitude of dupes to cross their palms with silver and to believe their gibberish.

One of the most amusing books lately published is the “Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation, at the Court of Czar Peter the Great. Translated from the

original Latin, and edited by the Count Mac Donnell." The name of the Secretary is Korb, who was attached to the mission sent in 1698, by the Emperor of Germany, to Peter the Great, and of which Von Gaurient was the chief. In 1700, Korb published a diary of the mission, but it so displeased Peter the Great, that at his request the Emperor of Germany had it destroyed, and but few copies escaped. Besides the copy found by Count MacDonnell in Italy, there are three others, one of which is in the British Museum. *Apropos* of this we may remark that Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, has been unanimously elected as a Trustee of the British Museum, in the place of the late Marquis of Lansdowne, who was a Whig. Since the office is not political, the choice will gratify Liberals as well as Conservatives. The Rt. Hon. gentleman has an opportunity of doing a public service, by exercising his influence in having valuable MSS., such as Korb's Diary, published. We can see no reason why curiosities of literature should be buried in Bloomsbury. We have frequently met with Essays on the Life and Times of Peter the Great, which would have been all the more accurate and intelligible if "Korb's Diary" had been translated and published. This book puts in an appearance at rather an opportune moment. It certainly does away with anything like respect for Peter the Great, who is represented as a coarse, heartless savage. Moreover, it tells us a great deal about the atrocities perpetrated to avenge the rebellion of the Strelitzes; and, although we would not so far insult the common sense of our readers as to compare the present Emperor with Peter, these accounts give a kind of force to the tales told of Russian cruelties to the Poles. We repeat that this Diary is one of the, if not *the*, most interesting book of the season.

To those who prefer homely gossip we can recommend the "Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, D.D." who was born in 1746, brought up for the Church, obtained plenty of the loaves and fishes—his father was Master of Peterhouse, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge—moved in the best society at Bath, and was acquainted with Mrs. Siddons and a host of celebrities. If he did little for his day and generation, he rendered a slight service to posterity by keeping a diary. Compared to "Korb's Diary," "Dr. Whalley's Journal" is insignificant, but then the two works ought not to be compared, and both of them are excellent in their several ways.

"The Life and Death of the Irish Parliament," being two lectures by the Rt. Hon. James Whiteside, Q.C., M.P., is distinguished by the eloquence and lucidity that might have been expected by those who are acquainted with Mr. Whiteside's speeches in Parliament. It is, perhaps, not very surprising that at the time of the union of the two parliaments some dissatisfaction should have been felt; but that after the lapse of so many years any Irishmen should be found to regret the decease of a Parliament that was not independent, is remarkable. The Irish Parliament was an anomaly, for it survived the *de facto* union of the two countries.

Sermons are not generally worth publishing, and particularly the best of all sermons, those that are composed by conscientious clergymen for the special requirements of their congregations; but the "Sermons preached before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his Tour in the East, by A. P. Stanley, D.D.," are a brilliant exception. They are not only interesting from association, but of great intrinsic worth. Dr. Stanley made the best use of a splendid opportunity, and whilst avoiding extravagance and rant, he permitted the scenes through which he passed to have their due influence on his discourses. Dr. Stanley is liberal and orthodox—rather a rare combination in these days.

Cardinal Wiseman delivered a lecture, last summer, at the Royal Institution, on "Points of Contact between Science and Art," and the lecture is deservedly published. The Cardinal's coreligionists admire him greatly as a theologian, and that is a point on which we must decline giving our opinion; but there can be no doubt of his merits as a linguist and an orator, or of his fine appreciation of the works of art and science. As Dr. Wiseman he was well known and respected for his great attainments, and when he received ecclesiastical promotion some ultra-Protestants were rather shocked at hearing that a Protestant Member of Parliament was the avowed friend of the Romish Cardinal. However, even Dr. Cumming can find nothing to object to on the score of theology in this lecture, but much to admire both as to matter and style. Political and religious differences ought not to find place in the republic of letters, only assuming that, as in Cardinal Wiseman's case, an attempt is not made under the guise of literature to propagate sectarian views.

AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTESTS.*

(Concluded from last week.)

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

It was an unfortunate circumstance that, at a moment when sectional passions had risen to their highest point, and little was wanting to kindle the flames of actual civil war, the supreme executive authority of the United States should have been conferred upon a man of no personal influence or political reputation. Even if Mr. Pierce had been a man of commanding character and extraordinary intellect, he lacked the weight which attaches to an established name and long experience in public life; and he was, unhappily, a merely well-meaning, respectable citizen, fit enough to be the governor or the representative of a minor State, but utterly devoid of the qualities which might have entitled him to the office to which he was called. Had the choice of the Democrats fallen upon Mr. Douglas, whose personal character would have commanded respect, and whose political sagacity would have enabled him to steer a safe and straightforward course through the difficulties that surrounded the Government, it is possible that the "irrepressible conflict" might have been postponed for some years longer. But the selection of a man who, however honest, had not skill to choose the path of safety, nor authority to act as mediator between contending and infuriated factions, precipitated collisions, so frequent and so violent as to leave no hope of postponing much longer the final appeal to arms.

The chief event of President Pierce's administration—which may be considered the commencement of the disruption of the United States—was the organization of the Kansas-Nebraska territories. From the greater part of those territories, lying north of the parallel of latitude 36° 30", and being part of the Louisiana purchase, slavery was excluded by the terms of the Missouri compromise. The consequence of this exclusion would be to place Missouri altogether in the midst of Free States except on the side of Arkansas; and to this her statesmen not unnaturally objected. Accordingly, when the bill for the organization of these territories—which, by an amendment, were separated—was under discussion, a long contention arose as to the conditions to be imposed on them while in their territorial state of pupillage. Were they, in obedience to the compromise, to be declared free soil—subject only to the right of the slaveholder to recover there all fugitives from service? Or was slavery to be established there, in virtual repeal of the Missouri compromise, and in pursuance of the right of citizens of every State to migrate with their property into any part of the common territory of the United States? The great majority of Northern members obstinately insisted on the former course, and complained of the attempt to repeal the prohibitory enactment of 1820, on this the first occasion to which it applied, as a breach of faith. The South insisted on the principle of equal rights in the territories, declaring that the Missouri compromise had been virtually superseded by the arrangements of 1850, and insisting on the application to Kansas-Nebraska of the rule laid down in the case of the Mexican territories, that on becoming qualified as States they should be admitted with or without slavery as their constitutions might prescribe. Mr. Douglas took a view of the matter differing entirely from those of both contending parties. He disputed the right of Congress to legislate for the territories in a political sense, as one nowhere conferred by the Constitution; and alleging the amendment which reserves "to the States respectively, or to the people," all rights not expressly conferred on the Federal Government as warrant for the attribution to the inhabitants of the territory of the same absolute sovereignty over their internal affairs that is enjoyed by those of organized and admitted States. He desired to leave the question of slavery in Kansas to be dealt with by the territorial Legislature; and this view ultimately prevailed. Kansas

and Nebraska were constituted territories, and left to choose their own legislators and frame their own laws. The latter territory almost disappears from sight; the former became the scene of the strangest political contest and civil war that history has recorded. The Northern Abolitionists, knowing that the situation of Kansas, and its proximity to the Slave States of Missouri and Arkansas, would, if it were left to natural immigration, inevitably devote it to slave labour, resorted to a scheme of propagandist colonization. They sent thither bands of adventurers, capable of using arms, and not troubled with an over-scrupulous reverence for law or respect for human life, to become nominal settlers, elect a legislature, and by express statute exclude slavery for ever from the soil of Kansas—for ever, inasmuch as such a statute, once passed, prevents slaveholders or pro-slavery from remaining there as settlers. This work was done a little too openly and too boastfully, and the South took umbrage. The Missourians in particular resolved to beat the North with its own weapons. They swarmed over the border, and voted by hundreds in every district near the Missourian frontier. Having the advantage of neighbourhood to the disputed territory, they prevailed; and a Legislature of their way of thinking was returned. Of course, the election was not *bona fide*, inasmuch as neither the Missourians nor the propagandist immigrants from Massachusetts, and the North were really settlers. The former intended to remain for a few days, the latter for a few weeks, until their respective objects were secured; and the longer residence of the Abolitionists was due only to the more remote situation of their real homes. It is quite evident that the latter had no right to complain. They thought to prevail by a half-legal fraud; they were baffled by a fraud a little more audacious and illegal than their own. In their rage they had recourse to open rebellion; they held elections of their own, assembled a rival Legislature, and finally called a convention to frame a Constitution and apply for admission as a State into the Union. This Legislature, Convention, and Constitution were named from the place of meeting, at Topeka. Meantime the Federal Governor had quarrelled with the Territorial Legislature, on the ground that it had changed the place of meeting from that which he had appointed, and he therefore declared its proceedings null and void. This conduct, based on a pretext so utterly frivolous, induced the President to recall Governor Reeder, who subsequently made evident the intent with which he had acted by accepting a nomination under the auspices of the bogus Legislature at Topeka as territorial delegate to Congress—the delegate returned under his own authority, having already taken his seat there without question. The Topekaites began to collect armed forces, and threaten the State authorities with actual violence; so that the Federal Government was forced to send United States' troops into the country for their protection. It was not very long before actual civil war began, the Abolitionists being led by "General" Jim Lane, John Brown, and other notorious persons of a similar reputation.

In January, 1856, President Pierce addressed a Message to Congress, denouncing the conduct of the Topekaites as flat rebellion—which, in a legal point of view, it undoubtedly was—and recommending that Congress should provide for the assembling of a Convention to frame a Constitution for Kansas, with a view to her admission as a State. Several important reports were presented to both branches of Congress by the Committees to which the subject was referred; Mr. Douglas, in the Senate, urging that the Topekaites were clearly in rebellion against the only body having the shadow of a claim to legislative authority that existed in Kansas, and objecting to any recognition of their pretensions, while Mr. Collamer, who dissented, rested their defence upon the claim of the Northern propagandists to be "the people of Kansas," and treated the Missourians as lawless invaders. An attempt was made in the House to admit Kansas as a State under the Topeka Constitution; the bill, after being once rejected, was reconsidered, passed, and sent up to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee on Territories. On their report it was rejected, and a bill sent down providing for the assembling of a Convention to form a State Constitution with a view to the admission of Kansas, as soon as she should have the requisite population, but the House allowed this to drop. Finally, the Territorial Legislature of Kansas summoned a Constitutional Convention at Leecompton, which met in June, 1857, framed a Constitution, and submitted to the people the question of slavery or no slavery. The Topeka party not voting, the result was an overwhelming majority in favour of slavery. After this, a Free-soil Legislature was elected under the new Constitution, and this Legislature submitted the whole Constitution to the popular vote—which it had clearly no legal right to do—the result

* Parties and their Principles. A Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties, with an Appendix, containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.)
The Political Text-Book, or Encyclopedia. Edited by M. W. Clusky. (Smith & Co., Philadelphia.)

Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. Chiefly taken from the Congress Debates, the Private Papers of General Jackson, and the Speeches of Ex-Senator Benson, with his actual view of Men and Affairs; with Historical Notes and Illustrations, and some Notices of Eminent Deceased Contemporaries. By a Senator of Thirty Years. (Benton.)

Abridgment of the Debates in Congress from 1789 to 1853; from Gale and Seaton's Annual of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the officially reported Debates by Thomas C. Rives. By Thomas H. Benton.

Debates in the several State Conventions, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letter, Yates' Minutes and Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1794-99, and other Illustrations of the Constitution. Collected and revised from Contemporary Publications by Jonathan Elliot, and published under the sanction of Congress.

The Federalist on the New Constitution, written in 1788. By Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay. With an Appendix, containing the Letters of Pacificus and Helvetius, on the Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793; also, the Original Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. The numbers written by Mr. Madison; revised by himself. (Hallowell, Maine, 1842.)

being an enormous majority against the Lecompton Constitution. Hereupon a schism took place in the Democratic ranks, which was never afterwards healed. Mr. Douglas, justifying the second submission of the Constitution to the popular vote, found himself at issue with President Buchanan and the extreme Southern wing of the party, who were determined to abide by the first vote of the Lecompton Constitution. Ultimately, the quarrel was compromised by an Act offering to admit Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution, on peculiarly favourable terms. This offer was refused, and the matter rested for the time. But blood had been shed, the example of civil and sectional war had been given, and party passions continued to grow more and more furious.

An incident which had occurred during the struggle tended to exasperate their fury. Mr. Sumner, senator from Massachusetts, made a violent speech in the Senate exceedingly insulting to the Southern senators generally, and especially to one of those from South Carolina, who had already spoken in the debate. His language was such as, if used on an English platform, would be thought to justify the party aggrieved in taking the law into his own hands—that is to say, it was a good deal worse than anything that Mr. Bright ever dares to say in the House of Commons, and rather worse than anything he is wont to say out of doors. Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, one of the representatives of the State, and a relative of the senator especially assailed, took the matter up. After watching for Mr. Sumner in the street, and failing to meet him, he entered the Senate-chamber when the Senate was not in session, and finding the offender writing at his desk, approached him with menacing words and gestures, at the same time brandishing a small cane. The senator, who is either imbued with Mr. Bright's peculiar notions on such subjects as personal honour and the lawfulness of resistance, or is deficient in nerve, did what Mr. Bright certainly would not have done—he sat still and submitted to be caned. As the cane broke off almost immediately, he did not suffer severely in a physical sense. But even in the North a man is not thought the better of for submitting to be thrashed without defending himself or challenging his assailant, and Mr. Sumner found it advisable to make the injuries he was supposed to have received a pretext for at once disappearing from the public view, and allowing public sympathy to be excited on his behalf. The Senate found that it had no jurisdiction in the matter; the House censured the act of Mr. Brooks, but failed to vote his expulsion by the requisite majority of two-thirds. He resigned his seat, but was immediately re-elected.

There can be no doubt that the act was highly censurable. Incidentally, it was an affront to the Senate; in its essence, it was, as all attacks of the kind are, an abuse of superior physical strength. To have challenged Mr. Sumner, and to have posted him, if he refused to give satisfaction for his outrageous language, would have been the course of a self-possessed gentleman; and no subsequent display of cowardice on the part of the victim can justify or palliate the violence originally committed. The assault was, moreover, exceedingly foolish. The Presidential canvass had already commenced; and the result of this affair was in the highest degree favourable to the chances of the Abolitionist candidate.

Out of the ruins of the Whigs, and the growing strength of the Abolitionists, had been created the Republican party—a party with merely sectional principles and of a purely sectional character. Its one great object was to confine slavery to the States where it already existed, in order to its extinction; and proposed to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, and do away with all Federal encouragement of or protection to slavery. The candidate of this party was John C. Fremont; then known chiefly as a hardy explorer, now more famous as an insubordinate general, and somewhat more than suspected of pecuniary malpractices during his command in the West.

The Democratic Convention selected as its candidate James Buchanan, by 168 votes to 121 for Douglas.

A third party—calling itself Native American or Knownothing, was represented on this occasion for the first and last time. Its one great principle was that of antagonism to the influence of foreign immigrants, and especially of the Irish Catholics. Its candidate was Millard Fillmore.

The electoral vote was for Buchanan 174, for Fremont 114, for Fillmore 8. The popular vote was for Buchanan 1,834,000, for Fremont 1,341,000, for Fillmore, 393,000.

We do not propose at present to enter upon the more recent political contests which terminated in the election of Mr. Lincoln and the disruption of the Union. It is

enough if we have made intelligible to our readers the history of the degeneration of American party conflicts into mere sectional feuds, and the circumstances which, by dividing the Democratic party, destroyed the last hopes entertained by Conservative statesmen of postponing for a few years longer the separation which few believed to be permanently avoidable.

*THE only claim of this little book to even a passing notice is, that it professes to be a "tale of the Confederate States," illustrative of Southern manners, as contrasted with the manners of the North. The most we can do is to give its writer credit for good intentions, and the least we must say is, that he or she (for the production bears unmistakable traces of an inexperienced feminine pen) has undertaken a difficult task without scarcely a single requisite for its tolerable execution. The heroine is a weak-minded girl, whose *status*, whether white or quadroon, free or slave, remains doubtful until toward the close of the tale, when she turns out to be not only pure white, but an heiress. Pending the solution of the mystery of her birth, she elopes (whence the title) under the fear of being sold, with an emissary of Northern Abolitionism, who combines with his vocation of fanatic those of a gambler and a forger. The hero is a lay figure, supposed to represent the type of the Northern gentleman. There is, besides, a brutal, cruel overseer, and some much exaggerated "negro talk," to give the tale a Southern complexion. A group of absurd caricatures, whose connection with the plot it is impossible to discover, are made to do duty as representatives of Northern manners. Plot, indeed, there is none. The reader is left with a vague impression on his mind that the author meant to convey the idea of a fugitive slave, spurned by the spurious philanthropy of the North, and driven at last in very despair to seek refuge even by a return to slavery. If this was the meaning, it is difficult to imagine how any one could have more signally failed in impressing it. If the author could be said to have succeeded in anything, it would be to have caricatured both sections of the late Union, only that the characters and scenes possess so little of likeness to life that they cannot be termed caricatures.

We do not wish to be severe upon this little work, and but for the fear that it might be adduced as a specimen of Southern literature, we should charitably have said nothing at all. But the South has suffered scarcely less from ill-advised friends and indiscreet defenders, than from malicious defamers. Since the advent of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," it had become the fashion of the Southern press to encourage, from a mistaken idea of patriotism, every champion, however incompetent, who challenged Mrs. Beecher Stowe on her own field. On this condition, the most unmitigated trash was certain, if not of praise, at least of indulgent leniency at the hands of Southern critics. If the South wishes a literature of her own, this pernicious system must cease, and to have such a literature nothing is wanting but a correct standard of taste, which independent and even severe criticism can alone form. Fertility of imagination, vigour of thought, and poetic fancy, the sunny clime of the Southern States produce abundantly. An appreciative audience, also, the States afford to aspiring authorship, such as few countries can present. Heretofore the South has been content to receive her novels from the North or from Europe. In political literature alone has the national mind been urged to make an independent effort, and in this the South may challenge competition. We may hope that after the war the same may be true in the paths of romance, but to accomplish this, Southern critics must deal mercilessly with tales like "The Elopement."

THE DEFENCES OF CHARLESTON.

(From the Charleston correspondence of the *Mobile Register*.)

The struggle, when it comes, will certainly be of a fearful character. It will be the shock of tremendous forces, the relative powers of which are yet untried. The long mooted question of the fighting value of ships against batteries will be brought to a test more conclusive than any to which human warfare has yet subjected it. In other words, the Monitor iron-clads, which the Yankees claim to be the most impetrable vessels ever constructed, will necessarily come within point blank range of the most numerous and powerful batteries that have ever yet been used in a single engagement. We have good reason, too, to believe that our guns will be managed with admirable tact and precision. The more important batteries are manned by the South Carolina regulars, for whom the credit is claimed, and I think justly, of being the most expert and practised heavy artillerymen in the Confederate army. The forts are well officered, and General Ripley, who has made the study of heavy ordnance a specialty for years, and whose excellence in that particular branch of military knowledge is an admitted fact, will, I hear, make his headquarters at Fort Sumter as soon as the enemy makes his appearance.

It is scarcely possible that any floating thing can breast unharmed the concentrated storm of heavy metal from the

* The Elopement; a Tale of the Confederate States of America. By L. Fairfax. London. W. Freeman.

guns of Sumter, Moultrie, and Battery Bee, the three principal works commanding the throat of the harbour. Nor can the peril of running this terrible gauntlet be diminished by an attempt to pass under cover of the darkness, as has been the case at Vicksburg and New Orleans. So tortuous and intricate is the channel leading to the forts that the most experienced pilots of the harbour would not venture to bring in a vessel by night, under the conditions which the enemy cannot escape, viz., without a light or landmark to guide the way. Even when the blockade-running vessels leave the harbour, it is always necessary to aid their exit by previously arranged lights (shaded) and signals; so that it is reasonably certain that the attacking iron-clads must either enter in open day, or incur the imminent hazard of getting aground upon one of the most treacherous bars on the Southern coast, which seldom yields a vessel once it has grasped the keel. But if, perchance, despite of mazy channel, multiplied torpedoes, and the combined batteries of the forts, some of the nine Monitors should chance to get into port, they would still have to encounter a concentrated fire from other batteries, which, as the Yankee papers have learned from contrabands, "line the shores of the interior of the harbour." And then will come the "tug of war" which will determine the possession of the honoured old city.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE REPULSE OF THE FEDERALS AT FORT M'ALLISTER.

Head Quarters, District Georgia, Savannah,
March 9th, 1863.

(General Orders, No. 21.)

In calling the attention of the troops in this district to the successful repulse, on the 3rd instant, of three turreted iron-clad gunboats and three mortar boats by Fort M'Allister, the brigadier-general commanding again returns his hearty thanks to the brave garrison, and expresses his confident hope that their heroic example will be followed by all under his command. For eight hours these formidable vessels, throwing 15in. hollow shot and shell, 13in. shell, 11in. solid shot, and 8in. rifle projectiles—a combination of formidable missiles, never before concentrated upon a single battery—hurled an iron hail upon the Fort. But the brave gunners, with the cool, efficient spirit of disciplined soldiers, and with the intrepid hearts of freemen battling in a just cause, stood undaunted at their posts, and proved to the world that the most formidable vessels and guns that modern ingenuity has been able to produce, are powerless against an earlwork, manned by patriots to whom honour and liberty are dearer than life. Believing that the repulse of these vessels, with but slight injury to the battery or garrison, marks a new era in the history of the war, the fact is published with proud satisfaction for the information and encouragement of all.

Captain Robert Martin, of Martin's light battery, who commanded the mortar during the engagement, and dropped one of his shells directly upon the deck of the Montauk, deserves, with his detachment, to share all the praise awarded to the immediate garrison.

The vigilance and activity of Captain J. L. M'Allister, and his free exposure to all danger, merit particular mention. His brave marksmen, who lay in the open marsh, within rifle range of the gunboats, are commended to the notice of the troops in this district.

The brigadier-general commanding desires also to commend especially the gallant conduct of the 1st Battalion Georgia sharpshooters, officers and men. This corps, honourably distinguished for its discipline and drill, manned one of the guns of the battery throughout the fight; and during the ensuing night, under a severe and constant fire from the mortar boats, fearlessly repaired all the damage done to the fort, and rendered it by morning better prepared than ever to resist the foe.

The surgeons who volunteered their services and were present during the fight, the chief engineer, Captain John McCrady, and his assistant, James W. McAlpin, to whose zeal and efficient labours the repeated repulses of the Abolition vessels are largely due, deserve honourable mention.

As a testimonial to the brave garrison, the commanding general will be solicited to direct that "Fort M'Allister, March 3, 1863," be inscribed upon their flags.

By command of Brig.-Gen. Mercer.

GEO. A. MERCER, A. A. G.

THE FEELING IN CHARLESTON.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, February 23rd.)

The hour is at hand, and may burst upon us at any moment, when Carolina "expects every man to do his duty." The high responsibilities of citizen, soldier, and patriot, now rest upon every man, and we must meet them in the language of the stirring Proclamation of General Beauregard, determined to win "a brilliant success or a glorious death." The trial before us is one that will test to the uttermost the martyr spirit of our people; but while we pass through the fire let us remember and emulate the stern lessons of our ancestors. Let us have faith—faith in ourselves; faith in our leaders; faith in our cause; and, above all, faith in that good God whose sheltering arm has ever been round our country. With this we may write the sublimest page in the history of the Confederacy. Without it, our works will be as naught. Rally then, one and all, to the battle cry of "our homes, our altars, and the graves of our kindred!" Let the mountains and valleys of the State pour forth their wealth of sinewy men and sturdy boys to join us in our noble work.

"Come with the weapons at your call,
With musket, pike, and knife;
He wields the strongest blade of all
Who lightest holds his life."

Let men fear not the solemn shadows that are hovering above our city, but with the same proud spirit and stern purpose that animated them in the beginning of the war, strike now in these closing hours of the death-struggle of the monster, with an earnestness that shall teach the enemy how terrible is the might of a people defending their own firesides. Emulate the example of gallant little Vicksburg, and remember, if we fail, the doom of New Orleans. We want no blood here now that will curdle white in the face, but strong arms and stout hearts to build if needs be a wall of fire around this beloved city.

Our prospects are bright. Our defences are as perfect as the science and foresight of man can make them. The attack will be but an experiment, in which the probabilities all lean to our side. Let our determination and constancy in brave doing be but equal to our hopes, and our success is certain. If we are true to ourselves, true to our cause, and true to our country, God will be true to us, and all who come in war will "find a mouthful of our dust in death, and sea beach 'er a grave."

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NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Again the New York papers are discussing the engagement that took place at Port Hudson on the 15th of March; and it seems that, after so many rumours of victory, the credulous Northern public is at last convinced that the Confederate report of the defeat of Farragut's fleet is correct. The New Orleans mail puts an end to doubt. The flag-ship *Hartford* and the *Albatross* passed the batteries, but not, as now admitted, altogether uninjured by the fight. The *Richmond* and the *Monongahela* were disabled, and together with the rest of the fleet, with the exception of the *Mississippi* which was blown up, had to retreat. The exact loss sustained by the Federals is not known: they admit that sixty-five officers and men belonging to the *Mississippi* were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; that the loss on the *Monongahela* was six killed and twenty wounded, including several officers; that on the *Richmond* there were three killed and ten wounded; and that on the *Genesee* there were three wounded. Among the killed are Commander A. B. Cummings of the *Richmond*, and Captain McKinstrey of the *Monongahela*. Possibly later accounts may disclose a larger number of casualties, but the Federal authorities can conceal the loss in men, though they cannot prevent the defeat of the fleet from being known. The Confederate loss is small, owing to the elevation of the batteries. It is rumoured that during the passage of the batteries only two men were wounded.

After the engagement, the fleet, with the exception of the two ships that had passed the batteries, and the *Mississippi* that had been blown up, returned to *Baton Rouge*, all of the vessels being "more or less injured."

The land attack was not more fortunate, except that, owing to the prudence of General Banks, who took care not to come too near the foe, the casualties were not so numerous. Banks was to make a diversion, but he did not succeed. He advanced to Springfield, sent out some skirmishers, and returned to *Baton Rouge*, where he proclaimed that "the object of the advance was accomplished, and that the expedition was an entire success." What object? We learn that Colonel Clark, his chief of the staff, received a wound in the leg, of which he has since died. Was that the object of the advance? It is evident that the people of New York are not so sanguine as General Banks, or rather that they have not implicit confidence in the truthfulness of that gallant commander; for they do not believe that the expedition was an "entire success," but are under the unpleasant impression that the news from the *Mississippi* is "unfavourable to the Federals."

According to the *Philadelphia Enquirer* General Banks has achieved another triumphant advance and retreat. It asserts that he sent a brigade of four transports to assist Commodore Farragut, but the transports got aground, and when the troops landed they found the place too swampy, and therefore re-embarked.

It is quite possible, nay, highly probable, that Commodore Farragut has, ere this, been in need of assistance, for it is much easier to maltreat the women and children of New Orleans, than to deal with Confederate fortifications. Farragut has discovered that passing the Port Hudson batteries is by no means the whole of the danger and difficulty incident to his enterprise. The steamers *Hartford* and *Albatross* have, it is stated, met with formidable batteries, and both have received some damage; and it was even reported at New York that Farragut had been captured. This, of course, was a rumour only, though it is a possible contingency.

The report that Admiral Farragut had captured the *Indianola* without resistance is now contradicted. That reliable authority, the Federal Navy Department, states that Farragut says he saw the wreck of the *Indianola*, that she was partially submerged, and that her upper works were very much shattered by explosion. In reference to this story we must repeat what we said about the capture of the *Indianola* without resistance—it may be true, but it certainly requires confirmation, for by the latest advices we hear that the Confederates have repaired, and taken her to Alexandria, on the Red River.

We should be guilty of unfairness to General Banks if we did not record another object besides the death of the chief of his staff, that has been gained by his advance and retreat. "The expedition from New Orleans up the *teche* was abandoned, as all the troops were required to co-operate with Banks." It is not always that the Federals find a plausible excuse for the non-performance of their threats and promises. General Banks is resting on his laurels at New Orleans.

The confirmation of the failure of the attempt to pass Port Hudson is not the most disheartening news that the Federals have received from the *Mississippi*. On the 25th of March, the Federal rams *Lancaster* and *Switzerland*, accompanied by two other vessels, attempted to run past the Vicksburg batteries. On this occasion the pregnability of Federal rams was incontestably proved. As soon as the enemy came within range the Confederates opened a tremendous and well-directed fire. The *Lancaster* was—we are taking the Federal account—struck thirty times, her bow was shot away, and she sank immediately, turning a complete somersault as she went down. The Federal version says that all her crew were saved with the exception of two, and if so it was a wonderful escape; but in the absence of further details we incline to believe the Southern report, that the *Lancaster* sank "with all on board." The *Switzerland* was disabled by a 64-pounder penetrating her steam drum, and she was afterwards set on fire. The fire was extinguished, and she was towed to the mouth of the canal, where she remained thoroughly crippled.

When the intelligence of this disaster was first whispered in the North, it was reported as a compensation that General Sherman had forced the passage of the *Sunflower* River, and landed his troops near Haines' Bluff. The victory thus opportunely discounted has not been gained; and in place of victory the Federals have to confess to a complete failure. The Federal squadron was driven back, three of the gunboats being disabled, and some of the transports captured or destroyed. General Sherman returned to Young's Point, but we are not informed whether he followed the example of General Banks, and congratulated his troops upon the "entire success" of the expedition.

In our last issue we reported, on Northern authority, that Fort Pemberton had been bombarded by the gunboat

Chillicote without result, which we said meant that the gunboat was repulsed. By later advices we are informed the Confederate shot had penetrated her iron mail, and that she was almost a wreck. It is reported that the Federals intend to renew the attack with superior force, and that the Confederates not neglecting the intimation, have made further preparations for defence.

General Grant denies that his troops are suffering from sickness—or at least, he maintains that his command is not worse off than other commands, and he goes so far as to say "it is a great question whether one person in ten could be so well taken care of at home as in the army here." This is not generally the case, at least with European armies, in which the camp is an uncomfortable place for the sick soldiers, and from which they are removed as soon as possible. Nor does it coincide with the testimony of those who have visited Grant's army.

The Yankees are somewhat anxious about General Rosencranz. He is still at Murfreesboro', maintaining a defensive position—a very ominous position for an invading General. The Confederates are in strong force at Tullahoma. On the 26th of March, General Forrest attacked the Federals in the rear of General Rosencranz, at *Brentwood*, a place about nine miles from Nashville, and as he captured 800 prisoners, including 35 officers, and a large quantity of military stores, and destroyed the railroad track and bridge, we may conclude that he gained a very decided and complete victory. The intelligence from Tennessee is meagre, and we are not able to form any opinion as to the attitude of the belligerents and the probability of a battle, but still it is of a character to excuse the Yankee anxiety about the army under Rosencranz.

The advices from Kentucky are also indefinite, but it is apparent that the Confederates are in greater force than was at first supposed. Some persons estimate the Confederate army at 50,000, but all such estimates are mere guesswork. The Federals say they have recaptured Danville, which may mean that the Confederates did not hold the place. It is certain, however, that Frankfort and Lexington have been placed under martial law, and that the Unionists are flying from Central Kentucky with their valuables.

But surely all this trepidation is needless after the despatches of the Federal Generals Burnside and Gilbert. The last-named general encountered a force of 2,600 Confederates under General Pegram, and was outnumbered two to one. Did he run away? Not at all. He attacked them, "and after five hours' fighting, drove them in confusion across into Cumberland." It was a wonderful engagement. His own loss was thirty, being at the rate of six men an hour, whilst he killed and wounded 50 or 100 of the enemy, and took 400 prisoners. Let John Pope and Halleck look to their laurels; they have rivals in Burnside and Gilbert; but it is not unlikely that the brilliant report is due, not so much to the genius of Burnside and Gilbert, as to the editorial talent of Halleck.

We repeat that as yet no reliable intelligence has reached Europe about the Confederate movement in Kentucky. It may be an important movement, or the Confederate forces may have no other object than the convey of stores.

The rest of the war news is not very important. The reported bombardment of Charleston is not confirmed, and it is intimated that an attack will not be made for several weeks. General Beauregard has demanded the delivery of the steamers *Mercedita* and *Keystone State*, they having surrendered at the late naval engagement.

On the 12th of March General Johnston reviewed the army at Mobile. Despatches from that city state that

the Federals have evacuated Pensacola, and now occupy only the Navy-yard and the forts of Barrancas and Hyacinth. The garrison of the town was sent to reinforce General Banks. The Federals are said to have burnt the town before evacuating it.

It is reported from Fortress Monroe that the Confederates had attacked Williamsburg, Virginia, and Wingfield, and were repulsed at both places. Another account says that the Confederates made "a raid into Williamsburg, Virginia, and left after driving a small Federal force out of the town."

There is, it is said, a considerable Confederate force under General Kirby Smith in the neighbourhood of Brashear City, and the Confederate gunboats, Queen of the West and Webb, are rumoured to be in Chafalaya River, not far above Brashear.

Mosby's Confederate Cavalry lately visited Centreville, Virginia, and left for Dranesville, where they encountered a squadron of Vermont cavalry, which they defeated and put to flight.

A few months since the Federals destroyed some of the bridges on the East Tennessee and Virginia railroad. They have been repaired, and the regular traffic was resumed on the 13th of March.

In another part of our impression will be found a letter from our Richmond Correspondent.

The Florida has captured and burnt the Star of Peace, from Calcutta for Boston. Her cargo was valued at \$500,000. The Florida has also captured another Federal schooner.

The *Charleston Courier* of the 27th says:—"Four steamers have arrived from Nassau since Sunday. Notwithstanding the blockade Charleston is enjoying a larger direct foreign trade than she has ever had before."

The steamers Cornubia and Beauregard, with 1,400 bales of cotton, arrived at Bermuda on the 23rd from Southern ports. The steamer Gertrude has arrived at Charleston, and the Britannia has arrived at Wilmington.

The British schooner Mary Jane has been captured off Wilmington.

The captain of the steamer Peterhoff is said to have laid the facts of her capture before Lord Lyons, who, it is reported, will make a formal demand upon the Government for the release of the vessel and indemnity to the owners.

The Governor of Georgia has recommended to the General Assembly that cotton planting should be restricted to a quarter of an acre to each hand.

As the Federals are not likely to take Richmond they have lately been reporting that the Confederates were about to evacuate that city. General Dix, to add point to the joke, writes from Fort Monroe that he has no information to warrant the conclusion that the Confederates are evacuating Richmond.

General McClellan will not be beaten with the pen, though he suffered defeats with the sword. His official report of the seven days' fighting on the Peninsula, and falling back to Bereley, is published. He says in it that no such difficult movement was ever more successfully executed. The preliminary report of his operations, from the evacuation of Harrison's Landing to the close of the Maryland campaign, has also been published. He declares that the disgraceful surrender of Harper's Ferry deprived his operations of the results which would have formed a brilliant sequel to a substantial and gratifying success. If the Federals are contented with this success, they are easily satisfied—or, perhaps, they rather like being whipped.

There has been some excitement at San Francisco about a supposed intention of the Secessionists to attack the Benecia Military Station and the Mare Island Yard. Nothing had happened to justify the alarm.

The Republican party denounce Lord Lyons for his official correspondence, because, they say, it shows sympathy with the Secession party.

General Butler has received an ovation at New York. An address expressing the sentiments of his New York admirers was delivered to the General by the Mayor, Mr. Opdyke. General Butler, in his reply, advocated the extermination of the Southern "rebels," the confiscation of the estates of the planters, and their partition among the soldiers of the Union. He was particularly bitter against the English Government and aristocracy, and said that at the time of the Trent affair it was perhaps wise not to provoke England, but he thanked God that the country was now getting into a condition to remember that case. He advised retaliation for the depredation of the Alabama and the Florida, and recommended that non-intercourse with England be proclaimed, so

that not an ounce of food from America should get into an Englishman's mouth until those piracies were stopped. He also advocated the prohibition of the export of gold to England. Any one, even Butler, Turchin, or McNeill, can get the applause of the Yankees by the abuse of England.

A Union meeting was held at Washington on the 11th ultimo, at which the President and his Cabinet were present. Of course, the speeches and resolutions were "loyal." It is no joke being "disloyal" in the presence of a man who is invested with despotic power, and is indemnified for any offence he may commit.

The New York correspondent of the *London Times* has, in his last letters, given some choice specimens of Yankee eloquence which are worth recording as evidence of the Republican spirit. Mr. Lane, United States' Senator for Kansas, addressed a League Meeting at Washington, and said:—

It is a disgrace to the country and the Government, that a sympathizer with treason, whether male or female, should be permitted to rest his or her foot on the soil of the district of Columbia. I would purify the soil of them by sword and fire. (Cheers.) In Kansas, where I live, a Copperhead is not allowed to remain in the State. If he does not leave when he is ordered to leave, we shoot him down. (Loud applause, and cries of "That's the way!") I am informed by the Governor of our State that no longer ago than last Saturday a Copperhead who refused to leave the State in the morning was found before night with two bullet holes through his body. (Cries of "Good, good!") It had been said that we ought not to use the negroes. So far as I am concerned, I would rather that every rebel should be sent to Hell by a negro than by a white man. (Great laughter and loud applause.) I would like to live long enough to see every white man now in South Carolina in Hell, and the negroes occupying his territory. (Cheers.) All this may sound to you very wicked (cries of "No, not at all!") but no place on the face of the earth ought to be desecrated by a traitor. I bid you God speed in clearing out sympathizers with treason in the district of Columbia. It would not wound my feelings any day to find the dead bodies of rebel sympathizers pierced with bullet holes in every street and alley of the city of Washington. (Vociferous applause.) I would regret the loss of the powder and lead. (Laughter.) It would be cheaper and better to hang them, and save the ropes. Yes, hang them! and let them dangle until their stinking bodies rot, decompose, and fall to the ground piece by piece. (Enthusiastic applause.)

At a "League" meeting held in Philadelphia, the Rev. A. N. Gilbert said:—

We know that the negro slays everything in his reach when he rises in insurrection. We all have learned the history of St. Domingo, and it would be terrible to have a St. Domingo massacre re-enacted upon our soil. But the President has declared this a military necessity, and, if blood must flow, we must not dread the consequences. Blood must flow in this war. So impressed am I with the greatness of the interests engaged in this rebellion and its suppression, so satisfied of the inconceivable importance of the struggle that opens up before us in the dispersion of this rebellion, that I speak it meaningly and as a Christian, deliberately and calmly, I would rather see every man, woman, and child in the South perish than that the Southern Confederacy should succeed in attaining the objects of its leaders.

Mr. Lincoln has adopted the plan of agitating in the army, and "loyal" meetings are held in camp, presided over by officers. This is a measure that is likely to ruin Mr. Lincoln as well as the country. The *Richmond Examiner* is right in saying that the United States' Congress may put Mr. Lincoln into Cromwell's boots, but they cannot put Cromwell into Mr. Lincoln's boots.

We suppose no one out of Bedlam and the United States will be imposed upon by the hoax of the *Louisville Journal* about seventy-three leading Southerners asking the Emperor Napoleon to recognise the South, "because it is the duty of France to encourage aristocracy, and to discourage democracy."

It is reported in New Orleans, from the Gulf, that yellow fever was already assuming a malignant form in the extreme South, and an impression was prevalent that it would reach New Orleans this summer. New Orleans has been free from yellow fever since 1858.

The fluctuations in the price of gold at New York have been remarkable. On the 28th of March it was 42½ premium. On the 31st it went up to 49, and on the 1st of April it was 60 per cent. premium. On the 2nd of April it fell to 54 at the commencement of business, rose to 59½, and left off at 54 per cent. premium. It was the same price on the 3rd inst.

ENGLAND.

The returns of the Poor-law Board exhibit a diminution of about 9000 in the number of paupers in the manufacturing districts; chiefly in Manchester, Blackburn, and Oldham. This, after the unfavourable reports of the last two or three weeks, is a hopeful symptom, so far as its significance extends; but we cannot flatter ourselves that it promises any general or effectual relief to the misery of Lancashire. What is needed to raise the suffering classes from their present wretchedness and despair is either a supply of cotton at home, or removal to places where work such as they can do is to be had at such wages as will suffice for their wants. Of the first there is no immediate hope. The extra supply of Indian

cotton is much smaller than was expected, and is made up of the very worst sorts grown, adulterated with refuse and dirt. The manufacturers turn away in disgust from the filthy samples; the work-people find that they can do nothing with it, and prefer, in some cases, to be dependant on charity rather than undertake the hopeless, heart-breaking, unremunerative toil of spinning dirt and refuse into yarn. There is no help anywhere else and no prospect, therefore, of a revival of the cotton manufacture while the blockade endures. Removal to the agricultural districts of England is out of the question. The wages earned there by better work than men trained only to indoor and manufacturing pursuits can do are wretchedly low, and labourers are already superabundant. Emigration, and emigration on a gigantic scale, seems to be the only hope of the operatives, who are already pressing the consideration of measures to this end upon the public. Several of those who have most warmly espoused their cause are doing the same, and the Mansion-house Committee has had under its consideration the propriety of making grants in aid of emigration. Many of the colonies are willing to grant free passages. Queensland has already provided means to send out thither 1,000 persons, and the other Australian settlements have done or will soon do likewise. It would be well if some arrangements were made to send a number proportionate to the probable means of employment to Natal and other colonies less distant than those in Australia. It is said by a clever and generally well-informed correspondent of the *Times*, that attempts are being made to send out able-bodied men from Lancashire to the Northern States of America, nominally as emigrants, but really as recruits. We hope that this is not true. If it is, the persons concerned in such transactions ought to be exposed by name, that they may receive their due meed of infamy. To send Englishmen to the Northern States at present for any purpose, is a barbarous and treacherous cruelty; but to send them there to die by famine and fever in the service of their country's bitterest enemy—above all, to send Lancashire men to assist those who have suspended and are fighting to destroy the trade on which the prosperity of Lancashire depended—is an act of cold-blooded and villainous deception worthy of the countrymen of a Butler and the associates of a Seward.

The operatives of Ashton have addressed a memorial to the Central Executive Committee at Manchester, complaining of the scantiness of the relief doled out by the guardians and the local committees, and of the smallness of the grants in aid made to the latter. The reply given is courteous and kindly in tone, but exhorts the complainants to contentment and peaceable behaviour, and holds out no hopes of increased grants.

The Bishops have, one after another, been prohibiting the Bishop of Natal from preaching in their dioceses, considering him as having, by the publication of his attack on the authenticity of the Mosaic history, completely forfeited the claims to respect and forbearance which his episcopal office would, in a less serious case, secure to him, and having in fact put himself morally, if not legally, outside the pale of the Church. It is announced, also, that the Bishop of Cape Town, as Dr. Colenso's metropolitan, will take measures to bring him to justice. We are glad to hear it. Abhorring, as we do, all forms of religious persecution, we are unable to conceive that a priest—and above all a Bishop—who claims the privileges of a free-thinker while retaining the dignity and the emoluments of an office which binds him to a particular creed, is entitled to any tolerance whatever. By all means let all theological disputants have the full benefit of modern laws of civilized warfare. Let there be neither legal nor social penalties imposed on erroneous or unpopular forms of belief. But no law of warfare entitles the traitor—the enemy within the camp—to any more lenity now than was shown to him in the days of mediæval barbarism. He has no right save that of a drumhead court-martial and a speedy execution. Bishop Colenso stands in the position of Benedict Arnold. The cause he has adopted may or may not be better than the cause he has deserted. But he is an officer of the Church, holding high rank in her service; and while holding that rank, and retaining its emoluments, he has held traitorous commerce with her enemies, and availed himself of the opportunity and authority afforded by his position to strike a dangerous blow against her. It is not religious persecution to punish a criminal of this character; still less is it persecution to strip him of the uniform he has disgraced, and of the position which he has treacherously misused, and send him over, helpless and dishonoured, to the camp of those to whose cause he has attached himself. It can hardly be urged, even by the most venomous Dissenter or the most bigoted unbeliever, that the Church is bound to maintain in his dignity and emoluments a Bishop who has openly proclaimed himself at war with her teachings and an infidel to her faith. The Bishop of Natal does not seem to understand the nature of

character of his offence, and complains bitterly of being condemned without trial. He forgets, first, that he has himself pronounced his own formal condemnation on the charge of "heresy"—that is, dissent from the orthodox doctrine of the Church; and secondly, that the inhibition to preach is not a penalty, but a measure of precaution. Little sympathy is felt for him; and that only by men whose sympathy, to a Bishop, must be felt as the most stinging condemnation; by the avowed advocates of the various forms of anti-Christian opinion which, now, as ever, find utterance in the press, and by the "Essayists and Reviewers" connected with the *National Review*—a clique consisting chiefly of men guilty of Bishop Colenso's own error; men who may have a keen insight into theological truth, but whose sense of professional duty and personal honour is peculiarly dull.

A very clever sarcasm upon the Bishop of Natal has been published by the brilliant and bitter writer known to the public as the author of the "Eclipse of Faith." He argues that some one must have borrowed the name of Dr. Colenso; for that it is utterly impossible that a gentleman, a scholar, and a dignitary of the Church could have written the utterly futile, childish, and often dishonest nonsense with which many pages of his book are filled, and which his critic dissects with merciless logic.

The great event of the week is a most mournful one. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who died on Monday afternoon, at his seat in Radnorshire, was, perhaps, among all our leading politicians, except the chiefs of the two great parties, the man whom the country could least afford to lose. England has many men whose public career has been more brilliant, and attracted more popular applause; but no living statesman has rendered greater services as a Counsellor and an administrator, or shown himself so thoroughly competent to all the most arduous offices of State, as the late Secretary for War. He was not a brilliant speaker; on the contrary, he was slow, somewhat heavy, and troubled with a shy and awkward manner, which would have marred the effect of eloquent declamation. But he always spoke sensibly and to the point; always thought deeply and clearly, and expressed his thoughts with precision and accuracy. He was, moreover, one of the best informed men in the House of Commons; always up to his work, always thoroughly master of the matter in hand, and rarely or never liable to lapse into extravagance or exaggeration. He was, perhaps, the profoundest philosophical statesman of this generation. His political essays are full of deep and original thought, and will probably be reckoned by posterity among the masterpieces of that peculiar branch of literature. As an administrator, he was one of the most efficient and reliable men of the day; always careful, capable, and conscientious; perfectly frank and honourable in all his dealings with friends or adversaries; able at short notice to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the details of a wholly new department of public business, and yet never sinking into a mere official, or forgetting the sound and statesmanlike views which he had learned in the closet, amid the bustle and turmoil of political strife, or the weary routine of departmental duties. As a financier he was not original, and he was sound; and there is nothing which commerce dreads like originality, which unsettles all her arrangements, and condemns it to wait continually upon political experiments; and nothing which commands her confidence as simple common sense and sound practical judgment. Sir George became the favourite of the commercial classes almost as soon as he undertook the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Since Robert Peel, no one has filled that office so thoroughly to the satisfaction of "the City." As a future political leader, Sir G. C. Lewis was regarded with confidence and respect by the best men of both parties; and he was certain, had he lived, to have succeeded Lord Palmerston as the chief of the Liberals. His own friends felt that they could understand and depend upon him. He would never upset the coach; he would never leave them in the lurch at a critical moment in order to escape from the punishment of errors in the perpetration of which he had borne his share; he would never shave so closely by the verge of falsehood as to expose himself and his colleagues to disgrace. He was not the man to perplex and confuse them by sudden caprices and unintelligible crochets; or to hurry them into new plans which might be wise and sound, but which would certainly bring danger and unpopularity with them, and invite effective and damaging opposition. His political adversaries felt in him something of the same confidence that they repose in Lord Palmerston; they might differ with it,—but they could feel that the great and permanent interests of the country would be safe in his keeping. Their consternation and regret at his loss were evident, even in the brief speeches which expressed the respect and esteem, not only of Mr. Walpole and

Mr. Disraeli, but of the whole Conservative party, for an opponent who was never known to do an ungenerous action, to provoke a needless quarrel, or to make a personal enemy. A ripe thinker, a finished scholar, a profound statesman, an honourable, amiable, thoroughbred English gentleman, the most loyal of partisans, the most courteous of antagonists, the most diligent of public servants—Sir George Cornwall Lewis has left a void in the councils of his Queen and in the service of his country, which will not soon be filled up.

The presents made to the Prince and Princess of Wales on their marriage—laces, ornaments, jewellery, plate, and the various costly trifles which are the traditional right of a bride and bridegroom—are now exhibited, by permission of his Royal Highness, at the South Kensington Museum; and are said to be well worth seeing.

EUROPE.

The Russian Government has responded in advance to the representations of England, France, and Austria. Whether those representations took the form of identical notes, or each Power formulated the demands they had agreed to make in its own language, and supported them by its own reasons, a point not yet cleared up—it is certain that the character of the intervention is moderate and conciliatory enough, and that the three Powers have asked nothing more for Poland than an amnesty and the promise of some kind of autonomy. The Manifesto of the Czar, which was issued on Sunday—the Easter Sunday of the Russian calendar—grants a full and entire amnesty to all insurgents, whether in Congress Poland or in the Polish provinces of the empire, who shall lay down their arms before the 13th of May, and proceeds to acknowledge the obligation to preserve the country from the return of disorders, and to open a new epoch of political life based upon the rational organization of administrative local autonomy. The foundations of this autonomy, it says, have already been laid in the institutions granted Poland, but whose efficacy has not yet been put to the test. It is the desire, it adds, of the Czar to maintain those institutions, reserving the right of proceeding with their future development according to the requirements of the age and of the country. The amnesty is complete enough. The only exceptions it makes relate to ordinary crimes and offences committed by the army; and the only question for the Poles, so far as it is concerned, is whether they can trust the promises of the Russian Government. The announcement of the Emperor's determination to preserve the country from a return of disorder, by a rational organization of administrative local autonomy, sounds well; but these general promises are susceptible of very different interpretations, and the autonomy which the Czar designs to bestow may be very different from that which the Poles have the right to claim. But, without trusting too much to promises made at such a moment, it is but fair to presume, from the steps already taken in this direction, that the autonomy the Czar intends, although it will fall short of that inaugurated after 1815, will be large enough to give the Poles, if they choose to accept and work it, a very considerable measure of self-government. The institutions which the Czar gave Poland in 1861 were really of a liberal character, but the Poles were so determinedly set upon national independence, or, at least, upon administrative separation, that they would give no heed to them.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the publication of the manifesto to enable us to speak at all decidedly as to its effect. In Poland, it will, at present, have little influence, although it is rather absurd for the Correspondent of the *Times* to telegraph from Cracow on the same day that the manifesto reaches that city, that it is universally rejected. This universal rejection could only refer to the city of Cracow, to which the offer was not addressed. The men to whom it applies are scattered over Poland and Lithuania, and will not hear of it for some days to come. The Poles care for nothing short of national independence, and the manifesto puts them in about the same position that they stood before the insurrection broke out. They will certainly not lay down their arms, therefore, in response to the amnesty, unless they are satisfied that they have no chance of success in their greater design. The effect of the manifesto on Poland will, therefore, depend upon its effect upon the Powers, to whose notes it is really a reply.

At present the Poles fancy that those Powers will not be satisfied with it. The *Czts*, of Cracow, treats the amnesty as a recognition of the insurrection, and insists that it imposes upon the Powers the duty of further interference. But that is only the reasoning of hope. If the three Powers have asked nothing more from Russia than she promises in this manifesto, and as Austria is one of the remonstrants, it may be considered as per-

fectly certain that they have not, then the manifesto, by offering everything they put forward, will stop all further interference on their part. The Poles will, perhaps, be misled by the language of the English and French press, which exhausts its ingenuity to show that the concessions of the Emperor are worthless, and finds reasons for distrusting everything that Russia promises. No doubt the concessions are small. No doubt the Russian Government may be deceitful. But what better can be done for Poland? The attainment of her national independence is impossible. Russia will not at once concede—and, indeed, could not—complete autonomy; and any amnesty, whenever it comes, will be equally exposed to distrust. The Governments who have intervened will no doubt accept what Russia promises, and repeat their praises of the Czar's benevolence. And the question which the Poles will have to determine is whether they shall yield now upon terms, or shall prolong a partisan warfare for a few months, to ultimately surrender at discretion.

A Ukase of a very different character was published a few days before the issue of the amnesty manifesto. It sequesters the whole property, real and personal, of all persons taking part in the insurrection in the Polish provinces incorporated in the empire of Russia. Provision is made for the support of the families of the owners where they are destitute, and have not been concerned in the rebellion. The final determination of the fate of the property sequestered is reserved for the Imperial Government after the suppression of the insurrection. It was rumoured that this measure would be extended to Congress Poland, but we may presume that such a measure will now be postponed until the offer of an amnesty shall have been tried.

The war news is as conflicting and confused as ever. The telegraph brings us from Cracow reports of engagements in all parts of Poland and Lithuania, but it has the modesty in most cases not to claim the victory for the insurgents, and when it has done so it has been contradicted from Warsaw. The inference, however, to be drawn from all the statements, as well of the telegraph as of the correspondence from the frontier, is, that there is a slight recrudescence of the insurrection. In the south-western corner of the kingdom—the scene of Langiewicz's exploits—two or three bands have been formed by volunteers from Cracow, and the character of the country enables them to maintain themselves against the overwhelming forces which are on the look out for them. In the Government of Kalisz, too, the insurgents, who obtain many recruits and much material of war from Posen, have increased in numbers and boldness, and by the avowals of the Russians themselves the Governments of Kowno and Wilna, to the north of the kingdom of Poland, are in a very disturbed condition. However, reinforcements are pouring in upon the devoted land—"Asiatic hordes," as they are described in the figurative language of some of our journalists—and a more important reinforcement yet has arrived at Warsaw in the person of General von Berg, some time since appointed *Adlatus* to the Viceroy, but only within this week commencing his functions. Von Berg is a man of very great ability, and although perhaps not cruel, by no means scrupulous about the means by which he carries out his plans. His work in Poland in 1831 is yet remembered. The Archduke Constantine will probably now disappear from the scene. He could neither conciliate nor command.

The Russians have published a summary of the fighting and its results from the 23rd of January to the 27th of March, which deserves note, as one of the most impudent fabrications ever attempted. According to this return there were, within these dates, 61 conflicts, in which the insurgents had 6,193 killed, 67 wounded, and 1,177 prisoners; their loss, in all, being 7,437; whilst only 61 Russians were killed, 192 wounded, and 9 taken prisoners: total loss 262. For whom could such a statement be designed? Surely the Russian officials must have suspected that the very extravagance of the account would deprive it of all credit.

The Russian and the Insurrectionary Governments are fighting hard to win the peasants. They both offer them very great advantages at the expense of the nobility, advantages which the Russians can offer with very great satisfaction, because the nobility is the insurrection, but which the insurrectionary government only holds out as a last resource from constraint. The peasants, however, incline to the Russian side. They have always been treated with consideration by the Government, whilst they have always had much to complain of against their lords.

Langiewicz has been removed to Tischnowitz, in Moravia, about four miles from Brunn. He had given his parole to the authorities, and was allowed consider-

able liberty. He has, however, it is now said, withdrawn the parole, and consequently will be strictly watched.

Miss —, not knowing Polish we will not attempt to spell her name—we have seen about fifty different readings—even the Germans, usually so correct on this point, are hopelessly contradictory—the female aide-de-camp of Langiewicz, is residing at Prague, an object of very great interest and enthusiasm.

Public interest in Paris is mainly absorbed by the affairs of Poland. What little attention can be spared from this engrossing subject is given to the approaching elections to the Corps Legislatif. The "old parties" have resolved to oppose the Government candidates in many places, but their nominees have apparently little chance of success. Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans, they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, and if a few sensible men recommend union to return candidates who will do their utmost to assist the Emperor by steady and moderate opposition to all abuses of power to crown the edifice with liberty, the majority dream only of their little personal interests, and justify their ostracism from public life.

The Danish Government has repudiated the *Dagbladet* through the *Times*. The only conditions it imposes for its assent to the candidature of Prince William have reference to the position of the Prince in Greece. We presume that these conditions refer to the religion of the Prince and his descendants. There is only the life of his elder brother between Prince William and the throne of Denmark; and the fact that there remains but one other brother to keep up the succession stipulated in the Treaty of London, compels the Danes to hold the Prince to his rights over them, even if he should himself be disposed to renounce them. The Danish Government cannot, therefore, consent either that Prince William should adopt the Greek faith, or that his descendants should, as the National Assembly have proclaimed, be brought up in its tenets. Prince Frederick, his elder brother, may die childless, or leave children who do not perpetuate the line. In that event, the Danes would have to turn to Greece, and re-claim Prince William or his representative. But if that representative were an orthodox Greek, a difficulty would be created which the Danes wisely wish to prevent. It is a question whether the Greeks for all their want of a king, will consent to take one upon such terms, even if the conditions imposed by Prince Christian, and which we are assured are quite inadmissible, could be accepted. It is not at all improbable that Earl Russell will have to resume his search for a king—and we can only hope that the next time he finds a victim, he will make the bargain hard and fast before he announces it with a flourish of trumpets. The deputation commissioned to offer Prince William the Crown is on its way to Copenhagen, and the best thing Earl Russell can do will be to send them on a voyage of discovery through the petty principalities of Germany.

The National Assembly gives away a crown in the name of Greece, but the mob of Athens will not allow it to vote itself some compensation. A popular demonstration effected for all practical purposes the immediate repeal of a law by which the Assembly voted to each member a monthly allowance of 300 drachmas—nearly twelve pounds—the effect of the law to be retroactive, and the allowance to be paid for the part of the session already expired. As the Assembly had just been engaged in cutting down all salaries, recalling foreign ministers, and making other savings on the plea of poverty, this was justly deemed too bad. A popular demonstration brought the members to their senses, and although they have not formally repealed the law they have renounced the allowance it gave them.

The proclamation of the King of Denmark, giving Holstein an independent position in the monarchy, has, as was to be expected, excited great indignation in Germany. The Prussian party of progress have agreed to address an interpellation to the Minister upon the subject. They will ask him whether the Prussian Government regards the arrangement of 1850 and 1852 as still in force, and seek to elicit a declaration that the proclamation is a violation of that understanding, and that Prussia has a right to claim a connection between Holstein and Schleswig. A great deal of patriotic steam will be let off, and much injustice advocated in the name of liberty, but nothing will be done yet. Poland holds Prussia fast.

There has been a Ministerial crisis at Vienna. Count Apponyi has resigned the post of *Judex Cuius*, one of the highest offices in Hungary; it is presumed on account of a difference of opinion with Count Forgach, the Hungarian Chancellor, and the German Ministers, as

to the course to be adopted towards that country, and has been succeeded by Count George Andrassy. Both are Hungarian magnates of the highest rank and character.

A constitution has been elaborated for Venetia, and it is believed that the Diet of that province will soon be convoked. The question is whether the Venetians, despite their hatred of Austrian rule, and their anxiety to join their fellow-countrymen in the Italian kingdom, will yet have the good sense to use the opportunities offered them for the development of individual liberties, and the promotion of institutions calculated to increase the prosperity of the province.

The King of Italy has gone to Florence. His ministers display a very uneasy conviction that his kingdom has been built up much more speedily than surely. The Minister of Justice has addressed a circular to the public prosecutors, calling upon them to keep a vigilant watch upon the subversive tendencies of the Federal and Radical press, and insisting that every attack upon the principles of a constitutional and united monarchy should be rigorously repressed. This looks very much as if unity were hardly to the taste of the people upon whom it has been forced. There have been rumours that the party of action was meditating an expedition into Venetia, and they seem to have had some foundation, as the *Perseveranza*, of Milan, in denying them expresses its belief that some few members of the party have assembled on the frontiers of Venetia, and the *Opinione* confesses that the Government has informed the Swiss Government of preparations making in the canton of Ticino for an invasion of the Austrian territory.

A continental telegraphic agency assures the *Globe*, "upon the best authority," that the Russian armaments are directed against Sweden, whose conduct upon the Polish question has given the Czar great dissatisfaction, and that the Russian Ambassador has received instructions to demand satisfaction, and if he does not receive it within twenty-four hours to demand his passports. And as if this dose were not strong enough, it also declares that the Emperor of the French has asked of the Government of Italy whether, in certain eventualities, it would be prepared to act as an armed ally with 60,000 men, and that General Cialdini has answered that the requisite force should be ready at the shortest notice.

The Marquis de Miraflores, the chief of the new Spanish Ministry, has made a very unmeaning declaration of policy in the Cortes. His policy is to be of a liberal-conservative character, and he will endeavour to repair the injustice committed by the Congress of Vienna in leaving Spain a Power of the second rank, although, without Spain, the Congress would not have been possible!

The Minister of Finance has requested authority to levy the taxes until the 1st of July next.

It is reported from Berne that the negotiations for a commercial treaty between France and Switzerland have been broken off.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

MONDAY, APRIL 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met after the Easter recess. The Civil Service Estimates were considered in Committee, and several votes passed. No other business of general interest was transacted; and the House rose early.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

On the motion to name a Select Committee on the Lord Chancellor's Church Patronage Bill, Lord St. Leonard's (Chancellor, in 1852, under Lord Derby's Government), objected to many details of the measure, and in particular urged that, as dealing with the patronage of the Crown, such a measure ought not to have been introduced without the formal sanction of her Majesty having been previously obtained.—Lord Derby expressed a general approval of the Bill, but remarked that many of the livings to be sold were hardly fit subjects for augmentation, on account of the smallness of the population; and that, in some points, the Ministerial scheme would come into conflict with the regulations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He thought that the Lord Chancellor would have done better to sell some of the larger livings in his gift, and apply the proceeds to the augmentation of those which required it.—The Lord Chancellor, having premised that the discussion which had taken place would be of advantage to the end he had in view in bringing forward this Bill, stated that he had not the least intention to interfere with the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but that he had taken every means to ascertain whether the provisions of the Bill agreed with the rules of the Commissioners. He concurred with the justice of Lord Derby's objection, that, if the principle of the Bill were good, it should be carried further, and hoped at some future time to include a larger number of livings in the Bill. He replied to the other criticisms of Lord Derby in detail, and showed that there would be no

difficulty in finding purchasers for the advowsons of livings when they had once been augmented. The Select Committee was appointed, and the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The news of the death of Sir G. C. Lewis had filled the House. After a few questions had been asked and answered, Mr. Walpole rose and said:—Sir, I am very unwilling to interpose between the House and the hon. member who has given notice of a very important motion, and one which deserves a full discussion; but I cannot help feeling that the sudden gloom which has come over us, caused by intelligence which was announced only this morning to any one, and which may still be unknown to many hon. gentlemen, does render it proper that out of respect to the memory of the late Secretary for War we should not proceed with business to-day. (Hear, hear.) At present I can only say, what everybody in this House must feel, that we never had among us a man more thoughtful, more conciliatory, or more beloved than the late Sir George Lewis, whom I may call my deeply lamented friend, having known him since I was an Eton boy. (Hear, hear.) I should not do justice to my feelings if I did not respond to the wishes of many hon. gentlemen on both sides by asking you to put from the Chair that out of respect for the memory of Sir George Lewis we should now adjourn. (Hear, hear.)—Lord Palmerston.—Sir, I am sure the House will sympathize with the feelings which have induced the right hon. gentleman to make the motion now in your hands. It would be impossible for any man to add to the well-deserved tribute which the right hon. gentleman has paid to the memory of the colleague whom we have lost, and I think I shall best consult the feelings of the House by simply seconding the motion. (Hear, hear.)—Mr. Disraeli.—Sir, until a few minutes ago I was not aware of the calamity which I think I may say has befallen this country. (Hear, hear.) The Queen has lost one of the ablest of her servants, and this House has lost a member who I am sure possessed the universal regard and respect of hon. gentlemen on both sides. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I never knew a man who combined in so eminent a degree as Sir George Lewis, both from acquired and from native power of thought, the faculty, upon all public matters, of arriving at a sound and judicious conclusion. (Hear, hear.) Although he was remarkably free from prejudice and passion, yet the absence of those sentiments which are supposed in general to be necessary to the possession of active power, had not upon him the effect which it usually produces, and he was a man who always brought a great organizing faculty and a great power of sustained perseverance to the transaction of public affairs. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I am sure that the rising statesmen on both sides may take him as an example that in many particulars may be remembered and followed with advantage, and I am persuaded that his name will never be mentioned in this House without feelings of deep respect or without unfeigned regret for what may be deemed the untimely loss of a man whom the country could ill spare. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was then agreed to, and the House immediately adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to Mr. Ferrand, Sir G. Grey said that the Government would name Monday, the 27th instant, for debate on the condition of the cotton districts.

Sir S. M. Peto moved the second reading of his Burials Bill. Its object was to compel clergymen either to permit the burial of dissenters in the churchyard with dissenting services and ceremonies, or to give their reasons for refusal in writing, to be forwarded, through the Bishop, to the Home Secretary.—Lord R. Cecil moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. There was really no practical grievance sustained by the dissenters, seeing that the clergy did not refuse to bury them, and there were abundance of unconsecrated cemeteries throughout the country where they could be buried with their own rites. The provisions of the Bill were calculated to enable them to harass and frighten the clergy into concession, and to keep up a perpetual "row" in every parish.—Lord Henley thought that as dissenters paid church-rates they had a right to be buried in the churchyard.—Mr. Newdegate said that the Bill would not promote unity or good feeling among Protestants.—Mr. Gladstone said that the subject was full of difficulty; but he should not oppose the second reading of the Bill. Mr. Hardy (a subordinate member of the late Conservative Ministry) said that the Bill could by no possibility be rendered acceptable to churchmen, and he should vote against it. Sir C. Douglas supported, and Sir J. Trelawny opposed the Bill. Mr. Hunt said that the Liberation Society wished for this measure as a means of doing further injury to the Church. Sir G. Grey would vote for the Bill, but reserved the right to object to all its essential clauses. There was no such grievance as to require an extensive alteration of the law. Mr. Disraeli censured Sir George Grey and Mr. Gladstone for supporting the second reading, while evidently disapproving the Bill. If the principle of religious liberty were involved at all, it was certainly not on the side of the Dissenters, who endeavoured to force themselves into the sacred places of the Church. On a division, the Bill was lost by an immense majority—96 to 221. Some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned before 4 o'clock.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, April 15.

At the date of our last report our market was sustained by a good trade and export demand, which was freely met by holders—Fair Dhollerahs worth 17½d.

On Thursday, 6,000 bales were sold at firm prices. On Friday and Saturday the business only reached 4,000 bales.

Buyers waiting further American and Indian news, bought sparingly, and prices were the turn against the seller.

On Monday, however, telegrams were received from Bombay and Calcutta dated 27th of March, in response to the worst accounts from this side, reporting a further advance of 1s. per piece in goods, an advance in cotton, and decline in freights. From these it appeared that a good consumptive demand existed for goods and yarns, whilst the arrivals of new cotton continued on a limited scale. The Europa's accounts were also to hand, giving, at last, more reliable information regarding the late operations on the Mississippi.

The Federal accounts recently received, spoke of brilliant success in that quarter and predictions of the early fall of Vicksburg were rife in New York, and obtained some credence here, but the detailed accounts of the various engagements there show that the attack on Port Hudson had resulted in the repulse of the attacking fleet in a crippled condition, except two gunboats, which ran the gauntlet of the batteries. The other expedition from the Yazoo and its tributaries had either been checked in their advance, or met with decided reverses. Cotton in New York had again advanced to the basis of 24d. for Middling Upland.

Under these accounts our market became animated, and the sales reached 10,000 bales, at hardening prices. On Tuesday, with an excellent trade demand, the business amounted to 12,000 bales, at rather higher prices. To-day a large business has been done, principally to the trade and exporters; the sales reaching 15,000 bales at 1d advance in Surats, and 1d. in long staples since Friday. We quote Middling Orleans 22d., Fair Egyptian 21d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar 18d., and Fair Dholerah and Omrawuttee 17d.

MANCHESTER, April 14.

We have to report a very steady business as having been done from day to day during the past week, both in cloth and yarn, at the prices of the previous week, and that a still larger amount of transactions might have taken place, had sellers been inclined to submit to the slightest reduction on their pretensions.

Nos. 40s, 50s, and 60s. mule yarns have been much inquired for, and orders have been placed readily with spinners to make, where last week's prices were taken, stocks having been entirely cleared off the market.

Home trade yarns have been rather quiet, manufacturers having for the present satisfied their wants, and as the Liverpool cotton market keeps very steady in price, they necessarily feel themselves disinclined to buy any further lots on speculation.

Cloths have also been very firm in price, and a very fair business has been done in them. India shirtings, mulls, and jaconets having been the articles most in demand.

To-day there has been a brisk demand for all kinds of India goods, occasioned by the receipt of further telegrams from Calcutta and Bombay, dated the 26th and 28th of March respectively, reporting another advance on shirtings of 1s. per piece, and 1d. per lb. in the 40s mule yarn, but as spinners and manufacturers demanded an increase in price very little actual business resulted.

For shirtings, shippers were disposed to place large orders at last Friday's quotations, but manufacturers would not take them unless at an advance of from 1d. to 3d. per piece on those quotations, which the would-be buyers would not pay, notwithstanding the better telegrams.

For yarns suitable for India shipment, buyers would give an advance in price, could agents deliver in a few days, but as the latter are pretty well in order, and hold no stocks, they are not in a position to do so.

Although the demand is for India qualities, other descriptions sympathise and advance in the same ratio.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO'.

List of Casualties in the 24th Alabama Regiment, Wm. A. Buck, Colonel Commanding.

Field and Staff.—Wounded: Colonel Wm. A. Buck, in right hand, slight.

Company A—(Captain D. W. Smith commanding).—Killed: Captain W. D. Smith; Privates E. Guesnard, L. Simmonds. Wounded: Sergeant J. Ives, arm, slight; Sergeant J. Mooney, flesh wound in thigh and hand, severely; Corporal C. Burke, severe in arm; Privates H. Maloney, chest and thigh, severely; J. Callahan, slight; G. Stauffer, arm fractured and slight in face; John Diener, slight; Wm. Pendarvis, arm shivered and amputated; J. Summersell, mouth, slight; A. Henry, hand and thigh, slight; E. Eastburn, shoulder, severely; W. G. Allen, thigh, severely, and leg amputated (since dead).

Company B—(Captain W. J. O'Brien commanding).—Killed: Sergeant Mason; Private Peter Daily. Wounded: Sergeant Kearney, flesh wound in groin; Sergeant D. Vigo, scalp, slight; Sergeant Griffin, leg, severely; Corporal Mansfield, abdomen, severely; Corporal Halpin, slight scalp wound; Privates J. Birmingham, scalp, slight; Wm. Galliger (since dead); H. B. More, flesh wound, thigh; O. McAvoy, leg, slight; J. O'Brien, leg, severely (amputated); S. Pole, leg, severely; R. Rodgers, leg, severely; Sergeant Lanigan, slightly. Missing: Martin Duggan.

Company C—(Lieut. Dunlap commanding).—Killed: J. Dillard. Wounded: Corporals Spraggins, leg, slightly; W. A. Storey, arm, slightly; Privates J. H. Spiller, very slightly; A. Scarborough, slightly; J. H. Lavender, hand, slightly; C. A. Pate, leg, severely; W. R. Weir, slightly. Missing: B. L. Harris.

Company D—(Lieut. A. B. Nelson commanding).—Killed: Sergeant E. Barrow, Corporal W. H. Stokes, Corporal Wm. Bryant, Private J. Kincaid. Wounded: Lieut. A. B. Nelson, left arm, slightly; Sergeant Phillips, severely in knee leg amputated (since dead); Private J. A. Giddens, arm, slightly; J. O'Donnell, leg, slightly; S. Sprinkle, both legs, severely; J. E. Shaw, thigh, leg, and foot severely; J. Troutman, arm, slightly; J. M. Bedell, foot, slightly.

Company E—(Lieut. Barrows commanding).—Wounded: Sergeant W. W. Allen, slightly; Sergeant W. B. Woods, in thigh, slightly; A. J. Bumpers, slightly; Corporal R. H. Mott, slightly; Privates L. B. Bumpers, arm, slightly; D. D. Bumpers, leg, severely; P. J. Brown, leg, badly fractured and amputated; H. B. Calhoun, hand, severely; J. E. Calhoun, scalp, slightly; J. T. Foreman, slightly; J. L. Gwynne, slightly; D. J. Langley, leg, severely; W. S. Porter, scalp, slightly; J. Maldon, arm badly fractured and amputated; J. Robin, A. J. Chapman, slightly.

Company F—(Captain W. P. Fowler commanding).—Killed: Corporal A. Wilkinson; Privates S. Roberts, J. M.

Wainwright, W. J. Roncalle. Wounded: Privates William Bolles, flesh wound, wrist slightly; H. Duck, flesh wound, leg; J. G. Curry, in thigh, slightly; J. Pittman, slightly; C. L. Palmer, wrist, severely; W. J. Farnell, flesh wound, leg slightly; L. Pistole, flesh wound, thigh.

Company G—(Captain Alphonse Hurler commanding).—Wounded: Sergeant J. Morrow, severely in thigh; Sergeant W. F. James, severely in foot (amputated); Corporal G. Canfield, severely in leg; Privates J. Badger, slightly on scalp; Wm. Hobart, slightly in thigh; H. Haynes, slightly in hand; J. B. Lester, severely in groin; E. E. Rice, slightly; E. Ficht, slightly in hand (accidental).

Company H—(Captain J. J. Pierce commanding).—Killed: Privates T. Kinorell, C. Johnsey. Wounded: Sergeant Lolly, slightly; Corporal Wright, slightly in thigh; Privates J. Acker, slightly in arm; J. Thomas, severely in leg; P. George, slightly.

Company I—(Captain J. B. Hazard commanding).—Killed: Private N. Lankford. Wounded: Privates E. Daily, flesh wound, leg; F. Wicleman, slightly; J. Waters, knee, slightly; N. Z. Hardee, slightly.

Company K—(Lieut. Hall commanding).—Wounded: Lieut. W. Wood; Sergeant J. G. Lamar, leg slightly; Corporals J. F. Autrey, severely in shoulder; E. D. Posey, slightly; Privates F. V. Moore, slightly; R. P. Mills, flesh wound, slight; V. Hanson, slightly; G. Jones, arm, slightly; E. Cook, slightly; W. J. Jamison, slightly; E. C. Thomas, arm fractured, amputated; W. P. Bridges, slightly; A. Posey, knee slightly; G. W. Fox, slightly; J. D. Bowden, slightly. Missing: Private L. A. Chambliss.

GEO. A. JENNISON,
Adjutant, 24th Alabama Regiment.

List of Casualties in the 25th Alabama Regiment, up to the morning of the 3rd of January. Lieut.-Colonel George D. Johnson, commanding.

Wounded: Lieut.-Colonel Geo. D. Johnson, very slightly; Major P. D. Costello, mortally; Adjutant Johnson Stout, in the leg.

Company A—(Lieut. Butler, commanding).—Wounded: J. J. Parker, W. Beck, P. Parker, slightly; K. Mays, J. H. Adams, and A. T. Hart. Missing: J. H. Young, W. M. Jackson.

Company B—(Lieut. Moore commanding).—Wounded: Corporal J. Minchew, N. B. Grant, H. Y. Atkinson, J. M. Michael, T. Bagents, J. S. Compton, and W. S. Johnson. Missing: J. Thomas.

Company C—(Lieut. Scofield commanding).—Killed: Lieut. H. B. Scofield. Wounded: Sergeant J. T. Hawkins, Corporal Thomas McClendon; Privates C. B. West, P. H. West, and G. M. Garner, slightly; W. B. Baxley, and S. Elison, seriously; W. Thomas and W. B. McGibbonny.

Company D—(Captain Morris commanding).—Killed: Corporal J. Stone. Wounded: Captain H. L. Morris, in the leg; Lieut. G. W. Jones, slightly; Private W. J. Craig; J. P. Ingram, N. Y. Cleveland, T. M. Humphries, and L. Nix, slightly. Missing: Corporal J. A. Tucker, and Privates G. M. Kidd and W. Ross.

Company E—(Lieut. Gibson commanding).—Killed: Lieut. W. C. Gibson and Privates J. B. Jones, and ——— Coleman. Wounded: Sergeants J. O. Davis and Private J. Kilpatrick, seriously; S. J. Blaylock, J. D. H. Crary, W. H. H. Hull, seriously. Missing: J. R. Berry and J. Daylor.

Company F—(Captain Handley commanding).—Killed: Private R. Greer and ——— Phillips. Wounded: Captain W. H. Handley; Lieut. P. M. Handley; Sergeant G. F. Moore, Corporal J. Twitty, Privates G. Burroughes, J. Ingraham, W. James, M. Knight, H. J. Lozier, S. M. Coker and R. Walker, slightly. Missing: J. Huggins, J. McCallough, and W. J. Amerson.

Company G—(Captain Patterson commanding).—Killed: Captain A. A. Patterson. Wounded: J. A. Thomas, A. J. East, J. H. Mizzle, J. W. Smith, P. C. Williamson, H. H. Smith, and A. M. Ashcraft, slightly. Missing: H. M. Evans.

Company H—(Lieut. Johnston commanding).—Wounded: Lieut. R. Spense, slightly, and Private J. E. Groce, slightly, and A. Watson, slightly. Missing: J. Jordan, and J. R. Stone.

Company I—(Captain W. P. Howell commanding).—Killed: Sergeant C. W. Roper, Private S. E. Phillips. Wounded: W. A. Pool, seriously; J. W. Ezzell, mortally; D. P. Roberts, slightly; J. M. Brown, slightly; G. W. Abney, slightly; C. C. Stephenson, slightly; J. C. Moles, slightly, and Sergeant J. P. Grubbs, slightly. Missing: W. Wood.

Company K—(C. Beard commanding).—Killed: J. B. Peacock, J. Sexton and W. E. Harper. Wounded: Lieut. J. H. Beard, slightly; Lieut. J. Branan, slightly; Corporal D. King, and Privates S. L. Peake, W. G. Yelverton, J. E. Jones, J. N. Jones, J. N. Lankey, W. J. Beal, J. C. Shehane, W. W. Braxwell, J. W. Jones, Henry Jones, J. M. Commander, F. D. Miller, A. S. Arnold, and Geo. King. Missing: J. T. Blue and J. Taylor.

List of Casualties in the 41st Alabama Regiment, Friday, January 2nd, 1863.

Field and Staff.—Wounded: Lieut.-Colonel Stansel. Missing: Adjutant J. D. Leland.

Company A—(Lieut. M. L. Conner commanding).—Wounded: Nathan Bailey, J. H. Wheat, J. L. Smith, J. J. Neighbors, W. T. Howell, M. W. Lindsey, Joel Stardevant, W. P. Poole, Wiley McGee. Missing: Corporal W. R. Hughes, Corporal Jno. A. Williams, H. P. Grey, W. S. Brown.

Company B—(Lieut. Shelten commanding).—Wounded: Wiles Pollard, S. Hollenger, A. Waddle, Jesse Smith, Joel Wilson, W. Wilson, S. Cobb, A. Cobb, Arthur Richardson, David Ashburn, Wm. Cooper, and Wm. Hayden. Missing: Reuben Haley, Lewis Shelton, M. M. Hughes, Thomas Smith, and R. Cooper.

Company C—(Lieut. J. H. Cason commanding).—Wounded: J. W. Dotson, John Wallis, missing. W. T. McCafferty, J. J. Love, Thos. Stinson, R. S. Bell, Thos. Bell, J. P. Simpson, W. S. Gates. Missing: W. Well, R. S. Bunnell.

Company D—(Captain B. A. Hudgins commanding).—Wounded: Captain B. A. Hudgins; Lieut. John C. Fair; E. Latham, W. Robertson, W. Williams, M. Schiffett, W. J. K. Brown, Jacob Long, D. Holeman, Wm. Garner. Missing: J. J. Corr, and L. N. Schiffett.

Company E—(Lieut. R. A. Mosely, commanding).—Killed: N. H. P. Dobyness, S. K. Heard. Wounded: Lieut. R. A. Mosely; privates B. A. Adams, J. C. Cook, K. H. Davis, Daniel Dobins, Elisha Rhinehart, J. M. Steve s, and E. P. Woolly. Missing: Sergeant W. E. Saxon; Privates J. M. Cook, J. H. Davis, E. M. Franklin, D. A. Kinard, James McMaster, Erastus Stringfellow, W. W. Tubb, J. L. Wilson.

Company F—(Captain B. F. Eddins commanding).—Killed: J. H. Bowen. Wounded: W. Cork, H. Counts, W. Kelly,

W. Griffin, J. Griffin Leavell, W. T. King, E. T. Dobbins, G. E. Healey, Jack S. Taylor, J. Gregory, B. Logan, D. Durrett. Missing: Captain B. F. Eddins, Sergeant Griffin, R. Leavell, H. Hinton, W. R. Harden.

Company G—(Captain L. T. Hudgins, commanding).—Killed: L. Sudduth. Wounded: J. Leanner, S. Wilson, W. Poe, L. Yearby, J. Parker.

Company H—(Captain Ogden, commanding).—Killed: J. H. Partin, Wm. Keziah, J. W. Sanford. Wounded: Corporal J. L. Cochran; Privates Tom Rowls, H. T. Patterberry, G. W. Goodwin, J. J. Nichols, W. M. Stewart, J. T. Reynolds. Missing: Joseph Coleman, Tolivar Cargil, T. F. McCraw, S. H. Palmer, J. L. Scott, J. G. Willis.

Company I—(Captain J. M. Jeffries, commanding).—Killed: Lieut. W. B. Lenderman, Corporal W. L. Box; Privates C. A. Styers, S. C. Carter, J. T. Bonner, P. S. Wiley, W. A. Ellis. Wounded: Jacob Hollingsworth, Newton Mitchell, B. W. Young, (5th Sergeant); Sergeant B. M. Harkins; Privates B. F. Edney, P. M. Johnston, J. D. Fowler, W. G. Killingsworth, J. M. Boatwright, Arthur Newman, W. Brownlee, D. J. Lemons.

Company K—(Captain J. N. Craddock, commanding).—Killed: Lieut. James Hareaway; Privates J. James, J. T. West, S. W. McReynolds. Wounded: Privates E. T. Turner, John Gartland, B. W. Page, Aaron Wooten, John Peebles.

List of Casualties in the 5th Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers.

Field and Staff.—Wounded: Lieut.-Colonel Walter L. Sykes, severely in shoulder; Adjutant W. M. Oglesby, slightly in head. Killed: Acting Sergeant-Major W. D. Meeks.

Company A—Wounded: Corporals A. D. Howard and A. V. Camp; Privates A. Posey, J. D. Holbert, and W. W. George.

Company B—Wounded: Second Lieut. W. M. McQuinn, Corporal John Rae; Privates F. Jayroe, Jesse Glaas, F. Lamar, and H. C. Stewart.

Company C—Wounded: Corporal J. J. Smith and Private J. A. Smith.

Company D—Killed: Privates A. G. Moore, J. W. Baramore, R. H. Blackwood. Wounded: Captain J. R. Moore, Second Lieut. R. A. Ford, Third Lieut. W. W. Blain, Second Sergeant J. W. Johnston, Fourth Sergeant T. C. Greer, Fifth Sergeant J. M. Johnston. Privates S. W. Blair, A. Catlege, S. W. Dean, S. B. Gordon, S. G. F. Jayrack, S. H. Kennedy, W. T. Moore, J. W. Norris, W. P. Picher, A. N. Shaw, Benjamin Smith, G. W. Wood, R. J. Bell, James Cartlege.

Company E—Killed: Private B. R. Pope. Wounded: Second Lieut. R. C. Stewart, First Sergeant J. N. Richardson, Third Sergeant James Simmons, First Corporal W. B. Roebuck, Second Corporal J. L. Lovers, Privates J. T. Ryan, T. A. Clayton, A. Kemp, C. T. Holder, J. L. Holder.

Company F—Wounded: First Sergeant T. L. Hudspeth, Second Sergeant W. A. Snow; Privates J. H. Dallas, A. B. Baker, J. W. Jones.

Company G—Killed: Captain John H. Morgan. Wounded: Third Sergeant W. T. Thompson; Privates A. W. M. McCow, S. D. Nelson.

Company H—First Sergeant W. I. Maxey, Fifth Sergeant D. L. McClellan, Privates C. P. Harlip, M. V. Henderson, B. T. Robertson, T. M. Thompson.

Company I—Wounded: First Sergeant R. L. Rogers, Third Sergeant J. B. Fulton, Privates J. Calvin, W. R. Flanagan, and J. W. Mooney.

Company K—Killed: W. D. Cooper. Wounded: A. M. Chiles, J. E. Dooney, F. M. Chamble, J. W. Morrow, B. H. McMichael, J. F. Smith, H. I. Wedgworth.

This is only a partial list. The regiment went into action with only 145 men.

J. B. WILLIAMS,
Lieut.-Colonel Commanding 41st Mississippi.

R. M. Gill, Acting Adjutant.

List of Casualties in the 41st Mississippi Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel J. B. Williams, commanding.

Field and Staff.—J. B. Williams, Lieut.-Colonel, slightly wounded.

Company A—(Lieut. T. P. Hodges commanding). Wounded seriously: V. T. Baker, sergeant, arm broken; Privates John S. Coker, both legs; M. Connarty, right arm broke. Slightly wounded: 1st Sergeant J. C. Rand, hip; Privates A. R. Howell, knee; J. M. Sower, finger; F. E. Johnson, finger; Milton Temple, knee; W. L. Edwards, thigh; G. A. P. Johnston, arm; J. D. Hodges, contusion.

Company B—(Captain L. Ball commanding). Killed: First Sergeant W. W. Goodman, Sergeant W. A. McCord, Corporal T. J. Beck; Privates J. A. Clements, J. C. Pitts, D. J. Pitts. Severely wounded: J. W. Bailey, arm, and missing; T. Hecks, arm (dead); G. E. Beard, finger; W. A. Funk, arm; W. B. Hanna, back; A. St. John, mouth and lungs; D. Tucker, arm and lungs; J. N. Dodds, neck; W. Neal, knee; A. P. Pitts, arm. Slightly: J. R. Seals, leg; S. T. Tucker, leg; T. J. Saunders, arm; W. M. Owens, leg.

Company C—(Captain J. M. Hinks commanding). Killed: R. B. Carpenter, A. B. Warbington. Seriously Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Clayton, face; R. W. Smith, shoulder; S. G. Strebeck, leg broken; T. L. Gillespie, thigh; H. W. Warbington, head; W. J. Beton, head and arm; C. Besemanly; C. H. Rawson, leg and hand. Slightly: Captain J. M. Hinks; C. B. Rawson, shoulder; J. W. Williams, finger; W. H. H. Shed, shoulder; R. L. Banks, back; E. Beswell, head.

Company D—(Captain E. V. Y. Yates commanding). Killed: J. B. Pucket. Severely wounded: Sergeants J. C. Connor, leg; W. R. Bracey, leg; Corporal J. B. Ellis, hip; Privates Thomas Comb, abdomen; T. J. Ellis, shoulder; J. H. Harless; S. E. Lindsey, shoulder; John Lowe, shoulder; B. R. Stewart, arm broken; A. J. Worsham, arm broken. Slightly: Captain Yates, foot; Second Lieut. P. C. Luttrell, head; Privates R. R. Wooten, arm; T. T. Weatherby, arm.

Company E—(1st Lieut. W. G. Kennedy commanding). Killed: 1st Lieut. W. G. Kennedy. Severely wounded: Corporal E. T. Varner, head. Slightly: E. G. Varner, hand; G. W. Cook, hip and shoulder; Miles Purvis, hip; E. L. Russell, face.

Company F—(Captain M. E. Milson commanding). Killed: P. A. Watts. Wounded: Sergeants S. B. Peagues, arm; M. Ford, foot; Corporal B. F. Phillips, head; Privates, A. A. Mayhew, head; J. A. Hilburn, hip; J. P. McCrackin, hip.

Company G—(2nd Lieut. Austin Pollard commanding). Killed: Privates J. L. Puckett, Luke Watson. Severely wounded: J. L. Mosbey, side and arm; W. H. Phillips, face; S. V. Richey, arm and leg. Slightly: Lieut. Austin Pollard, shoulder; J. V. Murphy, head; J. E. Kolb, arm; L. B. Miles, shoulder; Sergeant W. B. Marchbanks, arm and leg; Corporal G. W. Danner, finger; E. M. Scott, back; J. S. Walters, leg; H. Walters, leg.

Company H.—(Captain H. J. Duke commanding.)—Killed: S. O. Graham, H. Haddock, J. D. Nelson, N. Reynolds. Severely wounded: J. W. McGregor, bowels; J. Henry, groin; J. Hardy, shoulder; O. Johnson, arm; P. Malors, head and back; A. J. Harding, thigh; J. W. Johnson, hip; J. Wendell, leg and arm; T. George, shoulder. Slightly: Captain H. J. Duke, arm; Corporal J. Dickson, thigh; J. Neighbors, arm; J. Rushy, finger; Ben. Ford, knee; T. Ruff, shoulder.

Company I.—(1st Lieut. P. H. McMahon commanding.)—Killed: 1st Lieut. McMahon. Severely wounded: Privates, G. W. Sorter (dead); J. B. Phillips, leg; J. Martin, leg; Z. Payne, foot. Slightly: Captain J. P. Williams.

Company K.—(Lieut. B. E. Cockerell commanding.)—Killed: Lieut. J. M. Bates; Privates, T. A. Combs, severely wounded; T. L. Constantine. Slightly: Lieut. B. F. Cockerell, head; Privates, Ben. Butler, arm; B. F. Wynne, head; J. A. Murdoch, head; R. Jones, leg; W. H. Meritt, thigh.

Company L.—(1st Lieut. J. L. Roberts commanding.)—Killed: Privates, T. F. Morris and D. W. Wilson. Dangerously wounded: Sergeant W. T. Ligon (dead) arm and lungs; O. C. Garman, head. Severely wounded: T. F. Hobson, foot; J. H. Betts, shoulder; T. J. Jagers, ankle; J. M. Crosslwaite, foot; W. H. Cole, thigh; W. P. Schall, thigh; W. H. Pearson, arm. Slightly wounded: Sergeant J. T. Thompson, head; Corporal G. W. Arnold, hip; Jeff Mooreham, head; W. T. Mask, arm.

Missing.—Company D.—J. W. Ashmore; Company E.—F. M. Sanders; Company L.—Corporal J. L. Hallett, Private H. B. Vaughan. R. M. GILL, Acting Adjutant.

BELLIGERENT AND NEUTRAL RIGHTS AT SEA.

The following correspondence has just been published:—

In consequence of the capture of the British steamer *Adela*, Mr. Stuart writes from Washington to Earl Russell on August 8, 1862, that he had represented the case as one of great gravity to Mr. Seward, and forwards the following official report of the occurrence from Admiral Milne:—

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Milne to Mr. Stuart.

(Extract.)

Nile, at Halifax, August 2, 1862.

I lose no time in forwarding to you by the first safe opportunity the documents which I yesterday received from Commander Hewitt, of Her Majesty's ship *Rinaldo*, giving details of the capture of the British steamer *Adela* by the United States' cruiser *Quaker City*, and reporting the purport of communications which had in consequence passed between himself and Flag Officer Lordner, commanding the United States' squadron at Key West.

It would appear that the *Adela* was bound from Liverpool and Bermuda to Nassau, for which place she had mails; that she was fallen in with near the British island of Abaco by the United States' cruiser *Quaker City*, which, without showing any colours, chased and fired at her several times.

It is further stated that she was seized before the result of any actual search could have proved that contraband of war was on board, and thus given a colourable pretext for the seizure, on the ground that her real destination was not Nassau, but some Southern port.

Grave as this transaction, in the aspect in which it is presented to me, appears to be, of far graver immediate consequence is the statement of the flag officer (if rightly understood by Commander Hewitt), that their cruisers have orders to seize "any British vessels whose names were forwarded them from the Government at Washington, and that being bound from one British port to another, would not prevent the United States' officers from carrying out those orders;" and further, "that such were the definite orders that they were, when and where met with, to seize British steamers or vessels of which official information had been sent them."

These instructions are so entirely at variance with the recognised principles of international law, that I deem it essential to lose no time in putting you in possession of them, in order that, should you deem it expedient to do so, and your instructions admit of it, and early representation may be made to the United States' Government with a view to these orders, if really issued to their cruisers, being at once recalled, and serious complications possibly averted.

Every respect and consideration have been most studiously shown by the captains of her Majesty's ships under my command to the belligerent rights of the United States, but if British ships lawfully cleared out from and bound to other British ports, without the slightest indication of their deviating from their route, are to be subjected to seizure wherever found, simply because their names are on a list furnished to United States' cruisers, I cannot but fear that a collision between our ships of war and those of the Federal Government may be the result, as while, in affording all proper protection to British commerce, I am enjoined to abstain from any acts likely to involve Great Britain in hostilities with the United States, yet I am also instructed to guard our commerce from all illegal interference, and to permit no warlike operations in British waters, and further, should they be attempted within a British harbour, or within the undoubted limits of a British territory, to prevent them, if necessary, by force.

I do not conceive myself called upon to offer any opinion as to the abstract right of the Admiralty Court at Key West to break the seal of her Majesty's mails sent in a British ship bound from one port to another, both in her Majesty's dominions; although I apprehend this, with the other features of the seizure, will hardly fail to attract the attention of her Majesty's Government. However, I do consider that it would only have been in accordance with international courtesy had the despatches from me to the commander of her Majesty's ship *Greyhound*, at Nassau, which it is stated were on board the *Adela*, been handed over to her Majesty's consul, or the commander of her Majesty's ship *Rinaldo*, when on the spot, as I am not aware it has ever been maintained that even the condemnation of a neutral ship would extend to the official neutral despatches she may have been carrying from one neutral port to another, and so justify their being opened and detained; or that such despatches can in any sense be considered as contraband of war.

I shall forward by the mail for England, which leaves this on the 7th inst., a copy of this despatch and its enclosures to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

COMMANDER HEWITT TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR A. MILNE.

(Extract.)

Rinaldo, Halifax, August 1, 1862.

In forwarding you a copy of the log of the British steamer *Adela*, I feel it my duty to report the following conversation that took place on board the *San Jacinto* with Flag Officer Lordner when at Key West, in conversation relative to the seizure of the *Adela*, and her position during the time, being

in British waters, and the unusual manner in which she was brought-to. The flag officer remarked, as regards the position of the vessel when brought-to, reports differ, but that the United States' vessels of war had orders to seize any British vessels whose names were forwarded them from the Government at Washington, and that being bound from one British port to another would not prevent United States' officers from carrying out those orders.

The flag officer considered that their proceedings might bring on a collision, but that such were the definite orders, that they were, when and where met with, to seize British steamers or vessels of which official information had been sent them.

On August 12, Mr. Stuart writes to Earl Russell that on the day following the date of his despatch of August 8, Mr. Seward showed him a copy of instructions which he was preparing to send to Federal naval officers. These instructions are addressed to Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, and after reciting the circumstances described in the documents unofficially submitted to him, Mr. Seward proceeds:—

"It is the duty of the naval officers to be vigilant in searching and seizing vessels of whatever nation which are carrying contraband of war to the insurgents of the United States. But it is equally important that the provisions of the maritime law in all cases be observed and respected. Without waiting to inquire into the correctness of the representations of Admiral Milne thus brought to my notice, and with a view to prevent collisions between the armed vessels of the United States and Great Britain, I am directed by the President to ask you to give the following instructions explicitly to the naval officers of the United States, namely:—

First. That under no circumstances will they seize any foreign vessels within the waters of a friendly nation.

Secondly. That in no case are they authorized to chase and fire at a foreign vessel without showing their colours, and giving her the customary preliminary notice of a desire to speak and visit her.

Thirdly. That when that visit is made the vessel is not then to be seized without a search carefully made so far as to render it reasonable to believe that she is engaged in carrying contraband of war to the insurgents and to their ports, or otherwise violating the blockade; and that if it shall appear that she is actually bound and passing from one friendly or so-called neutral port to another, and not bound or proceeding to or from a port in the possession of the insurgents, then she cannot be lawfully seized.

And, finally, that official seals, or locks, or fastenings of foreign authorities are in no case, nor on any pretext, to be broken, or parcels covered by them read by any naval authorities of the United States; but all bags or other things conveying such parcels and duly sealed or fastened by foreign authorities will be, in the discretion of the United States' officer to whom they may come, delivered to the Consul, commanding naval officer, or Legation of the foreign government to be opened, upon the understanding that whatever is contraband or important as evidence concerning the character of a captured vessel will be remitted to the prize court, or to the Secretary of State at Washington; or such sealed bags or parcels may be at once forwarded to this department, to the end that the proper authorities of the foreign Government may receive the same without delay.

The President desires especially that naval officers may be informed that the fact that a suspected vessel has been indicated to them as cruising in any limit which has been prescribed to them by the Navy Department, does not in any way authorize them to depart from the practice of the rules of visitation, search, and capture prescribed by the law of nations.

Instructions similar to this will be given to the district attorneys of the United States.

While preparing the above, your letter of the 5th inst., with the accompanying report of Commander James Madison Frailey, has been brought to my attention. This report does not seem to obviate the necessity of a fuller one from that officer on the points raised by Admiral Milne. I will consequently thank you to require a supplementary Report of that character.

The next despatch is the following from Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart:—

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. STUART.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, October 10, 1862.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to find, from your despatch of the 12th August last, that the orders originally given to American cruisers in regard to interference with neutral vessels have been rescinded. If those orders had been sanctioned and continued in force by the Government of the United States, they would have called for prompt and firm remonstrance on the part of her Majesty's Government; and it will be proper that you should intimate to Mr. Seward, while expressing the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government at their revocation, that her Majesty's Government are glad to be thereby spared from the necessity of stating their decided objections to their tenor. You will say that to order vessels though apparently and *prima facie* carrying on a lawful trade, to be systematically seized on the high seas, without any preliminary search, or without the discovery during such search of any strong evidence of suspicion against such vessels, would be to subject the mercantile marine of neutrals to a system of oppression and annoyance which no neutral Government could be expected to tolerate. The unjust seizure under urgent circumstances of a neutral vessel may be considered as one of the occasional burdens which a state of war may impose upon a neutral, and it may be partially compensated by the condemnation of the captor in costs or in costs and damages; but the indiscriminate and general seizure of merchant vessels, without previous search, converts an occasional exception into an intolerable rule.

It is desirable that you should ascertain from Mr. Seward whether the Government of the United States admits the principle that her Majesty's mail bags shall neither be searched nor detained.

On 4th November Mr. Stuart writes to Earl Russell that he had made the representations mentioned in the above despatch, and that Mr. Seward showed great readiness to admit the principle, requesting an inquiry to be made in an unofficial letter, to which he would give a satisfactory reply. This was done, and Mr. Seward in reply furnished a copy of the following additional instructions to the Secretary of the Navy:—

MR. SEWARD TO MR. WELLES.

Department of State, Washington, October 31, 1862.

Sir,—It is thought expedient that instructions be given to the blockading and naval officers that, in case of capture of

merchant vessels suspected or found to be vessels of the insurgents or contraband, the public mails of any friendly or neutral Power, duly certified and authenticated as such, shall not be searched or opened, but be put, as speedily as may be convenient, on their way to their designated destinations. This instruction, however, will not be deemed to protect simulated mail bags, verified by forged certificates or counterfeit seal.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The next despatch is from Earl Russell, dated November 20, expressing his satisfaction that Mr. Seward had issued the above instructions; and a despatch from Lord Lyons, dated December 12, announcing that he had communicated Earl Russell's despatch to Mr. Seward, closes the correspondence.

The next batch refers to Neutral Rights and Duties accruing from the incident of the seizure of the British steamer *Labuan*, at Matamoros, the case of which vessel is still under discussion.

Mr. Adams, in the course of the correspondence, asked the British Government to interfere against the "unlawful trade" carried on by British subjects, representing that great embarrassment had arisen to the Federal Government by reason of it, and that the seizure of the *Labuan* was the result of that embarrassment. On the 10th of May, 1862, Earl Russell wrote:—

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. ADAMS.

Foreign Office, May 10, 1862.

Sir,—In the letter I had the honour to receive from you yesterday, you appear to me to have confounded two things totally distinct.

The Foreign Enlistment Act is intended to prevent the subjects of the Crown from going to war when the Sovereign is not at war.

Thus private persons are prohibited from fitting out a ship of war in our ports, or from enlisting in the service of a foreign State at war with another State, or in the service of insurgents against a foreign Sovereign or State. In these cases the persons so acting would carry on war, and thus engage the name of their Sovereign and of their nation in belligerent operations.

But owners and masters of merchant ships carrying warlike stores do nothing of the kind. If captured for breaking a blockade, or carrying contraband of war to the enemy of the captor, they submit to capture, are tried, and condemned to lose their cargo.

This is the penalty which the law of nations has affixed to such an offence, and in calling upon her Majesty's Government to prohibit such adventures, you in effect call upon her Majesty's Government to do that which it belongs to the cruisers and the courts of the United States to do for themselves.

There can be only one plea for asking Great Britain thus to interpose. That plea is, that the blockade is in reality ineffective, and that merchant-ships can enter with impunity the blockaded ports.

But this is a plea which I presume you will not urge. Her Majesty's Government have considered the blockade as an effective blockade, and have submitted to all its inconveniences as such.

They can only hope that if resistance should prove to be hopeless, the Confederate States will not continue the struggle; and that if, on the other hand, the restoration of the Union should appear to be impossible, the work of devastation now going on will cease.

Her Majesty's Government can only desire the prosperity of the inhabitants of the United States, whatever may be the event of the present civil war.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) RUSSELL.

Mr. Adams replied on the 12th of May in a letter, which concludes as follows:—

But I pray your Lordship's pardon if I submit that you appear to have entirely overlooked a plea, which I am confident enough to imagine of no inconsiderable weight. That plea is, that the kingdom of Great Britain endeavour, in spirit as well as in letter, to preserve the principle of neutrality, if not of friendship, towards a foreign nation in amity with it, to which it has pledged itself. The precise mode in which that shall be done it does not presume to prescribe. That the toleration of such conduct in subjects of Great Britain as I have had the pain heretofore to expose is surely a violation of that neutrality, is justly to be inferred from the very language of her Majesty's Proclamation. For it is therein declared that precisely such acts as theirs as I have been compelled here to complain of, are done "in derogation of their duty to her as a neutral Sovereign, and incur her high displeasure." If such, then, be the true character of the proceedings to which I have hitherto called your Lordship's attention, they surely merit something more of notice from her Majesty's Ministers than an intimation that they will be suffered to pass unreviewed unless the punishment shall be inflicted by the nation whom they are designed to injure. The object of the Government of the United States has not been to relieve itself of the duty of vigilance to capture offenders against the law; it has rather been to avoid the necessity of applying additional stringent measures for their own security against British subjects found to be engaged in such illicit enterprises, made imperative by the conviction that no preventive co-operation whatever can be expected from her Majesty's Government; it has rather been to avoid the risk of confounding the innocent with the guilty, because all happen to be involved in a general suspicion; and lastly, it has rather been to remove at as early a day as may be, consistently with its own safety, the restrictions on the trade with foreign countries which these evil-doers are labouring with so much industry to force it to protract. Your Lordship's language leaves me little hope of any co-operation of her Majesty's Government to these ends. Nevertheless, I trust I may be permitted to indulge the belief that the time is not now far distant when the difficulties thus interposed in the way of its progress will have been so far removed by its own unassisted action as to relieve both countries from the painful necessity of further continuing the discussion.—Renewing, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Earl Russell's reply closes the correspondence:—

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. ADAMS.

Foreign Office, May 17, 1862.

Sir,—I do not wish to prolong this correspondence, and shall only make one remark in answer to your last letter.

If the British Government, by virtue of the prerogative

of the Crown, or by authority of Parliament, had prohibited, and could have prevented, the conveyance in British merchant-ships of arms and ammunition to the Confederate States, and had allowed the transport of such contraband of war to New York and to other Federal ports, her Majesty's Government would have departed from the neutral position they have assumed and maintained. If, on the other hand, her Majesty's Government had prohibited, and could have prevented, the transport of arms and ammunition to both the contending parties, they would have deprived the United States of a great part of the means by which they have carried on the war. The arms and ammunition received from Great Britain, as well as from other neutral countries, have enabled the United States to fit out the formidable armies now engaged in carrying on the war against the Southern States; while, by means of the blockade established by the Federal Government, the Southern States have been deprived of similar advantages. The impartial observance of neutral obligations by her Majesty's Government has thus been exceedingly advantageous to the cause of the more powerful of the two contending parties. I am, &c.,

(Signed) RUSSELL.

THE SITUATION IN ARKANSAS.

(From the *Little Rock True Democrat*.)

Since writing our brief notice, two weeks ago, of the fall of the Post, wherein we expressed our conviction that the enemy would still never get control of this river, he has made no attempt whatever to do so. There has been since his success at the Post, plenty of water for him to try it, at least a portion of the way, and yet, when he has ascended White River with his gunboats and transports as high as Des Arc, with the avowed purpose of marching upon this place across the country, he has not thought proper to attempt the ascent of the Arkansas river. Perhaps he has some idea of the difficulties attending such an enterprise. The navigation of the river itself, with its narrow channel, rapid current, and thousands of snags, would alone present many dangers and difficulties, but lined as its banks have been, since the fall of the Post, by General Walker's whole army, he will have a sheet of fire to pass through that will neither be safe nor comfortable.

No one thought the Post of Arkansas an impregnable place, and but few deemed it any fortification whatever to the river. It has served its purpose. The stout resistance there offered by three or four thousand brave men to the force of the enemy, numbering about 30,000, accompanied by their gunboats, has taught them a lesson that they will not soon forget. They will be more wary in encountering our whole army, composed of the same sort of stuff as the handful at the Post. Our reliance is now, as it always has been, upon the stout hearts and strong arms of our troops, placed in such position that they cannot be overpowered in detail. They now occupy that position, and we are confident that the enemy can never take the Arkansas river.

By dint of luck and desperate courage, if they possess it, they may get a few gunboats past our troops, as they did at Vicksburg, last summer, but that will avail them nothing. It will only subject them to the possibility of capture, which will not only be possible, but highly probable. We live on an uncertain river. It may be navigable for the largest sized boats one day, and in three days more down to low water mark.

We have every confidence in our generals. General Walker, who has charge of the defences of the river below Pine Bluff, is known to be skilful, brave, and energetic. The enemy that passes him will do it in a crippled condition. General Holmes we all know. His heart is in the cause, and it is with us here in Arkansas. He is a pure man and a patriot, and will leave no effort untried to drive an invading enemy from our soil.

Our Governor has called for troops to serve in emergencies. We hope and we believe the call will be promptly answered. The people of Arkansas, notwithstanding the absence of so large a number of them on the other side of the Mississippi river, still possess both the number and the courage to oppose a successful resistance to any Abolition force that can be sent against us. We have no fears of the result. The liberation and salvation of Arkansas, we regard as certain. The fall of the insignificant place like the Post may afford grounds of complaint to untrue men, but will only nerve the brave to renewed and stouter efforts.

There may be a few in our midst who labour assiduously to impair the confidence of the soldiers in their officers, and the confidence of the people in both soldiers and officers, but their numbers are small and their influence still smaller. They are not patriots, and do not wish our cause well. Let them go. Open wide to the right and to the left, and let them pass down to the infamy their conduct merits. Arkansas will be free without their aid or countenance.

PREPARING FOR WAR.—ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA.

Governor John Milton, of Florida, has addressed an appeal to the planters of that State to devote their whole labour to the production of provisions. After examining all the indications of an early peace, he continues:—

That, while cherishing sincere anxiety for peace, just and honourable in its terms, and compatible with the dignity, honour, and independence of the Confederate States, yet mature reflection upon facts derived from the best sources of intelligence justifies, in my humble judgment, no reasonable hope of immediate peace; but, on the contrary, induces the belief that more active efforts will be made by the United States during the present year than have yet been made by them to subjugate the Confederate States, to liberate the slaves, to destroy all rights of property, and to dishonour and degrade the people of the South.

The people of the Confederate States should not rely for peace, either upon the interference of European Powers, or upon dissensions between the Eastern or North-western States. Their entire reliance should be upon themselves, with a just appreciation of the rights of free and intelligent people, resolved to exercise the fortitude, patriotism, and invincible courage necessary to compel a peace by conquest over tyranny.

If peace should be made during the year the probability is that the cotton now in the Confederate States would supply the demand for that article until the crop of 1864 could be prepared for market. If such be the fact, an increased quantity would cause prices to decline, and the aggregate amount of money which would be realised from the additional crop of this year would not be greater than will be realised from the cotton now on hand.

Whether a peace shall be made or the war be continued, there must necessarily be a pressing demand for provisions to supply the wants of the people in the several Confederate

States. That deficiency cannot be supplied by the United States, even in the event of peace; it cannot be expected from Europe. Can it be presumed that it is remuneration for your labour that causes you to hesitate? The experience of the past settles the question, for notwithstanding the abundant crops made last year in all parts of the State, corn commands remunerative prices, and in some counties cannot be bought to save families from perishing, at less than from four or five dollars per bushel.

I appeal, then, to the patriotism and intelligence of the planters of Florida, to devote their labour exclusively to the making of corn, peas, sugar, and other provisions and supplies. I appeal to them to do so in behalf of the gallant men who are fighting for their protection, and that of their children, sisters and mothers—those noble women who have worked with self-sacrificing fortitude, energy, and industry to clothe and feed our armies—and in behalf of the name and for the honour of the State.

Act for the public welfare and God will bless you, and you will entitle yourselves to and enjoy the gratitude of your country in the midst of plenty and peace. Upon abundant supplies of provisions depends the ability of the Confederate States to conquer an honourable peace, or even to defend your property and the honour of your wives and daughters during the year.

If full crops shall not be made, the Confederate States may possibly be subjugated, your slaves freed, and all other property you may have (including cotton) taken from you, and yourselves and families dishonoured and disgraced.

Respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

JOHN MILTON, Governor of Florida.

THE ARMY OF FREDERICKSBURG.

The *Richmond Examiner* of March 14, publishes the following from its own Correspondent:—

Fredericksburg, March 12, 1863.

The night is bitter cold, and the freezing, furious north wind seems to have possession of the world without. Hoarse with howling, it slams the doors and rudely shakes the shutters, as if in rage to find its entrance denied. The picket fires, though shining with unwonted brilliancy, look cold and comfortless, and the sentinels pace their solitary paths with quickened steps.

Your correspondent has just returned from his daily expedition, late, wearied, and unsuccessful. In default of Northern newspapers, however, he had the pleasure of hearing read at the dress parade of a part of General Barksdale's brigade, the cheering account from General Lee of the exploits of our cavalry during the winter months. He is indebted to the kind consideration of Sergeant Cabell, of the 17th Mississippi Regiment, for the opportunity of copying this general order, which he herewith transmits.

Speaking of the dress parade reminds me of the splendid appearance which General Barksdale's brigade presented this afternoon. Comfortably clad, elate in bearing, precise in drill, every man seemed instinct with a proud appreciation of his position, as a member of this veteran and victorious organization. It was a grand sight to see these troops reviewed in the very locality of their late triumph, and literally over the graves of the vanquished invaders. As the excellent band attached to the 13th Mississippi Regiment, commanded by Colonel Carter, passed slowly in front of the column, the music sounded like a dirge over the heroes whose places along the line had been made vacant in the recent shock of battle, and then, as the musicians rapidly retraced their steps, to allegretto notes, the air seemed one of gratulation that, nevertheless, each of the fallen filled a conqueror's grave.

It was this brigade that defended Fredericksburg, on the occasion of the bombardment of the 13th December, and held its position with such death-defying pertinacity, as to provoke the unbounded wonderment of the enemy. Much of the credit, for the admirable condition of this body of men, is due to the regimental and company commanders, but none the less, to their Brigadier General, whose constant and untiring attention is not only devoted to every department of his command, but even to the minutest details of the multifarious duties devolving upon him in his position of commandant of this post.

He is evidently a believer in the *semper paratus* doctrine, and every day finds him in the saddle giving his own lines and the enemy's indications the closest scrutiny of personal inspection. It was a wise selection that placed him in this position of responsibility and requisite vigilance.

THE DEFENCE OF FORT MALLISTER.

(Correspondence of the *Savannah Republican*.)

The defence of Fort Mallister is one of historic interest and marks a historic period, because it was a desperate struggle against odds never before encountered. It stands forth in solitary pre-eminence, and can only be compared with future defences of like character. The annals of all the past furnish no parallel to it. In the history of two or three hundred sieges, from the era of Louis XIV., down to our day, no appropriate standard of comparison can be found. That history appertains generally to land attack and defence. This is the old question of ships against fortifications revived under an aspect absolutely novel. Among the more prominent instances of this description are, the attack of Lord Exmouth on Algiers in the last century; that of Lord Nelson on the Crown Batteries of Copenhagen about the beginning of this, and the comparatively recent attack by Admiral Napier on the defences of St. Jean d'Acre on the coast of Syria. There are other cases less signal, as that at New London during the war of 1812, when two 18-pounder guns beat off two British sloop-of-war. Then the ships had wooden walls, and in general their projectiles were round shot of small dimensions. The gallant defence of Vicksburg has been justly extolled, but while the attack there was by no means so formidable as that of Genesis Point, the defence was made under conditions vastly more favourable.

Fort Mallister, however, is a simple irregular earthwork, or field fortification, but the parapets are unusually thick and strong. It is quite open in the rear, and its batteries are not casemated. The embrasures in which the heaviest guns are placed are protected by traverses from an enfilading fire, but they are necessarily exposed to a direct one. This field-work has grown to its existing proportions by such successive accretions as necessity has dictated, receiving its finishing touches from the plastic hands of Captain McCrady. It would be improper to advert here to the additional development which these entrenchments are now receiving. It may suffice to say that on the 3rd instant it was far from formidable. The action was chiefly maintained by its 32-pounder rifled gun and the favourite 42-pounder. One of the traverse wheels of this last gun having been broken by a shell, it was replaced under fire.

The 8-inch gun, which did the best execution during the engagement next previous, was dismounted before meridian, by a shot which struck one of the diagonal braces. It was mounted again during the night upon a carriage sent down from Savannah. The 10-inch gun, fired at an elevation of 6.30, generally overshot the tower aimed at. It had been but recently placed in battery, and practice with it was limited.

Opposed to the fort were three iron-clad gunboats, and three mortar boats, the former launching, with a direct horizontal fire, projectiles more formidable than any yet known; the latter throwing shells with curved fires, from six o'clock a.m., during all the night, which did not prevent, however, the reparation of all the damage done during the day. In the Engineer's report, the iron-clads—distant from 1,400 to 1,900 yards—are numbered 1, 2 and 3, No. 1 being up stream. The projectiles hurled by No. 1 were hollow shot and shells of fifteen inches diameter, and also solid shot and shells of eleven inches. Those of No. 2 were cylindro-conoidal percussion shells, eight inches diameter at the base, and seventeen inches in length, and eleven inch solid shot and shells. No. 3 threw cylindro-conoidal shells like the above. This fire was maintained nearly eight hours, with average intervals of ten minutes. The most active fire appears to have been concentrated on the 42-pounder, in the immediate vicinity of which twenty-one projectiles fell. At this and most other points the happy escape of the garrison seems almost providential.

The fire of the fort was concentrated on Monitor No. 1, the men in No. 3, not on duty, quietly looking on from their deck. Lieut. Ellerby, from his position in the marsh on the left bank of the Ogeechee, only 350 yards distant from No. 3, reports that he could hear the words of command—that her ports were always open, that the guns were run regularly in and out of battery, the rammer staff and the hands of the men being visible, and that the guns were therefore loaded at the muzzle. One shot from the fort struck the tower a few inches from one of the port holes.

The revolutions of the tower of No. 1 were observed to be often temporarily arrested either from design or injury sustained. The last shot from the 42-pounder struck No. 1 low down, near the water line. This was followed by an escape of steam and the sudden appearance and disappearance of three men. After this she blew her whistle, when No. 2, which had already weighed anchor and started down stream, returned and took her place. Meanwhile No. 1 retiring, discharged her guns without aim or object.

THE LATE FIGHT NEAR WINCHESTER.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of March 5, contains the following letter respecting the fight near Winchester. Your readers, perhaps, may feel some curiosity to learn something of the fight that occurred between Woodstock and Winchester on the 26th ult.

On the morning of the 25th ult., the 11th and 7th Virginia Regiments of Cavalry were ordered to mount immediately. It was said that a company of Marylanders had captured a Yankee picket, and were being pursued by a large body of Yankee cavalry.

Five minutes had scarcely elapsed after the reception of the order when the 11th was ready, Colonel Funsten commanding. The 7th followed shortly after, Colonel Dulancy commanding. On went the 11th through mud and mire, eager for an opportunity to "flesh its maiden sword," for it is a regiment newly organized, and not yet officered.

About two miles beyond Woodstock, the enemy, numbering over 500, were discovered. There was no pause; the trot was changed to a gallop, and like a hurricane went the 11th at more than twice her number.

The Yankees tried to fight. But their volleys did not check the speed of our advancing column. With sabres drawn, and scarcely firing a shot, they kept on with an unbroken front.

General Jones and Colonel Funsten were in the lead. The Yankee column trembled and broke. Then commenced a retreat disastrous to them, and which our men failed not to take advantage of. Many times they rallied; but it would not do. Scarcely would they form when our gallant boys would be in among them, cutting and slashing at such a rate that Yankee could not stand it.

The fight continued in this manner for ten miles, when Strasburg was reached. Here they were slightly reinforced, and made something of a stand. By this time the veteran 7th Virginia came up, and dashing at them, started them again. On went the Yankees pell-mell at "a devil take the hindmost" kind of speed. Nothing but the fleetness of their horses saved any of them; as it was they lost not less than 200 prisoners and about fifty killed and wounded. We lost four men wounded. The 7th pursued them as far as Newtown. VALLEY.

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN GENERAL LEE'S ARMY.—A letter in the *Richmond Enquirer* from Fredericksburg says:—"The revival of religion continues with increasing interest among the soldiers.—Rev. Mr. Owens is conducting the exercises. Rev. Dr. Styles, who has been preaching so faithfully, ably, and acceptably, has left. Rev. Mr. Conling, of the Methodist Church, is now assisting Rev. Mr. Owens. But more help will be needed. The soldiers, many of them being from the South-west, express great anxiety to hear Rev. Dr. Schen, of Tennessee.—The conversions thus far number about seventy-five. Last evening there were fully 100 penitents at the altar. So great is the work, and so interested are the soldiers, that the M. E. Church South has been found inadequate for the accommodation of the congregations, and the Episcopal Church having been kindly tendered by its pastor, the Rev. Mr. Randolph, who is now here, the services have been removed to that edifice, where devotions are held as often as three times a day.

MR. THOS. E. MCNEILL, a highly educated machinist, of South Carolina, has invented a submarine torpedo combining additional advantages so as to render it terribly destructive. Mr. McNeill was educated in the large machine shops of England and this country, and is a practical machinist. He was engaged in establishing the first armoury in Montgomery, Ala., and has since been engaged in the manufacture of arms in Georgia.—*Mobile Register*.

PICKET TALK.—"You are almost starved out at Vicksburg," cried a Yankee picket cross the river the other day. "Oh, no! plenty of mules left!" was the reply. "Do you eat mules?" inquired the Yankee. "Certainly," said the Confederate. "We have plenty of beef and mutton," said the Yankee. "That makes you run so, you eat so much sheep," retorted the Confederate. "You all will make some money by going as substitutes under the Conscription bill," said a Confederate picket to a Yankee. "Don't care about making money that way, I am going home," replied the Yankee. Pickets will talk sometimes in spite of orders, and some good hits are made.—Fredericksburg correspondence of the *Richmond Dispatch*, March 10th.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance.

All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1863.

The Repulse at Port Hudson.

A few months after the commencement of the war in America, a Northern newspaper founded an indignant appeal to the civilized world against the Confederates, on the fact that they were profane enough to fight on Sundays; and General McClellan gained some slight reputation by a general order enforcing a strict observance of the Sabbath, and reprobating the practice of selecting that day for a battle. It does so happen that a large proportion of the great engagements in history as revealed to us have been fought on the day of rest; and the campaigns in America have increased the list. Why this should be we know not, unless Sunday is a particularly good day for attack. But certain it is that even the Yankees have thrown over their Sabbatarianism by this time, and fight on Sunday with as much readiness as any day in the week. There was no rest for the men under Banks and Farragut's command on Sunday the 15th of March. On that day the combined operations of the military and naval forces of the Federals against Port Hudson came off; and the first of the series of movements directed to the liberation of the Mississippi from Confederate control met with a bloody and disastrous repulse. It appears that the continued resistance of Vicksburg, and the repeated losses of Federal gunboats on the Mississippi, determined the Northern commanders to attempt the passage of Port Hudson at all risks; the object being not so much the capture of the fortress itself, as the command of the Mississippi below Vicksburg, the cutting off of Confederate supplies from Louisiana and Texas, and the recovery of the district west of the Mississippi, a territory peculiarly adapted to maintain a large army in the field. With this view it was agreed that General Banks should land a considerable military force from Baton Rouge, at a point within seven miles of Port Hudson, and take the defences of the Confederate position in the rear, whilst Farragut engaged the river batteries with his flotilla of sloops of war, and gun and mortar boats. General Banks's advance was through a very difficult tract of country, and the enemy, with a vastly superior cavalry, retired skirmishing on the lines of Port Hudson, avoiding a general engagement. The arrangement seems to have been that the attack should be made simultaneously by land and water. But, as usual, there was no concert between the Federal officers. Banks found himself brought to a standstill before a position which could only be taken by an immensely superior force and a regular investment. Farragut, impatient at the delay, and apparently knowing or caring very little about Banks's proceedings, resolved to force a passage for himself. At nine o'clock on Saturday evening a red light hoisted on Farragut's ship gave the signal for advance, and the vessels of the squadron moved slowly up to the batteries; the Hartford, flag ship, leading; following her the Richmond, the Monongahela and the Mississippi—all powerful steam frigates. Lashed alongside of each was a gunboat, to give additional speed, and if necessary tow the big ships out of danger. A

little fleet of mortar-boats headed by the iron-clad Essex, took up a position within shelling distance. The Confederates were prepared for them. As the leading ship neared the batteries, a rocket was sent up, followed by another and another, still higher up; and before the Federals came within easy range, a great fire was ignited in front of the principal battery, which cast its ruddy light far over to the opposite bank, and brought out the attacking squadron in bold and distinct relief. At Port Hudson the Mississippi narrows; there is a bend in the stream in the shape of a horse-shoe; and the deepest channel lies within some fifty yards of the Louisiana bank, with shoal water on the opposite side. At the bend of the river was the strongest battery, and it was here that the struggle was the fiercest. Farragut took the Hartford boldly in, and the flag-ship steamed along through a terrible fire to which she made but an ineffectual response, owing to the elevated position of the Confederate guns. One battery after another was passed, the exchanges taking place more than once at a distance of twenty to thirty yards; and finally the Hartford, with her escort, the Albatross, emerged, terribly riddled, from the storm of shot, shell, grape, and rifle balls poured upon her incessantly for three miles. The next ship, the Richmond, was less fortunate. An eighty pound solid shot passed through her side, smashing her steam-drum, closing the safety valves, and rendering her useless. Swinging round, she was towed at all speed down the river. The Monongahela was also disabled and towed off. The Mississippi, carried by the force of the current on to the shoal water, grounded immediately in front of the heaviest battery, and was set on fire either by her own crew, or the enemy's shells. After a time, some of her heavy guns having been thrown overboard, and her crew having left, she floated off, drifted past the batteries, to a point about fifteen miles below Port Hudson, and then blew up. The battle had long been over. The Hartford and Albatross had escaped; the rest of the squadron, shattered and utterly disabled, dropped down below the mortar boats. What the Federal losses are we are not likely to learn. They are fixed at 100 killed and wounded—an incredibly small number. Fifty years ago, there were many frigate engagements, in which the casualties far exceeded those now recorded. Yet in those days, a 24-pounder was a heavy gun, and shells were unknown in naval warfare. The failure of the river attack compelled Banks to fall back to his transports. But he did so with a true Yankee flourish, announcing that his expedition had completely accomplished the purpose for which it was despatched. Strange to say, for a week afterwards it was not stated that Banks's army had essayed to effect another landing at the same point and been driven off by the cutting of the levees.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to see that anything can be accomplished this season against Port Hudson. Farragut's flotilla is too weak to return to the attack. The commander himself is in a position of considerable peril. The Webb, the Queen of the West, the City of Vicksburg, and several smaller steamers are within a day's reach of the Hartford and Albatross. The Confederates may easily improvise a cotton-clad squadron such as captured the Harriet Lane at Galveston. We may possibly see the experiment tried. It is plain that very little help is to be looked for from Porter's gunboat squadron. Of two steamers that last made the attempt to pass the batteries at Vicksburg, one sank; the other, disabled and sinking, was run ashore a few miles below. The strength of Porter's squadron is frittered in expeditions down Yazoo Pass, or up the creeks and bayous that cut the State of Mississippi. And even here the iron-clads not only make no impression on the Confederate batteries, but cannot contend with light field-pieces and the rifle of the guerilla.

The Yazoo river has not been reached. At Fort Pemberton, and on the Sunflower River, the Federals have been repulsed. It is known that the sickness in Grant's army is rapidly incapacitating it from action. There seems no alternative for the Federals, but another assault upon the works which shook off

Sherman so roughly—or retreat. Neither of these courses is palatable to the war administration, so the Federal flotillas are despatched constantly on fresh voyages of discovery, and the Northern ear is tickled with renewed promises of eventual triumph, though each day's persistency in the struggle only exposes the Federal forces to fresh disaster.

There is still one hope left to the North. Rosencranz is at the head of well-disciplined and well-equipped forces, comprising some of the best soldiers of the North. He still, it is said, outnumber the Confederates in front of him, and may yet strike a great blow for Tennessee. If he loses, Kentucky and Tennessee are gone. But if he remains inactive, the Confederate generals will gather in his rear; the transport and supplies and reinforcements, now an easy matter, will become a matter of great difficulty; and the relief of Vicksburg will enable the Confederates to throw an overwhelming force upon him and crush him. It is not likely that the two armies, numbering each of them over 60,000 men, can remain long confronting one another. When the mud is dried up and the torrents less swollen, there will be a great battle for Nashville, and on its issue possibly depends the question of another twelvemonths' war, or an early peace. The recovery of Tennessee, and the possession of Kentucky, would be arguments in favour of the South very few Governments in Europe could withstand.

Precedents for Recognition.

We have before us a pamphlet on Recognition, written by a gentleman whose bias is rendered sufficiently evident by one of his concluding sentences, in which he expresses a hope that "no Englishman can feel for the Confederate States the smallest enthusiasm." Despite this evidence of a neutrality by no means cold and unfriendly towards the North, the pamphlet is written in the calm and impartial tone which befits a student of historical precedents and international law. Its statements are, so far as we know, correct; and if we dissent from the author's practical conclusion, his own arguments and the facts which he himself cites afford the means of answering him. He displays neither the bitter spirit nor the disingenuous temper of "Historicus;" and he does not dream of introducing into a grave discussion of law and policy the wild declamations which such orators as Messrs. Bright and Taylor, and such journals as the *Daily News* consider a satisfactory substitute for truth and reason. The line of argument he pursues offers little temptation either to unfairness or to denunciation. His purpose is to examine thoroughly two important events in the history of the American continent, in order to deduce from them reasons against the immediate recognition of the Confederate States; and he has performed his task with fidelity, and not without skill.

The acknowledgment of the independence of the revolted Colonies of Great Britain in 1778 by the French Government, is said to be not only a thoroughly bad precedent, but a precedent involving exactly that kind of action towards a friendly Power engaged in a struggle with rebellious provinces that a neutral is bound to avoid. "Historicus," as some of our readers may remember, treats it as a precedent, showing that recognition *durante bello* affords to the dispossessed Power a just cause of war, inasmuch as the action of France was speedily followed by hostilities commenced by England. The chief value of the pamphlet before us is that it affords a complete answer to this argument, by showing that, so far from satisfying herself with the simple recognition of the United States, with sending an envoy to Philadelphia, and receiving an American envoy at Paris, France took part with the colonists in a manner which, independently of the question of recognition, was a sufficient justification of the declaration of war on the part of the mother-country. The Government of France, through unofficial agents, supplied the colonists with arms and munitions of war—an act admitted by all jurists to be one of unwar-

takeable hostility. French privateers were cruising in all directions under American letters of marque, and found refuge at their will in French ports. In 1777, France was obviously and notoriously preparing for war; and in 1778, when she signed the treaty which acknowledged the independence of the United States, she also entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, to take effect in the event, foreseen and intended, of a rupture between France and England. All this was known to the English Ambassador, and to his Government, before the receipt of the extremely insulting communication, in which the French Minister announced that the United States "are in full possession of their independence," and that France had concluded with them a treaty of amity and commerce. "All the attendant circumstances proved hostility. The recognition was the open act which closed a series of clandestine intrigues. The communication was felt on all hands to be intended as an insult. It was accepted as an insult." War was the almost immediate consequence; but the cause of that war was—not the simple recognition of the *de facto* independence of the United States, but, in the first place, the previous and systematic hostility of the French Government, from which England had already endured many provocations in patience; and secondly, the flagrant insolence of the manner in which the recognition was announced, and the character of the engagements by which it was accompanied. It was the object of France that there should be war, it was her policy to seize a favourable opportunity for striking a blow at the pride and power of her great rival; and the recognition of the United States was intended as a defiance, and communicated in a tone which left no doubt of the intention. It is quite clear that by this case there is no precedent adverse to recognition established; no proof of the favourite assertion of Federal advocates, that the acknowledgment of a revolted State by foreign Powers affords the dispossessed Power a just cause of quarrel. If England were to furnish the Confederate States with supplies of arms purchased with public money, and shipped by agents of the Government; if she openly allowed her subjects to accept letters of marque from Jefferson Davis, and fit out ships to cruise in the Confederate service; if she concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with the Government at Richmond—then, indeed, the Northern States would have no choice but to declare war. They would be acting rashly, and engaging in a desperate struggle; but they could hardly do otherwise. This was the case of England when France communicated, in 1778, her treaty of commerce with the United States. But no one wishes or imagines it possible that England should do anything of the sort. And her resolution to resent by war the open hostility of France in 1778 certainly does not preclude her from receiving Mr. Mason on an equal footing with Mr. Adams as the Minister of an independent Power, sending a representative to Richmond, and asking the *exequatur* of the Confederate Government for her consuls. This would not be a cause of war; and this is all that she could be called upon to do.

The story of the Spanish American Colonies is much longer, but the gist of the case lies in a nutshell. They were immediately recognised as belligerent Powers; they were, after a time, and certainly before their independence was established, admitted to a sort of partial or commercial recognition; and finally, their independence was formally acknowledged, first by the United States, and afterwards by England. When this was done, some of them were altogether clear of Spanish troops, in others Spain only held a few strong positions, while in Peru alone she had still an army on foot—and Peru was not recognised. So far, the position of the South American colonies was stronger than that of the Confederate States. On the other hand, it was just as possible that Spain, availing herself of her hold on Peru, should reconquer the rest of her possessions, as it is now that the armies which possess no more of the Confederate States than the ground covered by their encampments or devastated by their marauding parties, should

fulfil the ten times repeated promise of their Government to crush out the rebellion. It is true that Confederate ports are blockaded, and that those of the Spanish colonies were not; but this difference can hardly be held to affect in any way their respective claims to recognition. A blockade is in itself a quasi-acknowledgment of the *de facto* independence of the State whose ports are blockaded; and the superiority of naval force which enables the dispossessed Power to inflict this annoyance on its enemy, can hardly be thought to prove that it has not been effectually and finally ousted. It is true that the war between Spain and her colonies had lasted for some twelve or fifteen years before their independence was formally acknowledged by foreign Governments; but during that long period Spain had sustained fewer and less serious disasters than have befallen the Federalists, in the two years already occupied by the present conflict. Two years of war are now as long, for all practical purposes, as ten years of war were in times gone by; they involve sacrifices as extensive, loss of life as heavy, and a trial of strength quite as sufficient and conclusive. Independence maintained for eighteen months against a Power with a continuous frontier, able to send half a million of men into the field, is surely as sufficiently asserted as when defended against Spain, with a navy of no account and an army that hardly deserved the name, by colonies on the other side of the globe. Finally, it must be remembered that the Confederate States have an orderly and established Government, which the Spanish colonies had not; and that there is not in the South, as there was in Spanish America, a powerful party in arms, or ready to rise in arms, in support of the dispossessed claimant of sovereignty. We confess ourselves unable to see how, if the acknowledgment of the Spanish colonies was just and unexceptionable, any reasonable objection can be made to the recognition of the Confederate States, at least, as soon as the present campaign shall have terminated in their favour.

It seems to us, moreover, that the general rules deduced by the pamphleteer from his special examples are altogether in our favour. He says that "while the civil war continues, a foreign Power, desirous of preserving neutrality, should remain an impartial spectator. If, however, its own relations with the revolted province require, and the facts warrant such a recognition, the foreign Power may recognise the separate political existence of the revolted province, so far as regards its foreign relations, without prejudging the question as to its ultimate and absolute independence of the parent State. This is a limited recognition." It would, we think, be a recognition sufficiently ample to serve all purposes—for it is only as regards its relations with themselves that foreign Powers need enter into any engagements or negotiations with the aspirant to national existence. Again he says, "When independence is effectually established, recognition is a simple question of policy on the part of the foreign Power," and he admits that every Power is entitled to judge for itself whether or no independence has actually been made good. Is not this a distinct admission that England has a right to recognise the Confederate States? No impartial observer doubts the fact that their independence is established; no sane man questions the deep interest which England has in formally admitting that fact. Why then, on the pamphleteer's own showing, should recognition be any longer delayed?

We forbear to enter on two questions, always carefully avoided by the opponents of recognition—how far the Secession of States, acknowledged by England as sovereign, from a Confederacy which she has never formally acknowledged, can be treated by an English statesman as a simple case of revolt; and how far, after the precedent set by itself in the case of Hungary, the Federal Government would be entitled to complain of any recognition, however ill-timed and precipitate. Our endeavour has been simply to meet the pamphleteer on his own ground, and show that his precedents do not justify his conclusion; that the acknowledgment by France of the independence of the United States was not in itself

the cause of war, and would not have been considered a sufficient ground of war, on the part of England; and that in the case of the Spanish Republics there was no greater justification for recognition than could now be pleaded on behalf of the Confederate States of America. And on these points we are content to leave the issue to the judgment of our readers.

The Illegal Seizure of British Vessels.

We elsewhere publish some diplomatic correspondence upon belligerent rights at sea, and no one can read it without feeling surprised that Lord Russell should have thought it necessary to submit the case of the *Peterhoff* to the law officers of the Crown, seeing that the law is so certain and defined; and it is not less surprising that her Majesty's Government should appear to sanction the doctrine that the mere allegation on the part of the Federal Government of a legal pretext will justify a palpably illegal transaction. Our merchants are determined not to submit to a construction of the law which will involve the stoppage of their trade with certain ports now, and be a precedent for interference with their commerce in the future. Messrs. Bennett and Wake, the brokers for a vessel "on the berth" for Matamoras, have written to the Post-office authorities, to inform them that the owners of that vessel refuse to carry a mail unless some guarantee be afforded against the violation of the same by the Federals, and the employment of the letters therein to aid in casting suspicion on ship and cargo. These gentlemen on behalf of the owners have expressed their willingness that the vessel shall proceed with the mail, if the Post-office authorities will send a mail agent in charge of the bags. Some shippers to Matamoras have appealed to Lord Russell for protection; and a dispute has arisen between the owners and shippers of a vessel, because the former refuse to allow their ship to proceed on the voyage without a proper guarantee.

There can, we repeat, be no doubt about the law. No matter what the cargo of a ship belonging to a neutral nation, and proceeding from one neutral port to another neutral port, consists of, the vessel cannot be lawfully seized. Such is the dictum of Lord Russell. In his Lordship's despatch contained in Blue Book No. 4 of this year, p. 237, he says:—"It is of the very essence of the definition of contraband that the articles should have a hostile, and not a neutral destination. 'Goods,' says Lord Stowell, 'going to a neutral port cannot come under the description of contraband, *all goods going there being equally lawful*.' The rule respecting contrabands," he adds, "as I have always understood it, is, that articles must be taken *in delicto* in the actual prosecution of the voyage to an enemy's port." And again, p. 238:—"Your own territory or ships of your own country are places of which you are yourself the master. The enemy's territory or the enemy's ships are places in which you have a right to exercise acts of hostility. Neutral vessels guilty of no violation of the laws of neutrality are places where you have no right to exercise acts of hostility." But Mr. Seward himself, under the pressure of the spirited protest of Admiral Milne, explicitly concurs in this doctrine. In his instructions to Federal naval officers he says, "And that if it shall appear that she is actually bound and passing from one friendly, or so-called neutral, port to another, and not bound, or proceeding to, or from, a port in the possession of the insurgents, then she cannot be lawfully seized." Here Mr. Seward distinctly disavows the pretext put forth by Mr. Adams in his despatch to Earl Russell about the *Labuan*, that "that vessel had become involved in a suspicion not unfairly attaching itself to all vessels sailing under British colours in the neighbourhood of the place where she was taken." The port may be only *so-called* neutral, but a vessel proceeding to it from another so-called neutral port cannot lawfully be seized.

It is not then a question of law that has to be decided. The *Peterhoff* was unlawfully seized, for

she was sailing from a neutral port to a neutral port, and carrying her Majesty's mails, and we think, there is not the slightest doubt that the Peterhoff will be given up. But the issue to be tried is, whether the British Government will permit the Federals to systematically violate the law; or whether they will prevent by force Federal cruisers from seizing British ships proceeding from a neutral port to a neutral port for that, irrespective of the cargo is a lawful voyage. If not we must resign our trade with Matamoras and other ports to New York merchants, who, by the way, are not slow to take advantage of the action of the United States' Government and the inaction of the British Government, as may be seen from the number of vessels for Matamoras advertised in the New York papers.

Colenso on the Pentateuch.

It is affirmed of one Synesius, a later Bishop of the Alexandrian Church, that he openly refused to preach *fables* to the people unless he might be permitted to philosophise at home; and in our own Church, Bishop Peacock, in setting forth "the necessity and importance of the moral law of *Kinde* or moral philosophy" in opposition to those who derived all morality from Revelation, and in asserting the right of private judgment, incurred the high displeasure of the Episcopate. Parallels to these have re-appeared in our own day, and while the authors of Essays and Reviews may be regarded as antitypes of such as Bishop Peacock, Colenso approaches very nearly to the stamp of Synesius.

It is, perhaps, difficult to magnify the excitement which the publication of the first two numbers of "Colenso on the Pentateuch" has caused among the clergy of England and a portion of the laity, both of this and other countries; and in view of this fact our object will be to lay before our readers, as simply as possible, the question on which the Bishop takes issue with his brethren of the Episcopal Bench, and those who take the orthodox view of the Old Testament. Of the author himself and of his antecedents it will be sufficient to state that he took a very high degree in mathematics in the University of Cambridge, that he was for some time a master in one of the public schools of England, that he was consecrated Bishop of Natal in 1854, and that he is about fifty years of age. As a writer he had gained credit by the publication of an excellent treatise on arithmetic and algebra, and had already aspired to higher fame by a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and a few other theological works—and here, perhaps, in order at once to clear this portion of the ground, it seems to us that, so far as regards his literary reputation, the less the Bishop, who really to some extent is affected with the "scribendi cacœthes," had concerned himself with composition the better would it have been for his renown; no one, whatever his opinion may be of Colenso's views, can possibly tolerate his feeble, rambling, and even childish style, his lack of logical powers, and his inveterate habit of repeating *usque ad nauseam* facts already stated and arguments sufficiently propounded. His reasoning is essentially feminine, but with a strong dash of the redundancy of an Old Bailey lawyer.

But the garb, after all, is unimportant, and the body may even gain by the contrast; into the substance of the latter we shall look more closely. Now Part I. of "Colenso on the Pentateuch" is purely negative and destructive. It has for its object to prove that very considerable portions of the Mosaic narrative are "not historically true," and that the doctrine of the *verbal* inspiration of that portion of Scripture is untenable. The difficulties which attach to the story of the creation and the fall of man, the flood, the ark, and the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, whether as at variance with the moral nature of man, or with the results of geological and ethnological researches, are merely glanced at and acknowledged. A different field of criticism is chosen, and one more in harmony with a mind the characteristic of which is a restless love of arithmetical calculation. The Bishop takes the numbers of the Israelites who came out of Egypt as stated at 600,000 men, besides women and children—about two millions in all, and he then proceeds to start a thousand difficulties; he contemplates the whole congregation of men standing at the door of the Tabernacle, and pictures a column, the ranks of which would consist of nine men, and the depth of which would be twenty miles. He forms these two millions of human beings into a community, and places them in an encampment the area of which is equal to that of London; he stands aghast at the requisites of such a city, the supplies, the sanitary arrangements, and above all at the duties of the priests,—who being but three in number, are commanded to carry on their shoulders the carcasses of the slain bullocks to the outskirts of the camp; Joshua reads all the words of the law before "all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones and the strangers that were conversant among them." The tents of the travellers are carried on the backs of 200,000 oxen; the flocks and herds number upwards of two millions, and are supported in a "waste howling wilderness," where miracles are required to furnish even the people with a supply of water. The first-born males are 22,273, and consequently every mother of Israel must have had, on the average, *forty-two* sons. The

Israelites make the Exodus in the *fourth* generation from the sons of Jacob, and according to a reasonable calculation the males would at that time number 5,000, not 600,000; while the tribe of Dan would have boasted but twenty-seven warriors, instead of the 62,700 stated in the narrative. Sacrifices to an enormous quantity were to be offered daily by the *three* priests, to whom large portions thereof were allotted to be eaten in the most holy place, while at the Passover each priest must have sprinkled the blood of 50,000 lambs in about two hours.

Such is the line of argument pursued by Colenso in Part I., and having added thereto the force of a few passages, in which the actions approved or the commands given seem inconsistent with the idea of "the Father and Faithful Creator of all mankind," he asks his reader whether he can any longer believe that this portion of the Bible is none other than "the voice of Him that sitteth upon the Throne," and that every word, every syllable, and every letter, is the *direct* utterance of the most High.

Part II. of the work is partly negative and partly constructive. It first endeavours to show that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, and then it attempts to fix approximately the dates at which and the authors by whom the various portions of the Five Books were composed. The negative proposition is demonstrated by the exposure of anachronisms involved in such a passage as this in the Book of Genesis: "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,"—as if such a passage could possibly have been written 400 years before the royal rule existed. The series of constructive propositions are necessarily of a highly tentative character, but the general results may be thus shortly summarised. The hands of two distinct authors are traced in the first four books of the Pentateuch; one of them always uses the word Elohim as the title of the Deity throughout the book of Genesis and the first five chapters of Exodus, while the other employs the term Jehovah, even from the creation. Samuel is pointed out as the author of the Elohist parts, while the Jehovistic division is ascribed to one or more writers living in the later days of David and the early days of Solomon. Many passages, in addition to the efforts of these authors, are said to be interpolated by the hand of the Deuteronomist, whose date is fixed in the reign of Josiah, and who was perhaps the prophet Jeremiah. The Psalms of David are analysed with great labour and some skill for the purpose of pointing out that it was during the life of David that the title Jehovah was brought into general use to supplement or to take the place of the former title Elohim. The latter word is the general name for Deity in the Hebrew language, and consequently may be used of a heathen god. Jehovah is the proper personal name of Him who is declared emphatically to be the *covenant God* of the Hebrews. Elohim in the English version is rendered God, Jehovah is translated Lord. The narrative of the Elohist is connected throughout, and never assumes a knowledge of facts; the Jehovistic passages are more disjointed fragments, and require the Elohist link to render them intelligible. The first, and perhaps the most striking, instance of the double nature of the Pentateuch is given in the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis; in them two distinct and, as Colenso maintains by the statement of some examples, two contradictory accounts, are given of the creation. The Elohist occupies the first chapter and the first three verses of the second, where the Jehovist takes up the narrative. The Jehovist is also the sole narrator of the Fall. Finally, as the two component parts are distinguishable even in the English version, the ordinary reader is conjured to take his Bible and work out the theory for himself.

So far then we have endeavoured, in a space that is too narrow for a just explanation, to convey to the reader some idea of the scheme of the first two parts of Colenso on the Pentateuch; and the first question that arises is, Are these things *new*? and, indeed, as far as our experience goes, great numbers of persons are perfectly satisfied, and delighted if they are only assured that these things are *not new*. Of course they are not. Difficulties brought to light by science and by all powers external to the book itself, have a birth coeval with the dawn of that science and the discovery of those powers. But internal difficulties—and on these Colenso takes his stand—are co-existent with themselves, or rather with the intelligence that detects them. We entirely agree with Colenso, that his arguments and discoveries are not new, though, as he says, it is very possible that they were new to him, and certainly so to the bulk of his readers. What he has done, whether well or ill, whether advisedly or not, is simply this: he has put before the public, wise and ignorant, theologian and man of the world, in a readable and tangible shape, questions and objections which, for the present generation, at any rate, have been hidden away in Greek folios, in musty English treatises of the eighteenth century, and the by no means *popular literature* of the German Neologists. At the same time he claims, and probably justly, the credit of perfect originality in certain portions of his work; but he goes no further. Indeed, the Elohist and Jehovistic controversy has long been a grand battle-field for the Germans; and we have the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, that many of Colenso's objections were utterly refuted by Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Watson. As to such a difficulty as the double history of the creation, *that* was transparent to a Jew who was the contemporary of the Saviour, for (we quote from the "Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology.") "Philo," observing that Moses described the creation of the

universe twice—once in the first chapter of Genesis, and again in the second chapter—supposed that the first chapter contained an account of the intelligible world, *κόσμος νοητός*, and of the heavenly or ideal man, of whom the protoplast is the ignoble antitype, the creation of this Adam being described in the second chapter." The contempt of the same writer for the historical narrative of the Pentateuch is notorious, and yet he is imitated and panegyrised by such men as Clement and Origen, and surpassed in his wildest efforts of allegorical interpretation by the latter. These fathers, renowned in all ages of the Church, belonged to a school which succeeded in refining away the recorded facts of the early Jewish history, and therefore, though their method was different, they clearly venerated or believed the statements of Moses not one whit more than Colenso.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact in connection with the Bishop of Natal and this book, is his resolution to retain his office in the Church. We think him bound to resign, and for one very simple and substantial reason. He admits that he cannot conscientiously use the *entire* Liturgical Forms which he must use if he administer the Sacrament of Baptism or perform the rite of Ordination, and on his own principles he should be the last man to dare such holy things against his conscience. We are therefore at a loss to understand upon what grounds, satisfactory to himself, he has publicly contradicted the assumption of his inability to discharge the duties of his episcopal office. But we do not feel called upon to join in a general chorus of unchristian denunciation, or to aid the cause of legal and social persecution.

It is possible that the law may become a necessity, but social excommunication is only too speedy a consequence of an opposition to received opinions. The clergy may feel bound to sign an assurance that their faith is unshaken even after a careful study of "Colenso on the Pentateuch," (for we presume that no man has ventured to endorse protests against that of which he is ignorant); but it is not necessary that sarcasm, scurrility, and violent invective should be made the allies of an impregnable orthodoxy. The temptations to avowed scepticism are not so alluring to a bishop, but that he may, at least, retain the credit of an infatuated sincerity. The day has long since past when free thought was a synonym for irreligion, and when scepticism could be ascribed only to the passions of the libertine or the pride of the intellectualist. To use the words of the Bishop of London, quoted by Colenso, "we cannot for a moment admit any theory which, teaching that as clergymen they are bound to an unquestioning adherence to the Church's standards, removes the clergy out of the category of inquiring honest men." We appeal to the words of St. Augustine, equally applicable and more authoritative, that "the grand purpose of the Christian is that he should behold with the eye of reason also that which he already grasps with the confidence of faith." It is idle to call the attacks of Colenso "puerile and trite," and yet to be panic-stricken at the sound of his name; truth must triumph, and where the side of truth is, there at least security may also exist. If the clergy of the Church of England are aroused to a more minute, a more critical and accurate knowledge of that Scripture which they assume to teach, if the Universities are stirred up to prepare the candidates for holy orders by imparting even a moderate knowledge of theology, no great regret will pursue the publication of Colenso's book even in the most orthodox minds. The laity have a right to look to the clergy for guidance or instruction in such a crisis as the inquiries of the age are constituting. The hands of the latter, if they show themselves men, may yet be strengthened by the co-operation of the former, but assuredly it is not enough to appoint a committee of convocation, to issue mandatory letters* of excommunication, or to take refuge behind the signature of a thousand pretexts.

English Universities.

(Concluded from No. 50.)

The contemplation of youth in its struggles for glory, either in the stern field of war or in the more placid, yet not less varied contests of peace, is peculiarly interesting to every generous mind; indeed, if it is an impossibility to form an adequate conception of the frigid degradation of the man who is unmoved at the spectacle of a gallant people expending, with careless extravagance, the best blood of its young men, in the cause of liberty or patriotism, surely it is, at least, difficult to imagine that the toils and victories, the hopes and fears which attend the career of industrious youth can fail to excite the attention either of the philosopher or professed man of the world; and if those actions, in which the intellect and genius are concerned, those of the Senate, the Forum, or the schools, are admirable, it is, at least, pardonable to bestow a passing approval upon the efforts of the body and the results of physical strength and courage.

We have discussed the higher topics of interest in connection with one of the English Universities. Its constitution, its connection with the Established Church, and the mutual influences of these two institutions upon each other have been briefly explained, and the various objects of study, with the methods employed for ascertaining proficiency in them, have been surveyed. The governing and educational bodies, as well as the beneficiaries or recipients of academical rewards, have been partially enumerated and described; but there is one class for which all this vast machinery is, or rather ought to be, set in motion, and upon which a passing word has as

yet been scarcely expended. To understand Cambridge and Oxford it is necessary to understand their students; to forget them would be to describe England and forget her middle-class, to describe Paris and ignore its *sans-culottes*.

In the summary taken of the members of the Universities last year, the students or undergraduates were found to number 1526. The increase during the present century has been steady and decided. Unfortunately there has been during the same period a strong concentration of students upon the two great Colleges, Trinity and St. John's, which now bear upon their books more than half the whole body of undergraduates. Considerable as the aggregate undoubtedly is, it perhaps falls short of the multitude which the wealth, the desire of knowledge, and the love of ancient places and ancient things characteristic of England might reasonably furnish. How far the defect is to be attributed to the system we cannot stay to examine, but in any inquiry the immense demands of trade in a commercial country and the prevalence of Nonconformist opinions in England must not be forgotten. Due weight must also be given to the age of the students and to the expense of the University career.

Now, so far as age is concerned, the custom, not the rule, of the two great English Universities is absolutely singular. The average age at which students enter is eighteen, and of course, therefore, the average age of departure will be between twenty-one and twenty-two. Many Universities are mere schools on a large scale; that aspect is the especial object of avoidance at Oxford and Cambridge, and experience shows that, at least, under their systems, the career of younger students is decidedly unsuccessful. As to the expense, perhaps no great error will be incurred by the estimate that £200 a year is a sufficient sum to cover every reasonable outlay; while we are quite sure that very many students who possess that peculiar gift of economy so natural to age, presumptively so rare in youth, content themselves with a much smaller expenditure. Many a vivid novel and many a dry discourse has been written to paint in feeble yet extravagant colours, the horrors of youthful recklessness, the unavailing regret of after-life, and the miserable despair of the despoiled parent. Who doubts prodigality in youth any more than swindling in manhood? Yet one has in it generous traits; it even commands our sympathies, and at least deserves pity rather than anger; the other, if successful, is not more condemned. We are not the advocates of folly or intemperance, but we are not void of the suspicion that in a money-getting age like the present, parsimony may well be left to take care of itself, and that the open hand of youth may be too quickly closed by the niggardliness of age; for in our opinion, there is more reason to apprehend that the deviation from the right path will be the result not of liberal impulse, but of a circumspect calculation. Yet our estimate of expense, though considerable, does not absolutely exclude persons of more limited means. So richly are the colleges endowed, and so carefully and honestly are the various scholarships, exhibitions, or other pecuniary aids now awarded to students of merit, that every undergraduate who possesses talent in a fair degree, may obtain such a share of the founders' liberality, as to render the expense of his education comparatively trifling.

As to discipline, the grand theory is to avoid unnecessary interference. The idea of liberty in its most tangible form is the privilege or right of being *let alone*. An Englishman hates paternal governments, imbued with the spirit of Paul Pry, and worked with the machinery of Bureaucracy; and, perhaps, the great glory of the University authorities is, that they have never been busybodies; they assert their existence by a moderate exaction of attendance at Divine Service in their chapels, and at dinner in their halls; and the very reasonable regulation that the hour of 10 o'clock in the evening, and midnight at the latest, shall be the limit of absence from the precincts of the college; they know well enough that general sound sense and the self-respect that waits on liberty are better guardians than petty restraints and official surveillance. Nothing, however, is more striking to the stranger, and, perhaps, nothing more gratifying to a generous and vigorous mind, than the physical contests by which the intellectual contests are varied, which are reckoned scarcely second to these, and which have, perhaps, contributed beyond all other means to the preservation of the physical and moral energies of the Saxon race. They are fatal to morbid melancholy and false sentimentalism; they help to adjust the balance between the material and spiritual agencies, and promote that strong, plain, practical common sense which is characteristic of the English nation. They are the best antidotes to the seductive influences of wealth and luxury, and annihilate indolence and effeminacy. So long as they are cultivated with the present devotion, the men of Oxford and Cambridge will never incur the censure of the satirist, or be reckoned among the

"Sponsi Penelope, nebulones, Alcinoique
In cute curanda plus æquo operata juvenus."

Tennis, football, rackets, and cricket are practised with ardour; huge pedestrian undertakings, emulating the forced marches of the swiftest of armies; games almost Olympic, with prizes for the fleetest runners and the stoutest jumpers, the most powerful in "putting the stone," all are pressed into the service of physical development. But the deepest energies and the most profound enthusiasm are reserved for the contests of the bar. No toil, no self-denial is considered too high a price to pay for victory in the struggles between the rival Colleges, or the grand annual match between the Universities. It is calculated that nearly one fourth of the whole body of undergraduates is engaged in the

boating contests in the course of the year. The violence of that particular species of exercise, and the concentration of vast energies upon a race as brief as it is severe, constitute an ordeal which necessitates the most perfect health associated with the most consummate skill. The crews under the command of captains who are always disciplinarians, and occasionally martinetts, learn to do and to endure, to resist the wine-cup, the pleasant dishes, and the seductive pipe, and to subsist on fare rendered palatable by Spartan heroism and stoic patience.

"Qui stultet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit."

It is true that the English climate is peculiarly adapted for such pursuits, and that in their fullest development they would be simply impossible under a more fervid sun; but wherever institutions are planted for the education of youth in its broadest sense, the means will doubtless be found, if the spirit be not wanting, to kill listless indolence and nourish self-imposed toil.

Those of our readers who have followed us to this the fourth notice which we have taken of the system of one of the English Universities, will readily have perceived how much has been omitted that might have been said with advantage, and how incomplete is the picture, not merely in detail, but even in outline. At least, however, we have endeavoured rather to portray the most striking features than crowd the canvass with insignificant accessories.

Perhaps, however, it will not be out of place to say a few words in conclusion on the establishment of Universities in countries where they do not yet exist at all, or only in an infantine condition, especially in relation to communities which boast an English descent, speak the English language, and respect or retain English manners. Of all the problems which such communities will be called upon to solve, none will equal in difficulty and importance that of education, for it is the solution of all others. Yet the advantages in this particular department of social science are all on the side of youthful communities. They have not to contend against the *incubus* of six centuries. If abuses are to exist they will be the creation of those who suffer under them, and not the "dam-nosa hereditas" bequeathed to the innocent heir. These communities, then, will take care that their educational institutions are supported by endowments, and not by annual grants from the Government of the day. They will endeavour that the principles upon which those institutions are founded shall be firm to resist the caprice of fancy or passion, yet capable of leading, not obstructing, the march of true public opinion. How far religious differences shall be ignored by recognising no particular sect or form as the established one, or whether, on the other hand, each great religious body shall possess its particular place of education and its particular endowment, is a question of paramount difficulty; *suppressed* rather than *solved* in England by the force of circumstances, but which can and must be definitively settled under new institutions. It is not, perhaps, an empty conjecture that in cases where common struggles and common victories have made a united people the grand consideration, that the men who compose the nation are fellow-Christians and fellow citizens may overcome the influences of antagonistic or rival forms of religion. At least, no preference will be given to clergy over laity, or to laity over clergy; the inquiry will be who is the best adapted by his intellectual power to fill the teacher's chair,—not what is his creed, whether he is a layman or a clergyman, or what is his particular set of opinions. Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of action for all, teachers and scholars, will be the pride of a free country. In studies, ancient literature will occupy the foremost place, and amidst the contemplation of the grand thoughts and actions of Greeks and Romans, the language, in which those thoughts and actions are clothed will be appreciated no less diligently. History, and the philosophy of history will deeply occupy minds which have yet before them the task of moulding, if not of creating new forms of government, under circumstances that have no precedent. Mathematics, extended perhaps beyond expertness in the use of the "calculus," and physical science will not be disregarded; and a place will doubtless be found for such sciences as the Philosophy of the Mind, Jurisprudence, Politics, and Political Economy. To such studies as these, however, the intellect of the new world will rush perhaps too eagerly, and in a country where genius readily forces its way to political power the temptation to pursue so *specious* a form of learning will, perhaps, be irresistible. To train the intellect to the highest state of efficiency, to elevate the character, and to fill the mind with noble aspirations, will be the great objects of education; not to teach many things badly, or to fill the wearied and senseless brain with a thousand facts or dates, like a storehouse of ill-assorted goods. These great objects will be attained by concentration, not by distraction of the intellectual powers. Ample rewards will not be wanting to stimulate industry, and the problem will, perhaps, be solved of exacting continuous exertion for corresponding reward.

In such or similar projects for the progress of his nation, surely no true patriot will hesitate to join. He will recognise the doctrine that moral progress and material progress must advance with equal steps, and that the former is impossible, except by the advance of education. He will remember that the triumphs of literature are less costly, equally honourable, and more durable than those of statesmanship or war, and he will acknowledge that education alone can give light, and that that alone can render possible the union of absolute popular liberty with perfect order and security.

LORD BOLINGBROKE.*

Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was a noted man in a great era, and so played his part as a politician and a statesman as to entitle him to the remembrance, if not to the gratitude, of posterity; but his fame as an orator, as the leader of the House of Commons, as the Foreign Secretary of State at a critical period of our national history and of the history of Europe, is almost eclipsed by the recollection of his vices or, perhaps, we ought to say of the vices ascribed to him in an age when men esteemed virtuous thought it lawful and right to blacken the characters of, and to unscrupulously malign their political opponents. We do not mean that Bolingbroke does not merit the censure of his biographers. He was a drunkard, a profligate, a gambler, a faithless husband, and false to friendship, and it is no excuse for him, though it has been urged in palliation of his offences, that he was neither worse nor better than his compeers—that Addison sometimes took too much wine, that profligacy was fashionable, that clergymen gambled, that the observance of the seventh commandment was not in vogue and was even considered vulgar, and that sordid ambition sanctified ingratitude. That all his faults were exaggerated, and that many of the charges brought against him were untrue, we cannot doubt. He may have been a four-bottle man, and in his early life have evenly divided his waking hours between hard work and hard drinking; but it is absurd to suppose that during the whole of his ministerial career—when he was transacting an immense amount of public business as Secretary of State, intriguing at Court, managing the House of Commons, and writing a multitude of diplomatic letters and despatches,—that his nights were regularly passed in swilling champagne. There is sufficient evidence that he had more than one mistress, and we may even go so far as to say the presumption is he had, at least, half a dozen; but when we are told that all the prostitutes and maid-servants who came in his way were the partners in or victims of his insatiable lust, we reject the tale, because we know it cannot be true. We may admit that Bolingbroke was in his private life rather worse than the worst of his contemporaries, without representing him as an almost incredible monster of viciousness. It is, however, not with the man, but with the statesman, that we are concerned. A biography which reproduced *in extenso* all the scandalous stories about Bolingbroke that have come down to us would gratify the lewd, as well as the envious pignies who are delighted to find that the giants have weaknesses that degrade them in some respects to the level of the lowest; but such a biography would answer no good purpose—it would not even reflect the manners of a bygone generation. A public man with Bolingbroke's vanity and excessive greed of praise has no genuine private life. Even in retirement all his actions are stagey, and he tries, though he may not altogether succeed, to play the hero to his valet. Unfortunately for the fame of Bolingbroke, his public career was, so far as he was personally concerned, a career of shame, and though he rendered essential services to his country, he did so in spite of himself.

Henry St. John, in 1701, being then twenty-two years of age, entered the House of Commons for the family borough of Wootton Bassett. Harley, who from being almost a Puritan and a Republican, had become a Tory and a High Churchman, was Speaker, and leader of the Ministry, and to him, notwithstanding the Whig proclivities of his father and grandfather, the young member attached himself; and he had prudential reasons for so doing. The Whigs were then in what appeared to be a hopeless minority; and moreover, even 150 years ago, Whig exclusiveness was notorious, and political aspirants knew that talent, unless it appeared in a cadet of a great Whig house, was not a sufficient recommendation for promotion. St. John was received by Harley with cordiality, and allowed to take a leading part in the business of the session. He soon evinced unscrupulous partisanship. The Tories were not satisfied with the sweets of office, though in those days, when Ministers were sometimes paid by commission, and when their patronage was bought and sold, English ministers gained as much if not more money than honour; but they sought to utterly crush their political opponents. The Duke of Portland, Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, and the Earl of Orford were impeached, and the main charge was that they had negotiated the Partition Treaties. Their accusers could not, however, frame articles of impeachment that had even a shadow of justification for the charge of high treason, and in this extremity they petitioned King William to dismiss from his councils statesmen who had not been con-

* The Life of St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. By Thomas Mac-knight. London: Chapman and Hall.)

victed of any offence. The Lords fixed a day for the trial, but the Commons did not appear to prosecute. In the same session occurred the affair of the Kentish petition. The grand jury and freeholders of Kent petitioned the House of Commons to have regard to the dangerous state of Europe, and to grant the King adequate supplies. The Tories voted this petition scandalous, insolent, and seditious, and the gentlemen connected with it were imprisoned. Both these tyrannical proceedings were warmly supported by Bolingbroke, who could not, like the country squires, plead ignorance, and who thus early, in defiance of what he knew to be right, sought the favour of the majority by pandering to its prejudices and its unreasoning hate.

But Parliament had other work on hand besides the impeachment of Whigs and the persecution of the Kentish petitioners. William had recommended from the throne that the Act of Settlement should be framed, limiting the succession to the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body being Protestants. It is no reproach to the country gentlemen that they were averse to exclude the direct heir of James II. from the throne. Why should they condemn an untried man? And as to religion, they were repeatedly assured that the young prince only awaited the fitting opportunity for entering into avowed communion with the Church of England. Yet they could not, without precipitating a revolution which they did not desire, and for which they were not prepared, refuse to make the required settlement. They had their revenge. Instigated by dislike to the House of Hanover, they rivalled the Whigs in their zeal for securing the liberties of the people by stringently limiting the power of the Crown. Our Constitutional liberty is in no small degree due to the unpopularity of the first Hanoverian sovereigns with the gentry of England. Bolingbroke at once made a parliamentary reputation by the part he took in the debate on the Act of Succession. His early triumph in the House of Commons is not surprising. He was handsome, engaging in his manners, gifted with very rare talents, and with a genius for eloquence, and above all, he manifested an aptitude for business in that Assembly, which then, as now, did not allow eloquence to compensate for the lack of that practical administrative tact which is zealous about small as well as great matters, and can supervise the comparatively unimportant details of a department.

The death of King William was followed by the formation of the Godolphin administration, and though Bolingbroke did not immediately obtain office, it advanced the interests of his party, and assured him of a place at no distant date. He missed no opportunity of creeping into favour with those who had places to bestow. He advocated the Occasional Conformity Bill, the object of which was to make it imperative on the holders of temporal offices to take the Sacrament at fixed intervals, and so to exclude Dissenters from office. This bill was rejected by the Lords. In the celebrated case of Ashby and White, St. John maintained the doctrine that the House of Commons had the right to determine who could or could not vote at elections. The Lords again interfered on behalf of constitutional liberty, and they were supported by the people. The zeal of the young member did not long go unrewarded. Marlborough—who was then gaining those victories, which now-a-days it is the fashion to call barren victories, but which gave England European influence and laid the foundation of her vast commerce—exerted his influence with the Queen, and Harley was made Secretary of State, and his friend St. John Secretary at War and of the Marines. To Marlborough, and to Harley, St. John owed his speedy advancement, and he repaid the patronage of the one with unscrupulous treachery, and the friendship of the other with bitter hostility. There is no doubt that whilst he was professing deep-felt gratitude to Marlborough, he was a consenting party to the back-stair intrigues of Harley against the great Captain, and in 1708, when Harley resigned the seals of office, St. John ceased to be Secretary at War. He had betrayed his patron, though not with the intention of serving his friend.

After two years' retirement St. John was, in 1710, appointed Secretary of State for the Northern department—a position equivalent to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; his friend Harley being made Chancellor of the Exchequer. A coolness was soon apparent between them, brought about by the opposition of St. John to Harley's attempt to impugn the good faith of his predecessors in the Treasury; this was the occasion of the quarrel—the motive was St. John's jealousy of Harley. The enmity of St. John was increased by Harley being raised to the peerage under the title of Earl of Oxford, though, if he had been far-seeing he would have rejoiced at his rival being removed from the House of Commons. But he did not rest until he, too, was

made a peer. He was mortified that he did not get so high a rank as Harley, but ere long he found more substantial cause for regretting the foolish step that he had taken. The House of Commons had become dominant, and he who swayed it was master of the situation. As soon as St. John became Lord Bolingbroke, Walpole seized upon the brilliant and powerful position that he had abandoned. But for this fatal mistake, the daring ambition of Henry St. John would probably have been completely gratified.

We need not dwell on the tedious negotiations that led to the peace of Utrecht further than to remark that for political considerations Louis XIV. was allowed to dictate terms to, instead of accepting them from, the victorious allies, and that Bolingbroke interposed delays when it suited his purpose, and cared not for peace, except when he thought it would promote his own advancement. The peace of Utrecht was in itself a poor return for the sacrifices made by this country, and for the brilliant triumphs of Marlborough; but fortunately the war had brought during its progress advantages that could not be thrown away by a selfish faction intent only upon its political aggrandisement. The Whigs thought Marlborough and the country had been sacrificed; the Tories thought the country had been saved from the dictatorship of Marlborough. Taking a hint from Lord Macaulay, but, by the way, not acknowledging it, Mr. Macknight quotes from the "Letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury" a description of the performance of Addison's play of Cato, when both factions attended and applauded the play, and Bolingbroke called the actor, Booth, into his box, and before the audience presented him with fifty guineas for so well defending the cause of liberty against a perpetual dictator. But the peace did not bring Bolingbroke the influence he expected, and to his intense mortification the Commercial Treaty with France was rejected by Parliament.

Bolingbroke now turned his attention to getting rid of Oxford, and to accomplish this he paid most assiduous court to the Queen's favourites. He was aware that Her Majesty could not live long, and he pressed forward his measures with vigour. We know not whether he thought the House of Hanover would succeed to the throne—most likely he did not, but at all events he corresponded with the Jacobites. Mr. Macknight very fairly states the case as to Bolingbroke's shuffling policy. "It is idle to say the Protestant Succession was in no danger. It is worse than idle, it is simply ridiculous to represent him as a real friend to the succession of the House of Hanover. Neither had he till the Queen's death fully made up his mind to bring in the Pretender. He showed no attachment to one cause more than to the other; but still thought to reserve to himself the power of dealing with the question according to what he thought might best suit the interests of his party, that is, of himself."

Never was lawless ambition more signally punished. At length the object for which he had been faithful to his patron, his friend, and to his party—the object for which he had trifled with the best interests of his country, and turned traitor to the House of Hanover—was within his grasp. At length his intrigues had prevailed with the poor Queen; and on the 27th of July, 1714, Oxford was dismissed without a pension, and without a dukedom that had been promised. Oxford was dismissed on a Tuesday. On the evening of the same day, whilst St. John was celebrating his triumph by giving a dinner to some leading Whigs, Anne was taken ill from the agitation produced by the struggle of Oxford to keep his place, or rather of Bolingbroke to have him dismissed; the two following days she continued indisposed; on Friday she was speechless, and on Sunday she died. Bolingbroke wrote to Swift—"The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this! and how does Fortune banter us!" At the moment of his crowning triumph, worked for so zealously and so shamefully, Bolingbroke was ruined. He was an infidel and cared not for Divine Providence; but surely he must, in the bitter agony of his disappointment, have thought of Nemesis.

Bolingbroke beheld his enemies in power, and George I. ascend the throne without opposition. He wrote an abject letter of professing loyalty to the King, but his hypocrisy could neither save his place nor his fortune. A month afterwards he was deprived of his office, and retired to the country, where he remained in terrible suspense till the following spring. Then he came to town to attend Parliament, heard that the Whigs had learnt, and remembered the lesson of revenge that he had taught them, and that they in turn intended to persecute their political enemies, and that he was to be one of the first victims. He knew that in his case there would be no difficulty in drawing up articles of impeachment; and, trembling for his liberty, and even for his life, he fled in haste to Paris, disguised as a valet to

the French messenger. In default of his appearance a bill was passed by both Houses, attainting him of high treason, and his name was erased from the roll of Peers.

The rest of Bolingbroke's career is of less political or historical importance, but it is worth attention both from the strangeness thereof, and from the light it throws on the tactics of parties. A few months after his arrival in Paris Bolingbroke became Secretary of State to the Pretender, and so far from this offending, it secured him a great deal of warm and active sympathy at home. He seems to have served the Pretender faithfully, and we may believe in his sincerity because he could gain nothing by treachery. He was summarily dismissed from the service of the Pretender upon the accusation of some women whom he had offended, and we cannot blame James for assuming on slight testimony that such an unscrupulous intriguer and avowed traitor was in turn false to him. After a long exile the English Government very wisely permitted him to return home, for the act of clemency took from him the pretence of martyrdom; it conciliated many who were not altogether friendly to the House of Hanover, and it produced the impression that the Government was confident of its strength, or it would not suffer a known enemy to be at large. Of course Bolingbroke busied himself with sneaking intrigues, and proved that his talents for deception and promoting discord had not been impaired by his ignominious flight and exile. So far from feeling grateful for the permission to return to his native land, and to enjoy his hereditary estates—wonderful concessions from a new dynasty to one who had intrigued against it in secret and openly served its enemy—he thought that he was very ill-used, and that he was not indebted to Walpole. So he put himself in communication with Pulteney, who was a thorough Whig, but not ashamed to use such a tool as Bolingbroke. Once more his hopes were high, and he dreamt of being Minister to George I. That was impossible, but it is probable that he was about to receive some mark of royal favour when the King was stricken with apoplexy and died. Again his crooked plots and unrighteous schemes were frustrated by the sudden death of the monarch.

Bolingbroke did not abandon himself to despair. He intrigued with the new King's mistress, but to his intense disgust found that George II., in matters of business, listened to his wife and not to his mistress, and that the Queen was the firm supporter of Walpole's administration. It is usual to feel a little pity for the disappointments of the worst of mankind, but there was so much poetical justice in the disappointments of Bolingbroke that they inspire a sentiment of satisfaction. We find him, for instance, doing the dirty work for the Whigs with his pen. He reviled the Stuarts, he reviled Walpole, and the meet reward he received for such services was that Pulteney hinted to him that it would be better for the cause if he left the country, as his presence rendered it odious. Bending to the mortifying necessity, and half afraid that Walpole might punish him for his ungrateful and unseemly virulence, Bolingbroke left England in 1735, and went to reside in France. Three years afterwards he returned, and intrigued with Prince Frederick, but he found little encouragement, and again retired to the continent. He finally came to England in 1744, and took up his abode at the family mansion at Battersea. He was intimate with Pope, attended the death-bed of the poet, swore there was nothing worth living for but friendship, "sobbed like a child" when all was over, and—five years after, did his best to blacken Pope's character. Of Bolingbroke it may be truthfully said, he never had a patron he did not betray, or a friend he did not scandalously malign.

The wily plotter had made it all right with Prince Frederick. The King was old, the advent of Frederick to the throne seemed near at hand, and when that event took place Bolingbroke was to be created an Earl. Once more his calculations were confounded by a royal death—Prince Frederick unexpectedly died in March, 1751. This was his last disappointment. After long suffering, Bolingbroke died on the 12th of the following December.

With regard to Bolingbroke's philosophical writings, we may remark, that though they display undoubted merit, it is certain that his fame does not rest on them, but rather they are remembered because the writer of them was otherwise notorious. His infidelity was, we are inclined to think, of use to the cause of religion, for it roused the spirit of the Christian world, and the good effects of the revival did not cease with the refutation of his heresies. Mr. Macknight observes in the concluding paragraph of his able work:—"It has been endeavoured in these pages to give a just delineation of his life as it really was. Even from drawing any general conclusion of my own, I deliberately refrain. The facts must speak for themselves." The facts do speak for themselves. Putting aside Bolingbroke's vicious private life, and only looking to his public life, we cannot resist the

conclusion that, as a politician, a statesman, and an author, Bolingbroke, above all men whose deeds are recorded or whose writings are preserved, merits the detestation and execration of mankind.

PUBLISHING IN THE CONFEDERACY.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

War being the great present business of this people, it is natural that our first efforts in publishing should be military works. The defence of our rivers, harbours, mountain passes, is at this moment a more urgent business than the poetic contemplation or fanciful description of those features of Nature. The founding of cannon and manufacture of rifles and ammunition—nay, the tanning of leather and collecting boots and shoes, are our philosophy and *belles lettres*. We are too young to woo the Tuneful Nine. In truth, we are only being born, for during the evil days of the Compromises this people did not live; it was in embryo, and was in danger, too, of being choked. To be sure, it is a Herculean child, and strangles serpents in its cradle; but still it is an infant; it starts on first principles to learn the first elements.—And the first elements of national existence are the principles of artillery practice, drill march, storm and victory. The books which teach all the details of these fundamental arts and sciences are the primers and primary reading lessons; and these have been provided in very creditable quantity and style by the enterprising house (principally) of West & Johnston, of Richmond. They are not generally new books, nor is it needful that they should be. *The Practice of War*, as inculcated by Jomini and acted on by Napoleon, is no bad ground-work, subject to modification, of course, according to the nature of the country. The works also on special departments of the Service, prepared by boards of officers for the use of the army of the United States, are to us as valuable as to our enemies; and we have a good right to most of these, inasmuch as the said boards of officers consisted mainly of Southern officers, and bear on their face the sanction of some of our present generals, and of others who have fallen in our cause. Accordingly the publishers have done a good service in reprinting this handsome volume, entitled, "Instructions in Heavy Artillery." It is a book of 272 pages, largely illustrated with excellent plates; a beautiful specimen of typography, and printed on very fine paper. Indeed, no one would suppose that it had been got up in a time of war and blockade, for it would be creditable to any publishing house even in days of peaceful trade. To the credit of South Carolina, it should be mentioned that this work, as well as all the best and handsomest specimens of luxurious typography before us, was printed by Messrs. Evans & Cogswell, of Charleston. It is pleasing to find that even while Charleston was shut up by blockade, constantly threatened with bombardment, and half devastated by conflagration, quiet and assiduous printers were still composedly composing, as if they were not under an enemy's guns, for the production of these lessons of war. We have a peculiar respect for types drawn up in line and column at such a time and for such a service. To them more aptly than to any other types, may be addressed the poets apostrophic—

Oh! silent myriad army, whose true metal
Ne'er flinched nor bleached before the Despot wrong!
Ye brethren linked in immortal battle
With o'ergrown falsehoods tyrannous and strong;
Fragments of strength and beauty standing idle,
Each in its place until the appointed day,
Then, swift as wheels the squadron to the bridle,
Ye spring into the long compact array!

The praise of excellent typography must also be awarded to the *Ordnance Manual*, another elaborate work of West Point origin, containing 475 pages with plates, and neatly bound in cloth; but in a still more emphatic manner, to the splendid work of Mahan, on "Permanent Fortification, and the Attack and Defence of Permanent Works," with its large folio of plates; both of which are due to the enterprise of West and Johnston, and have also been printed for them by the Charleston printers. Professor Mahan's book is a serious undertaking for publishers at any time, and at this time especially, is one which involves immense expense. The subject, however, will long be a deeply interesting one to this country, not only while the war lasts, but so long as we shall have a single ford or pass undefended round all our vast frontier, and a vindictive enemy on the watch for crevices in our armour. The publication, then, although brought out in a style of great elegance, and even luxury, will doubtless take its stand and keep it, as one of the needful accessories of every military library. Of the intrinsic interest of these books we say nothing. They are already judged, and passed.

"A Manual of Military Surgery." For the use of Surgeons of the Confederate States Army. By Julian Chisholm, M.D., Professor, &c. A neat volume of 500 pages, giving ample directions for the treatment of every species of wound, organization of hospitals, ambulance corps, and the like. Its appendix contains the "Rules and Regulations of the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army."

Mahan's "Treatise on Field Fortifications" is another well-known military work of high character. It is brought out in a small and portable form, which aims at none of the typographical elegance of the other volumes above mentioned. It is clearly printed, however, and supplied with the requisite illustrative diagrams. It gives full instructions for the construction and defence of all kinds of intrenchments, and has a valuable chapter on the passage of rivers by every species of military bridges.

"The Judge Advocate's Vade Mecum" was noticed by us a few days ago. It is essential both to soldiers and civilians; to officers and to Judges of Military Courts.

There is also quite a swarm of smaller publications of Messrs. West and Johnston:—"Volunteer's Camp and Field Book"—"Carey's Bayonet Exercise," with plates—"Cavalry Drill and Bayonet Exercise"—"Napoleon's Maxims of War"—"Field Manual," for ordnance officers, &c., &c. No need to dwell upon these, which pretend not to be ornamental, but only useful.

It is needless to say that the "Army Regulations" of the Confederate States form an indispensable volume. Two rival editions are published—one by Mr. Randolph, the other by West and Johnston. Each is sanctioned by the Secretary of War; and, what is singular, each is the authorized and only correct edition.

The "Trooper's Manual," and "Volunteer's Manual" are published by Morris. They are in that compact and useful size which fit them for the knapsack. And here we may take our leave of the War literature.

There is, however, an octavo volume before us, which does not treat of the technical arrangements of the march, the

hospital or the battle, though, indeed, it also is strictly a war-book.

"Cause and Contrast," by Mr. McMahon, has a title which perplexes many. On perusal, however, it proves to be a philosophical and historical essay, exposing the nature and origin of the *cause* of the South, and the essential *contrast* between Northern and Southern character and society—or, as Mr. Seward justly termed it, the "irrepressible conflict." Then, the title is not only alliterative, but almost tautological also; for what is the Cause, if not the Contrast? What is the Contrast but the Cause? As the divorce suits say, there was "an incompatibility," and that is the first and last cause. Mr. McMahon gives a learned review, mythological, hagiological, and Egyptological, of the history of slavery in all nations; and exposes the hypocrisy and atrocity of the Lincoln Government and Republican faction with right good will, but with a violence of passion which we regret. Nobody like McMahon to scathe a Puritan. Why could he not be good-humoured like us? There is no use in calling names, especially such very hard names, that the persons scathed by them will never understand what their learned vilifier may possibly mean. The author draws a parallel, for example, between Mr. Lincoln and King Cambyse. Well, it is probable Mr. Lincoln may feel flattered by being likened unto that celebrated character in Shakespeare. Then he says Mr. Buchanan behaved like "the traitor son of Carioth;" and goes the length of terming Seward (Oh, fie!) Ahmad Khamakin! The volume, nevertheless, repays a reading; and we are pleased to perceive that Mr. McMahon also is preparing a history of the war.

The reader sees that it is all war. This work also, "Cause and Contrast," is war to the knife; and undoubtedly our books will breathe forth nothing but slaughter, at least, until the famous "six months after ratification of a Treaty of Peace."

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

RICHMOND, February 27, 1863.

The removal of the bulk of the Federal "Army of the Potomac" from its position so long held beyond Fredericksburg, has altogether changed the character of the meditated attack on Richmond by "Fighting Joe Hooker." It is now supposed that the design of the Yankee commander is a combined movement upon the capital by land and water, the army to be pushed forward from Suffolk, either *via* Petersburg, or by pontoon bridges across the mouth of the Appomattox, while a fleet of iron-clad gunboats ascends James River to assail the batteries of Drewry's Bluff, or what the Yankees insist upon calling Fort Darling. This purpose may have been conceived for weeks or months, but the withdrawal of Hooker's forces was undoubtedly sudden. There are those who maintain that it was a matter of absolute necessity that the Federal army should be placed, as it were, under lock and key, to check the desertions which were fast reducing it to a skeleton, and that Fortress Monroe was selected as a place of transfer, both as affording large accommodations for troops within the walls, and as a good *point d'appui* for future operations. Desertions were numerous beyond question from the line of the Rappahannock, but I cannot suppose that the Yankee army was in danger of disintegration from this cause, or that in itself it furnished the reason for an entire change of plan with the Commander-in-Chief. It is more probable that the Generals of Division, influenced by the dispirited and even mutinous condition of the troops, were unwilling to make another attempt to carry the entrenchments of General Lee, or else that Hooker himself, despairing of good roads before the middle of April, and committed to a speedy advance upon the Confederate capital—the "vipers' nest," which is to be purged of its reptiles before the 1st of May—determined to try another, and, as he hoped, a more expeditious approach. All this is mere speculation, however, while the removal of the main body of the enemy from Fredericksburg is a fact. As for what they intend doing, time must develop the same, and the preparations of the Confederate generals to meet them.

The attack upon Charleston, which was thought imminent at the date of my last letter, has not yet been made. The preparations of the enemy were complete more than a fortnight ago, but a misunderstanding which arose between Generals Hunter and Foster with regard to rank delayed the movement of the land forces, and the fleet was not willing to risk the success of the expedition unassisted by the army. General Foster made a visit to Washington to settle the point in dispute, and has recently returned to Hilton Head, so that we may reasonably expect the combined assault at any day. As the time approaches, the Northern papers are sedulously preparing the public mind of Yankee Doodle for possible discomfiture by paragraphs upon the immense magnitude of the enterprise. Charleston, they say, is another Sebastopol. The Confederates have mounted more than a thousand guns in the harbour. Sumter is iron-clad. The channels are dangerously obstructed. Torpedoes are strewn at the bottom of the bay, all along from Moultrie to the city. They even begin to fear the perils of infernal enginry, hitherto unknown to the science of war. It will occur to any foreign observer, that if the Confederates have not done all in their power to render Charleston defensible, with a full knowledge, for eighteen months past, that its reduction

was a purpose fixed in the Northern heart and mind, they have been criminally negligent of their own interests, and of the plainest duties that devolve upon a people struggling for nationality and for free trade with the other nations of the earth. Still it must be borne in mind that the capture of Charleston has been the dominant idea with the Yankees ever since the day that saw the "sacred flag" go down upon Sumter before the batteries of Beauregard. The success of McClellan or Burnside in the movement upon Richmond had been indeed sweet, but the cup of rejoicing would not have refreshed their souls while Charleston yet held out defiantly; this would have supplied the *aliquid amari* to mar the festival of triumph. For the capture of Charleston capitalists have poured out their gold. For this a thousand fires have been kept aglow, night and day, in the Cyclopean forges of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania this weary time. For this all the energy and all the skill of an industrious and inventive people have been taxed to the utmost. Charleston was to be the last signal test—the crucial experiment—of the comparative strength of the two belligerent powers. If the Yankees cannot take it, the subjugation of the South is an impossibility confessed—*vela va sans dire*. It is not worth while to discuss the probabilities of success when the actual issue is so near at hand. It is likely enough that, with their supposed indestructible and tremendous batteries, they may lay the city in ruins. But they will never be able to land troops within sight of the city, nor to possess the forts in the harbour. Such is the confident belief of the military men and the people of the South. The effect of projectiles upon turreted ships of war, the capacity of resistance in iron to a furious cannonade maintained for hours—this is a matter undetermined as yet; but the power of the Federal army to cope with the "ragged rebels" under Beauregard has been settled at Secessionville and Pocotaligo, and the result of these encounters is not likely to be reversed.

It will not have escaped your notice that the Senate of the United States has passed a Conscription Bill for the compulsory enrolment into the Federal army of all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of twenty and forty-five. There is little doubt that this measure will speedily pass the House of Representatives, a body as at present constituted wholly subservient to the wishes of the Federal Executive, and become a law. It was rendered absolutely necessary by the fact that three hundred thousand of the Yankee troops now in the field would be mustered out of service, by the expiration of their term of enlistment, on the 15th May next. The Conscription will retain these reluctant patriots in the army willy nilly, and it will place at the disposal of President Lincoln not less than three millions of soldiers—a host more numerous than the mighty army of Xerxes. Surely the war in America is assuming colossal proportions. Seventy-five thousand men were thought sufficient in the outset to "crush the rebellion;" four hundred thousand more were demanded and obtained in three months thereafter, and six hundred thousand additional troops were subsequently called out and marched against us: and now, millions are wanted to subdue a handful of rebels! Is this Conscription a practicable measure? As for the army, no misgivings need be entertained by Lincoln that they will rebel against it. They are under military discipline, and cannot, if they would, break loose from their bonds. But will there be resistance on the part of the States and the people? Undoubtedly there are signs of ominous discontent in many parts of the North and North-West. The action of the Western Legislatures show a widespread desire for peace, though it were purchased at the cost of recognising the independence of the Confederate States; and even in Connecticut there have been large popular meetings, at which free speech expressed plainly a determined opposition to the Government. The ultra branch of the Abolition party—the *extreme gauche* of the extremists—is itself disposed to terminate the struggle, if we may regard Mr. Conway, of Kansas, as a fit exponent of its views, upon the basis of recognition, provided (Oh, rare Mr. Conway!) we will adopt the Yankee tariff and establish free-trade with the Yankee Government, declaring the Monroe doctrine as a joint policy with regard to Foreign interference with the States of the American Continent! Just as if commercial vassalage to New York and New England had not been a long-standing grievance of the Confederate States. The Conscription might, indeed, be reasonably thought calculated to rouse a spirit of resistance at the North, which it did not and could not provoke among the Southern people, for the obvious reason that with us the maintenance of the army was a very necessity of existence, while with the enemy the army is only needed to prolong a war whose objects are plunder, and the gratification

to satiety of malignant passions. There is no reason upon earth why the Yankees should continue the strife for a perfectly hopeless end, except that the demoniac hatred of the South and Southern society which possesses Seward and his followers, may have further indulgence.

An important decision has just been rendered in the Superior Court for the Richmond Circuit, by Judge John A. Meredith, which will add a considerable number of conscripts to the Confederate armies. The gist of the decision is this:—*That by volunteering in the military service of a country, a person acquires a domicile in that country, which makes him a subject of military conscription.* The facts of the case before the Court were these:—Two brothers, natives of Virginia, but living at the time of the commencement of the war with their father, an office-holder in Washington City, came across the lines in May, 1861, and enlisted in a volunteer company, to serve for a period of twelve months. The term of their enlistment having expired, they claimed a discharge from the army, upon the ground that they were not citizens of the Southern Confederacy. The claim was admitted by the enrolling officer at Charlottesville, Colonel Taliaferro, who granted them exemption papers. Remaining in the State, however, they were subsequently arrested, by order of the Colonel of the regiment in which they had served, and held as conscripts under the Act of Congress passed April 16th, 1862. Thereupon the brothers applied for and obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, for the purpose of testing the question of their liability to enforce military service. The case was argued with ability on behalf of the petitioners by Shelton F. Leake, Esq., of Albemarle county, Virginia, and on behalf of the Government by P. H. Aylett, Esq., the district attorney for the Confederate States. Evidence was introduced to show that the petitioners, in entering the Confederate service, did not in any manner abandon their right of domicile in Washington, but volunteered for a stated period with the *animus revertendi*. Rebutting testimony was brought forward to establish the contrary in the facts that one of the brothers had voted for President Davis, and was now engaged in mercantile business in Charlottesville, while the other was a student at the University of Virginia. The Counsel for the petitioners relied principally upon the *animus* with which they volunteered, as protecting them against a forfeiture of their domicile in the district of Columbia, and upon the exemption papers granted by the enrolling officer, as an estoppel to the Government from now claiming their services. On the other hand, the district attorney maintained that the residence of the father, in an official capacity in Washington, did not operate an original change of domicile at the time of his removal from Virginia, and that the sons could consequently be regarded in no other light than as citizens of the Commonwealth, subject, in like manner with all others born here and dwelling here, to the operation of the Conscript Law; furthermore, that by the act of volunteering, they had re-acquired a domicile in Virginia, supposing the same to have been lost by the father's removal to Washington; and that the erroneous decision of the enrolling officer in exempting the petitioners, presented no obstacle whatever to that officer's superior in authority reversing the decision, and compelling the petitioners to perform the military duty required of all persons liable to conscription. The Court sustained all these positions, and enforced with much learning and ability the point that *the domicile of the soldier was that of the country in whose service he had enlisted.* Nothing could be clearer, the Judge said, than that by entering the military service of a country you acquire a domicile in that country. This had been established by repeated decisions in England, France, Germany, and the United States; and it was the opinion of the Court that every citizen of Maryland, and every foreigner who had once enlisted in our armies, for ever so short a period, was a proper subject for conscription, if between the ages of eighteen and forty. As no appeal was taken from Judge Meredith's decision, it will probably be regarded as final by the War Department, and the action of the enrolling officers, in all future cases of the kind, will be conformed to it. The effect of it will be in the highest degree salutary, in relieving our cities of a worthless redundant population, hitherto considered as beyond the reach of the Conscript Act. The streets of Richmond are full of men who have been discharged from the military service of the Confederacy, after having served for six, eight, or twelve months, and who shelter themselves from conscription behind consular papers authenticating their foreign citizenship, or the facile plea of "Maryland my Maryland." These worthy persons, such of them as have not resorted to Rabelais' honest way of obtaining a livelihood by petty larceny, are engaged in various practices of extortion, or act as decoys to the

lower class of gambling houses. It will be a great point gained to have them sent back to the army or made to cross the line into the United States.

I have spoken of Marylanders as dodging the conscript officers. Unfortunate Maryland! it has been her hard lot to be betrayed by base or craven sons at home, and degraded by the conduct of lawless and brutal sons abroad. The worst class of the population of Baltimore came in considerable numbers to Virginia upon the opening of the war, and entered the Southern army, attracted by the hope of plunder or the opportunity of licence, as in all times of popular turbulence "lewd fellows of the baser sort" rush to the points of greatest commotion; but having no moral purpose, and inspired by no lofty feeling of patriotism they gladly withdrew, when their terms of enlistment were over, from the ranks, as the prospect of a long struggle every day grew more decided. Thrown loose upon society, they naturally betook themselves to the modes of life to which they had been accustomed at home. They became again familiar with the use of the billy and the slung-shot, the brass-knuckles and the revolver, for purposes of midnight robbery. Some of them entered the detective police service, and colluded with the thieves it was their business to expose. The better class of the population of Baltimore, unable to repress the indignation they felt at the tyranny of the Washington Government, soon found their way to the Northern Bastiles of Fort Lafayette and Fort Warren, where they languished in captivity for months and months, and from which they have but recently been liberated, to find their State and City overrun by hordes of Yankee adventurers, and kept quiet by the bayonets of a hireling army. Their humiliation must have been extreme when, last week, they saw the highest honours held out, in the name of Maryland and of Baltimore, to Benjamin F. Butler, of immortal infamy. Let it not be thought in England that the thirty-four children who personated the States of the Union in the Butler pageants were daughters of Maryland parents. Nor let it be supposed for one moment that the proud commonwealth of the Calverts and the Carrolls wavers in her hatred of oppression, or in her determination finally to be free, with her Southern States, because such things are possible in her largest city. Sooner or later the weight which oppresses her must be removed. The soldiery of the tyrant must be withdrawn, and then it will be seen that Maryland is Southern in all her feelings and impulses. The *fiasco* of Frederick is not to be taken as conclusive against her. The army of General Lee marched into a portion of Maryland, settled chiefly by non-slaveholders, which had for eighteen months been under the domination of the Yankees, and from which every inhabitant of Southern sympathies had long since been compelled to fly. It was not to be expected that the great Southern leader would be welcomed by these people or encouraged by their assistance. But even in this case, if his army had not been compelled to withdraw from the want of clothing, transportation and supplies, and because of its thinning out by sickness and straggling, thousands of Marylanders would have flocked to his standard. Three weeks more at Frederick, and Maryland had been redeemed. The day may yet come, before this dreary war is brought to a close, when General Lee will lead his gallant troops to the banks of the Susquehanna, amid the acclamations of a grateful people, and Beauregard shall plant on the Washington monument of Baltimore the flag which was given him by one of Baltimore's loveliest women, to be hailed by tens of thousands as the pledge of their perpetual deliverance.

The very general and cordial approval which has been manifested by the Northern masses for the official conduct of Butler at New Orleans ought not to excite astonishment anywhere, for the Beast did nothing more than put in practice the diabolical hatred of the Yankees for the whole population of the Confederate States. The spirit of Butler animates the entire Yankee army, as the numberless atrocities committed by officers of high rank, not less than by the ignorant and brutal private soldiers, most sadly attest. Something has been said already in this correspondence of indiscriminate spoliation; give me leave at this time to record instances of individual plunder, with the names of the parties, in order that the intelligent Christian community of England may know and understand the character of the war that is waged against us. These instances might be multiplied till their bare enumeration would fill columns of THE INDEX; I shall give but a few, which have been related to me upon indisputable authority.

Colonel William Preston Johnston, of Kentucky, son of the illustrious lamented Albert Sydney Johnston, and now serving on the staff of President Davis, dwelt at the beginning of the war in the immediate neighbourhood of Louisville. When the oppressions of the Federal Government became insupportable in Kentucky, this

gentleman, to avoid arrest, was forced to fly from his home, leaving all his property, with his lares and penates, behind him. An Indiana general, one Webster, took possession of his dwelling-house, brought his family over from across the Ohio river, made free with Colonel Johnston's stores, wines, books, and horses, and finally, when ordered to join his brigade in the field, packed up everything, plate, crockery, furniture, library, and sent them, under charge of his wife, to Indiana. It is pardonable to feel a certain satisfaction in knowing that Webster was soon afterwards killed on the battle-plain of Shiloh.

Colonel Lewis W. Washington, one of the nearest living relatives in the third generation of George Washington, is the owner, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, I should say, *was* the owner, two years ago, of a very pretty country seat three miles from Harper's Ferry, where, on the night of the 17th of October, 1859, he was arrested in his bed by John Brown, when that miscreant made his memorable attempt to excite an armed insurrection of the slaves in Virginia. Colonel Washington, being a "rebel" by hereditary right, could occupy his estate no longer than the country around him was held by the Confederate forces. He had no time to remove his household effects, among which were some interesting memorials of Mount Vernon that had descended to him as heir-looms. To his mansion, soon after his departure, came Mrs. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts (*Pro pudor!*), wife of Major General Banks, and pillaged it, sending off all the movables, by Adams and Co.'s Express, "to him," where the chairs and tables of the *pater patriæ* will doubtless be shown with the furniture that came over in the Mayflower, as curious objects, of which the possessors are proud.

William Henry Trescott, Esq., of South Carolina, who was at one time Secretary of Legation of the United States at the Court of St. James's, and subsequently Assistant Secretary of State under the administration of James Buchanan, a gentleman of taste and culture, favourably known in letters as the author of the "Diplomatic History of the American Revolution," had just finished building a large and comfortable dwelling-house on one of the islands in the Atlantic Ocean off the Carolina coast, and was beginning to establish himself to his liking among his books and MSS., when the swarming fleets of the enemy drove the proprietors of the island estates into the interior. The Yankees stripped the house, and sent the library, embracing about four thousand volumes, to New York, where it was advertised for sale, with much flourish of trumpets, as the collection of a noted rebel, and brought a considerable sum of money to the pillaging officer, whose name I regret it is not in my power to give you.

William G. Cazenove, Esq., is the Representative in the House of Delegates of Virginia of the town of Alexandria, and as such has, of course, been an exile ever since the day that Jackson, the proto-martyr of our revolution, was killed by Ellsworth's Zouaves. The keys of Mr. Cazenove's house were demanded of his agent, some months ago, on the plea that the building was wanted for a Federal hospital. The agent surrendered them, having previously removed the greater part of the contents of the house to an unoccupied wooden building on an adjoining lot. The Yankees had no sooner discovered the fact than, breaking open the repository of Mr. Cazenove's effects, they took what they could carry off, and reduced the rest to ashes in the wanton destruction of the building by fire.

It is well known that, when the Yankee gunboats first commenced going up and down the Mississippi, their object was nothing beyond the plunder of the mansions upon the banks, and one of these vessels acquired the familiar designation of the "piano gunboat," from the fact that it made regular trips to and fro with the pianos which were stolen from disloyal parlours. Other boats, we may suppose, were set apart for the deportation of treasonable carpets and revolutionary rose-wood. It is strange, indeed, that a people, so systematic in their stealings, should not have established a "Deportation Office" in connection with the Quartermaster's Department.

The burning of William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, involving the loss of a fine library and expensive philosophical apparatus, has been disavowed by the Yankees as their wilful act, but it was, notwithstanding the disclaimer, a piece of deliberate and cowardly malice. The circumstances, as related to me by a lady of Williamsburg, who witnessed the conflagration, were these. On the night of the 4th September, 1862, the college building was found to be on fire, but through the efforts of the noble women of Williamsburg, who rushed, with buckets of water in their hands, to the spot, the flames were extinguished before much injury had been done. On the 5th September, the citizens of the town saw with

delight the Yankees flying through the streets in wild alarm before the sweep of the Confederate cavalry. Our gallant horsemen pursued the enemy as far as Fort Magruder, dealing them some hard blows, and then retired before superior numbers, leaving Williamsburg as they found it. The Yankees came back, like the unclean spirit that had gone out of a man, bringing other devils with them. That night the college burst out in flame, but when the faithful women again hastened to its rescue, they found a strong file of Yankee soldiers drawn up before the gateway of the campus to prevent any attempts at extinguishment. Such is the boasted civilization of the enemy!

There are few spots on the American continent of more pathetic interest to the intelligent visitor than Jamestown Island, the site of the ancient capital of the Colony of Virginia. Here the first white settlement was made by Smyth and Gosnold, and here still stands a mouldering tower entwined with ivy, a fragment of the earliest brick church edifice erected in Jamestown, probably in the reign of Charles II. Around it lie buried the ashes of the eminent citizens of the old town, the Colonial ladies and gentlemen who graced the society and conducted the affairs of the rising States; and above the places of their repose were to be seen monuments and head-stones of marble, more or less imposing, carved with armorial bearings in bas-relief and quaint inscriptions in Latin. One would have thought that even a savage would spare these antique memorials of the dead. But the Yankees have removed them. The marbles were put on board their gunboats and carried off, whether to enrich the collections of the Historical Societies of New England, or to be exhibited in Barnum's Museum, or to be worked up in mantel-pieces, it is impossible to determine.

But I weary of this recital of Yankee Vandalisms, and your readers have, perhaps, already had too much of them.

The question of food for the army and the people of the Confederacy begins to excite some apprehensions for the future, and certainly, if the prices of all manner of supplies in Richmond were to be taken as indicating alone their scarcity, we might be thought on the very verge of famine. Much of the distress to which the army is subjected is due to defective railway transportation. There is, probably, grain enough and meat enough in the country to avert starvation, or even stint, if it could be readily conveyed from place to place. In Mississippi there is great dearth of flour, and Pemberton's troops subsist chiefly on molasses. Here molasses is a luxury to be enjoyed by few, while flour and meal are abundant, though dear. In Richmond many causes have conspired to inflate the prices of all articles of daily consumption. The population of the city is, probably, little short of 120,000, against 50,000 in 1861. The over-issue of Confederate notes is, probably, felt more decidedly as tending to depreciate the currency at the very door of the Treasury than anywhere else. These facts, rather than a total disappearance of beoves and an extinction of hens, explain why a sirloin is a dollar and a half a pound, and eggs two dollars the dozen. All things else that one eats, drinks, wears or uses are in hideous proportion. Milk is fifty cents a quart, butter three dollars a pound; for seventy-five cents the thirsty soul can obtain a drink of the vilest whisky yet known to the commercial world; brandy is eagerly sought for at charges varying from sixty to one hundred dollars a gallon, according to age and character; a common morning business coat costs seventy-five dollars. You must pay thirty dollars for a hat, and as much for a pair of good shoes, and so *cap-à-pied* the whole man is expensive. Many articles which had come to be regarded almost as necessities of life—such, for example, as tea and coffee—are almost unknown except upon the tables of the wealthiest citizens. When those of moderate means are thus straitened, it is impossible that there should not be suffering among the poorer classes. Yet there is little or no murmuring on the part of the people. The cheerful endurance of privation for principle's sake challenges respect. Nay, there is something almost sublime in the sight of a whole nation, long accustomed to abundance and luxurious living, for whom the *Côte d'or* dressed its vineyards and Lyons worked its looms, submitting cheerfully to the plainest fare, and wearing the coarsest of homespun with grace, rather than yield an inch in their adherence to right. There are very few men or women in the Confederate States who would tomorrow purchase profusion at the expense of liberty; and though even the heaviest sacrifices should be demanded of them ere peace returns, such as the heroic people of the Netherlands underwent at the hands of Alva, I think they would prove equal to the trial.

Ariosto tells us of a bird that built its nest among thorns, and yet gave out always a blithe and cheery note. Though the people of Richmond are sadly troubled by

the blockade and by short allowance of provisions, they seem to be gay enough, if one should judge by what is to be seen of them in the streets, or in their newspapers. A few days ago, two divisions of a certain *corps d'armée*, numbering possibly 25,000 to 28,000 men, passed through town with music and banners. Each division was an hour or more passing a given point. The brave fellows had been on half-rations for more than a month, but their step was firm and proud, and the enthusiasm they excited knew no bounds. Benevolent citizens ran out to the line with huge trenchers of bread for distribution among them. One eccentric man stood on the pavement with a pile of soft felt hats, and when he saw a poor soldier with a dilapidated "tile," knocked it off and replaced it with a new one. The fun that prevailed was almost like the carnival, and but for the ragged uniforms, bespattered with mud, and the bronzed faces of the men that spoke of exposure, it might have been taken for a holiday parade. The Washington Artillery of New Orleans have organized a theatrical company in winter quarters, and give such pieces as *Toodles* and *Box and Cox* with great effect. In this city we have four places of amusement open nightly, and serenades are of frequent occurrence.

Generals A. P. Hill and J. E. B. Stuart have been in town recently, and were honoured with a public reception by the Legislature of Virginia. General Gustavus W. Smith has resigned his commission in the Confederate army, and General Longstreet has been assigned to his command.

The weather has been rainy and disagreeable during the whole month of February, with occasional twinges of severe frost. On the night of the 21st there was a fall of snow to the depth of twelve inches, with a temperature of 22° Fahrenheit. For two days the sleighs came out merrily upon the streets, but heavy rains have since carried off the snow, and James River is now in inundation.

You have received, ere this letter can reach you, the inspiring news of the capture of the Queen of the West and the Indianola on the Mississippi.

The President issues to-day a Proclamation for a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer on the 27th day of March, a copy of which I enclose.

A SOUTHERNER.

OUR TRADE WITH MATAMORAS.

(From the Times of 15th April.)

The subjoined communication furnishes an example of the questions that will be forced upon our Government by the affair of the Peterhoff, and the general conduct of the United States' squadron under the command of Admiral Wilkes. The point to be determined is whether the British Cabinet intend to initiate and uphold the doctrine that any belligerent Power may seize neutral vessels trading between neutral ports on any pretext they may think fit to devise. No respectable British ship-owners would protest either against the right of search or the right of seizure on any obvious and reasonable plea; but an intimation lately given by the Foreign-office seems to indicate that in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown the United States' Government, provided they "allege" a legal pretext, no matter whether it be totally unsupported by direct proof or even by rational assumption, will be fully entitled to carry off our vessels for adjudication in their prize courts. It is seen by the commercial classes that if a precedent of this kind is to be definitely admitted, it will virtually put it in the power of any belligerent to stop or embarrass our trade with the whole world, since there has been no attempt to modify the doctrine by any distinction, such as to the effect that a voyage is illegal between the neutral ports of England and Mexico, but not between other neutral ports. Of course, any such attempt would be absurd, but unless the distinction be made, it then logically follows that the United States would be justified in seizing a vessel crossing from Dover to Calais. Even, however, if the doctrine could be restricted to the trade with the neutral ports of Mexico, we must not lose sight of the fact that any Power that may hereafter be at war with the United States will then be entitled to seize, detain, and harass every ship that leaves our shores for Nova Scotia or Canada. It will, therefore, be well to weigh the tremendous consequences that may arise at some future day to our commerce from recognising such a legal right, and placing it as a weapon in the hands of any nation, however small or poor, that may be at war with another nation, and may wish with impunity to insult or vex us. The fact that damages may be claimed would very little alter the case. Nothing that the owners of the Peterhoff are likely to obtain will compensate them for the disturbance of their arrangements, and in cases where seizures were effected by an insolvent Power, the prospect even of obtaining such insufficient sums as might be awarded would be almost valueless. The feeling of the mercantile public of London is as strong as ever in its approval of the prudence of our Government in straining every consideration to the utmost that may allow the Washington politicians to carry the enterprise they have in hand to an end without its being disturbed by even a single glance of foreign intervention; but they have also a lively sense, which has been greatly strengthened by the experience of our Chinese and Russian wars, that there is no surer method of rendering peace hopeless than that of permitting direct wrongs to pass unnoticed. Few persons can doubt that if the Trent outrage had been tolerated it would have been followed by acts which long before this would have brought us into war, and there are many who believe that whatever danger may now exist is more likely to arise from our forbearance on that occasion, in not demanding the removal of Admiral Wilkes, than from any other cause:—

"Sir,—A singular difficulty has arisen between the merchants and charterers and the owners of a steam vessel 'on the berth' for Matamoras in consequence of the correspondence with the Foreign-office respecting the Peterhoff, in which the

law officers of the Crown appear to a limit the right of a belligerent to capture any neutral vessel on an alleged suspicion. The owners of the steamer in question have applied to the authorities for some assurance that their vessel, being bound on a legal voyage, should not be detained on any frivolous pretence, as its predecessor has been. Failing to obtain any such assurance, they decline to let the vessel proceed on her voyage. The charterers and merchants whose goods are on board, and who would be large losers by the delay, insist on her leaving, and threaten the owners with law proceedings and a heavy claim for damages in case they do not fulfil their contract. The owners reply that they engaged to send the vessel to Matamoras, believing it to be a neutral port and a legal voyage; and that if it is, the law is bound to protect them in the prosecution thereof; but the law officers of the Crown state that the law is powerless to do so, and that therefore it cannot be a legal voyage, consequently the law cannot enforce a contract the execution of which is not legal, and cannot compel owners to despatch the vessel on a voyage beyond the limits to which its protection extends. Can you, sir, elucidate this knotty point, and tell us who is right and who is wrong? "I am, Sir, yours faithfully, "D."

London, April 13.

CONFEDERATE CAVALRY EXPLOITS IN NORTH VIRGINIA DURING THE WINTER.

The following general order has been issued by General Lee:—

Head-quarters, Army, Northern Virginia. February 28.

The general commanding announces to the army the series of successes of the cavalry of Northern Virginia during the winter months, in spite of the obstacles of almost impassable roads, limited forage, and inclement weather.

1. About the 1st of December, General Hampton, with a detachment of his brigade, crossed the upper Rappahannock, surprised two squadrons of Federal cavalry, captured several commissioned officers, and about one hundred men, with their horses, arms, colours, and accoutrements, without loss on his part.

2. On the 4th of December, under the direction of Colonel Beale and Major Waller, with a detachment of sixty dismounted men of the 9th Virginia cavalry, General William F. Lee's brigade crossed the Rappahannock below Port Royal, in skiffs, attacked the enemy's cavalry pickets, captured forty-nine, including several commissioned officers, with horses, arms, &c., and re-crossed the river without loss.

3. On the 11th December, General Hampton crossed the Rappahannock, with a detachment of his brigade, cut the enemy's communications at Dumfries, entered the town a few hours before Seigel's corps, then advancing on Fredericksburg, captured twenty waggons with a guard of about ninety men, and returned safely to his camp. On the 16th December he again crossed the river with a small force, proceeded to Occoquan, surprised the pickets between that place and Dumfries, captured fifty waggons, bringing many of them across the Occoquan in a ferry boat, and beating back a brigade of cavalry sent to their rescue, he reached the Rappahannock with thirty waggons and 130 prisoners.

4. On the 25th December, General Stuart, with detachments of Hampton's, Fitzhugh Lee's and W. F. Lee's brigades, under the command of their officers, respectively, made a forced reconnaissance, in the rear of the enemy's lines, attacked him at Dumfries, capturing men and waggons at that place, advanced towards Alexandria, drove his cavalry with considerable loss across the Occoquan, captured his camp on that stream, burned the Accotink bridge on the Orange and Alexandria railroad, then passing North of Fairfax Court House, returned to Culpeper with more than two hundred prisoners and twenty-five waggons, with a loss on his part of six men wounded, and Captain Bullock, a most gallant officer, killed.

5. On February 16, Captains McNeil and Stamp, of General Imboden's cavalry, with twenty-three men, attacked near Romney a supply train of twenty-seven waggons, guarded by about one hundred and fifty cavalry and infantry, routed the guard, captured seventy-two prisoners, and one hundred and six horses, with equipments, &c., and though hotly pursued, returned to his camp with his captives without the loss of a man. This is the third feat of the same character in which Captain McNeil has displayed skill and daring.

6. General W. F. Lee, with a section of his artillery, under Lieutenant Ford, on February 25, attacked two of the enemy's gunboats at Tappahannock, and drove them down the river, damaging them, but suffering no loss on his part.

7. General Fitzhugh Lee, with a detachment of 400 of his brigade, crossed the swollen waters of the Rappahannock on February 25, reconnoitered the enemy's lines to within a few miles of Falmouth, broke through his outposts, fell upon his camps, killed and wounded many, took 150 prisoners, including five commissioned and ten non-commissioned officers, and re-crossed the river with the loss of only fourteen killed wounded, and missing.

8. On 26th February, Brigadier-General W. E. Jones, with a small force, attacked two regiments of cavalry, belonging to Milroy's command, in the Shenandoah Valley, routed them and took 200 prisoners, with horses, arms, &c., with the loss on his part of only two killed and two wounded.

9. Major White, of General Jones's command, crossed the Potomac in a boat, attacked several parties of the enemy's cavalry near Poolsville, Maryland, and besides those he killed and wounded, took 77 prisoners, with horses, arms, and some waggons, with slight loss to himself. Captain Randolph, of the Black Horse Cavalry, has made many bold reconnaissances in Fauquier, taking more than 200 prisoners, and several hundred stand of arms. Lieutenant Mosby, with his detachment, has done much to harass the enemy, attacking him boldly on several occasions, and capturing many prisoners. A detachment of seventeen men of Hampton's brigade, under the brave Sergeant Michael, attacked and routed a body of forty-five Federals, near Wolf Run Shoals, killing and wounding several, and bringing off fifteen prisoners, with the loss on our part of Sergeant Sparks, of the 2nd South Carolina regiment, who, a few days before, with two of his comrades, attacked in Brentsville six of the enemy sent to take him, killed three and captured the rest.

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Vol. II—No. 52.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 23, 1863.

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THE LATEST NEWS.

The following is the telegraphic summary, per City of Washington.—

New York, April 10, Afternoon.

The *New York Evening Post* says it is rumoured in Washington that Mr. Seward has sent despatches, containing strong remonstrances to the British Government, concerning the war vessels fitting out for the South in England, and that hints will soon be thrown out of reprisals, and non-intercourse. If the Federal agents now in England do not succeed in purchasing the vessels fitting out for the South, and these vessels are permitted to leave England, trouble between England and America is anticipated.

New York, April 10, Evening.

Southern papers state that the attack on Charleston commenced on the 7th. Four out of seven Federal iron-clads were engaged. The firing from Forts Sumter and Moultrie and from Morris Island was very heavy. The Federal steamer Ironsides was hit, and ran ashore, but subsequently got off.

At two in the afternoon eight Monitors and the Ironsides concentrated their fire upon Fort Sumter at a distance of 3,000 yards.

The firing on both sides continued incessantly until 5 o'clock, when it diminished.

The Ironsides and Keokuk withdrew from the engagement at four, apparently disabled.

The Confederate Monitors went out to take part in the fight.

The casualties in Fort Sumter were one boy killed, and five men wounded. The casualties in the other batteries are unknown.

Upon the following day seven Monitors and the Ironsides were inside the bar. Twenty-two of the blockading vessels were off the bar. The Keokuk was sunk on the beach off Morris Island. There was no disposition on the part of the Federals to renew the conflict.

Great anxiety exists for further intelligence.

The *Richmond Whig* asserts that the Federals have withdrawn their troops from the peninsula opposite Vicksburg, and have cut the levee, turning the water into their old camping ground.

Commodore Farragut, with three vessels, remained above Port Hudson. He has landed and destroyed the Confederate stores at Bayou Sara.

The attack on Vicksburg is expected this week.

The Federals have contracted their lines at Memphis.

General Foster's position at Washington (North Carolina) is still critical. One gunboat from Newbern is reported to have reached him, but the others were repulsed. Some accounts say that Washington was burnt, but do not say by whom.

The *Richmond Despatch* says:—"The Confederates have captured a battery seven miles below Washington, and sunk one steamer, which was going to the assistance of General Foster. General Foster has refused General Hill's demand to surrender."

The Confederates under Van Dorn have attacked the Federals at Franklin (Tennessee), and, after two hours' fighting, retreated, leaving their dead on the field.

General Wright has issued a proclamation to the people of California, stating that, although the great mass of the people on the Pacific coast are loyal, there are traitors who are en-

deavouring to involve the country in a civil war. He warns such that retributive justice will be their doom.

The arrest of four persons charged with being knights of the Golden Circle, caused a large mob to assemble at Reading, Pennsylvania, but order was preserved. One witness swore he was at a meeting of knights, when the abduction of Mr. Lincoln and the establishment of the North-western Confederacy was proposed, but the importance of affairs seems to have been exaggerated, and the testimony of the witnesses not very credible.

The Bavaria, Glasgow, and Africa have arrived out.

The City of Washington takes out 189 passengers, \$187,284, and £11,480 in specie.

New York, April 11, Morning.

The *New York Herald* is of opinion that there are strong probabilities of a speedy rupture between England and America, growing out of the offensive attitude of England on the privateer question.

The motion in the Confederate Congress to change the seat of the Government was rejected.

The *New York World* thinks that the ridicule which the arrests at Reading, Pennsylvania, will excite, will be an excuse for the Government to abandon arbitrary arrests.

COMMERCIAL.

New York, April 10, Evening.

The bill forbidding loans to be effected in gold has only passed the Senate of the New York Legislature, but it is not supposed that it will pass the House.

Money abundant. Gold at 49 per cent. premium.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

There has been an important movement in North Carolina. Washington, a town in that State held by a Federal force under General Foster, has been surrounded by the Confederate forces under Generals Hill and Pettigrew. The Confederates have erected a battery five miles below Washington, commanding the channel between that place and Newbern, thus cutting off the Federal communications with Newbern. General Foster sent to Newbern for reinforcements, and several gunboats started, but none have yet passed the Confederate batteries below Washington. General Hill has notified General Foster to remove the women and children, as he was going to shell the city.

News has been received at New York from New Orleans of the capture by the Confederates of the Federal steamer Diana in the Atchafalaza river.

The Diana left Brashear on a reconnoitering expedition, but encountered some Confederate masked batteries at Patersonville, and, after a sharp engagement, in which Captain Paterson and several gunners were killed, the Diana surrendered.

Besides the intimation that another ditch is to be dug, there is little news from Vicksburg. General Grant, we are told, has placed a battery of 84-pounder Parrots beyond the levee, in a position to reach Vicksburg easily; but he did not commence the bombardment in consequence of a storm. The movement on Haines's Bluff has failed, the Yazoo Pass expedition has been abandoned, and the Mississippi has not been swallowed up by the Great Union River. Altogether the news from the Mississippi is not very encouraging to the Federals, despite the report of a Confederate battery being silenced, and a Confederate gunboat being captured in consequence of her breaking loose from her moorings.

The Federal authorities have reported that the Confederates were about to evacuate Port Hudson. Whenever the Federals utterly fail in their attempts to capture Southern cities, they always report that the Confederates are about to evacuate them. They follow closely the example of the Chinese mandarin, who being unable to conquer his enemy, assured the Son of the Moon, that the rebels were engaged in cutting off their own heads. At least half-a-dozen times Richmond was on the point

of being evacuated. The evacuation of Vicksburg has been rumoured, but not confirmed, and now Port Hudson is to be deserted by the Confederates. If these tales amuse the Federals we have no right to complain of them, for they do not hurt the Confederates or deceive Europe. With regard to the rumoured evacuation of Port Hudson, all we can say is that the latest direct advices from the South give no intimation of such a proceeding.

Amongst the other war news is a report that the Federal forces broke up a Confederate camp with 600 men, near Woodbury, and that several of the Confederates were killed and wounded, and thirty captured. From our experience in translating Federal reports, we suppose that this is a mild way of announcing that there has been a skirmish near Woodbury, and that the Federals were worsted.

General Rosencranz officially reports that the Federal General Stanley has defeated a portion of General Morgan's forces, but that the Confederates escaped with their artillery.

General Curtis, St. Louis, reports that a band of Confederates captured the boats Murdock and Sam Gatty, and that Colonel King pursued the enemy, and after two engagements completely routed them.

The Federal gunboats have been repulsed on the Tennessee River, and two of them burned.

The following items are from the late telegrams:—

Confederate despatches from Fort Pemberton, dated the 5th inst., state that the Federals had embarked on their steamers, and were in full retreat.

A Federal expedition to Pontchatoula and Pass Manchac is reported to be successful. The Federals had occupied both places.

A Federal expedition has reached a point on the west side of the Mississippi, half-way between Port Hudson and Point Coupe, and after destroying a Confederate steamer loaded with molasses, and burning Confederate stores, returned to Baton Rouge.

General Curtis officially announces from Missouri that General Hicks's band of guerillas, who robbed the steamer Samsaky, have been destroyed, seventeen being killed and two hung.

The Confederates have crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico, and captured two Federal officers and three privates. The Mexican authorities, however, having demanded the surrender of the prisoners, they were all released except one, who was reported to have been hung by the Confederates.

The negro expedition has evacuated Jacksonville, Florida. Some days before this event Colonel Higginson had been reinforced by two regiments of white infantry—the 8th Maine, Colonel Rust, and the 6th Connecticut, Colonel Chatfield. Colonel Rust being the senior officer took the command of all the forces. Jacksonville was burnt to the ground, not by the negroes, but by the white troops. The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* writes, "It gives me pleasure to report that the negro troops took no part whatever in the perpetration of this vandalism." The white man is teaching the negro how to carry on warfare.

Governor Todd, of Ohio, has been arrested by the Sheriff of Fairfield County, in that State, for kidnapping, or illegally imprisoning, Dr. Olds, a member of the Legislature. He was taken before Judge Johnston on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and admitted to bail to answer the charge before the Court of Common Pleas in June next.

In Connecticut a Republican governor and Republican State officers have been elected. Three out of the four Republican nominees for Congress have also been elected.

and the Legislature is also strongly republican. The Democrats lose one member of Congress. The governor's majority is 3,000, being a Republican loss of 6,000 since last year.

The story of the "Great Bread Riot in Richmond" is worthy of Yankee genius. The author of it is the Federal Colonel Stewart, of the 2nd Indiana Regiment, who was lately released from custody at Richmond and sent to the North. This reliable person says he saw from his "prison window," on the 2nd of April, "about 3,000 women" rioting for bread,—a pretty considerable army of women for a city of the size of Richmond. The 3,000 women were armed with "guns, clubs, and stones," from which we conclude that the Confederates have more arms than they know what to do with. As we proceed the story becomes pathetic. The 3,000 women, armed with guns, clubs, and stones, broke open the Government and private stores, and helped themselves to bread and clothing. The militia were called out, but could not check the riot. Mr. President Davis and other high officials made speeches to the infuriated women, and behold, they became calm! What a wonderfully complete view Colonel Stewart must have had from his "prison window." From that "prison window" he saw and counted about 3,000 women, armed with guns, clubs, and stones; saw them break open Government and private stores, and take out bread and clothing; saw the militia vainly essay to check the riot, and President Davis and other high officials calm the infuriated women with speeches. The site of the Richmond prison must be very eligible.

Just now the way to win favour in the North is to abuse and malign the English Government, and Irish poverty is a splendid opportunity. Accordingly, on the 7th instant, a meeting was held in New York, at the Academy of Music, in aid of the suffering poor of Ireland. The *New York Times* says "the entire edifice was filled with beauty and fashion." General McClellan, whose entrance was greeted by the orchestra playing "Hail to the Chief," made the first speech. He declared his sympathy with the object of the meeting, said that the "loss of Ireland had been the gain of America," and he denounced the English Government, observing:—"It is unfortunate, perhaps, for Ireland, that laws, with the making of which her people had so little to do, and a Government in which they have been so little represented, should have compelled so many of them to leave their native land, and seek refuge in foreign climes." The General eulogised the valour of the Irish, and said:—"It has often been my sad lot, but pleasant withal, to watch the cheerful smiling faces of the Irish when suffering from painful and ghastly wounds." Cheerful smiles are somewhat inconsistent with ghastly wounds; and it is rather a queer idea to find anything pleasant in seeing men suffer from painful and ghastly wounds. General McClellan had admirable opportunities for indulging his strange taste whilst he commanded the army of the Potomac.

Archbishop Hughes was not very lucid. He remarked that since the last famine in Ireland "that poor country has been dodging on in her usual way." The reverend speaker was less hazy when he began to abuse England. He compared the distress in Lancashire with that in Ireland, and lauded the people of New York for their contributions to Lancashire. "They have done honour to themselves; they have heaped coals of fire upon heads that did not understand what the meaning of heat was—heat of that character." We are not quite so devoid of understanding as his Grace imagines. We are not deluded by the sham philanthropy of New York. We know that the North has been the means of starving Lancashire, and adding greatly to the misery of Ireland, and that only a week before this speech was made the Federal Government, fearing that Europe might get a little cotton, issued fresh trade regulations, one of which strictly forbids the payment of gold for cotton. We know the contribution to the Lancashire distress was a political move, and we certainly do not feel the heat of sham charity.

The Hon. Judge Daly illustrated the present condition of Ireland by a reference to the history of Joseph and his brethren, and appealed to the audience to act the part of Joseph in extending their charity to the Irish people. In one respect Mr. Lincoln certainly is like an Egyptian potentate—like the Pharaoh who knew not Joseph, and who, in spite of plagues would not let the people go.

The meeting wound up with the announcement of two subscriptions; one for \$1,000, and one for \$50—rather a small result for so much grand talking.

Whilst the beauty and fashion of New York were assembled at the Music Hall, to abuse England under pretence of aiding Ireland, the large hall of the Cooper Institute was crowded by a meeting of the Democrats, and which evidently intended business, for the *New*

York Times assures its readers that "amidst the vast concourse, one—and only one—of the gentler sex was observed." Resolutions, expressing opposition to the policy of the Administration, demanding a change of measures, denouncing official interference with the rights of citizens, and congratulatory upon the secession of prominent members of the Democratic party from that ancient organization, were passed by acclamation. Mr. Fernando Wood then made a vigorous speech. He denounced the pretended patriotism of New England, which, before the commencement of this war, "subsisting, as she does, entirely upon her manufactures—had her best customers in the South, notwithstanding her politics, notwithstanding her hypocritical professions of hatred of the institution of slavery. New England has been supported for a hundred years by the institution of slavery, and she held slaves herself until it ceased to be profitable, and when she could make no more money out of slave labour, she turned philanthropic, and set her negroes free. She finds now a profitable substitute in getting contracts from the Government, and in supplying the arms and receiving immense disbursements of the public money. And so long as New England can participate in the dollar, so long as she can participate in the profligate expenditure of the public money, by the hundreds and hundreds of millions, just so long will New England be patriotic, and go for a vigorous prosecution of the war." He declared the war had proved a failure, and that peace ought to be made. If, at last, the South would not come back to the Union, "I will tell you," said Mr. Wood, "then what, in my judgment, the President of the United States should do; he should submit a course, or at least a proposition, that the people should be called upon to vote directly upon the question, and that the decision should be final, then and for ever, whether they would resume the war, or recognise the independence of the South. That is my peace programme."

General McClellan's official report of the Seven Days' Battles, claiming a series of glorious victories for the Federals, reads curiously enough at this time, when all the world has agreed that the change of base to the James River was not a Federal triumph. General McClellan's own countrymen do not think him a military genius. The joint Committee of the Federal Congress on the conduct of the war have presented their report. It censures General McClellan's whole military course since his appointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and points to him as the cause of the failure of the army to take Richmond. In December, 1861, the Army of the Potomac was 185,000 strong, and it finally left the Peninsula, a beaten and disgraced remnant. One of the curious revelations of the Congressional report—we do not, of course, vouch for its accuracy—is, that on the 28th of June, whilst Colonel B. S. Alexander was at head-quarters receiving his instructions, "he was shown, as he testifies, a printed order, not then issued, directing the destruction of the baggage of officers and men, and the tents, camps, equipage, and things of that kind, appealing to the army to submit to this privation, as it would be only temporary—'only for a few days.' He remonstrated with General McClellan against issuing such an order; that it would have a bad effect, would demoralise the army, as it would be telling them more plainly than they could be told any other way that they were defeated and running for their lives. The order was not issued, and General McClellan testifies that he has no recollection of any such order."

The report treats the career of General Burnside very fully, and declares that Mr. Lincoln directed and controlled Burnside's movements. The report concludes by stating the belief of the Committee that the rebellion can be subdued only by fighting, and their confidence that the present campaign will produce decisive victories to the Federal arms. "And your Committee believe this to be the sentiment, not only of the army and navy, but of every man in the country—traitors and cowards alone excepted." If faith in Federal success is the sole test of loyalty and bravery, we expect there are a great majority of traitors and cowards in the North.

The majority of the Pennsylvania Senatorial Investigating Committee in their report declare General Cameron guilty of the charges of bribery preferred against him.

The *New York Tribune* continues to assert that the relations of the Federal Government with England is the topic of anxious interest in official and unofficial circles at Washington.

The prize steamer *Dolphin*, captured by the Federal steamer *Wachusett*, has arrived at Havana.

The British steamer *Aries*, captured on the 28th ult., while attempting to run into Bull Bay, South Carolina, has arrived at New York, on her way to Boston.

ENGLAND.

The weekly report of Mr. Farnall to the Central Relief Committee at Manchester, shows a net decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief of 2,890; the larger part of the diminution arising from Manchester and Oldham, and a total decrease of 69,498 since the 6th of December. There are, however, more than 200,000 persons still receiving parochial relief in the unions included in this statement, against about 47,000 in the corresponding week of 1861. There is no sign, therefore, that this great misery nears its end. The decrease, satisfactory as it is, is due not to any revival of the cotton manufacture, but to exceptional causes, as emigration to other countries, and, perhaps, in some degree, to an adoption of other employments. Emigration, if the blockade is to be allowed to continue, seems the only remedy for the evil, and a resort to that remedy, upon a large scale, it is now generally agreed, must be made at once.

The Mansion-house Committee have voted £5,000 to aid and encourage emigration; and the Lord Mayor made an appeal to the public from his magisterial chair on Monday, for contributions to a separate fund, for the especial object of assisting the unemployed mill hands to emigrate.

The merchants and brokers interested in the *Peterhoff* and the *Sea Queen*, now lying at Falmouth, have addressed a letter to Earl Russell, explaining the very awkward position in which the singular doctrines propounded by his lordship as to the rights of belligerents have placed them, expressing their readiness to act upon any suggestion his lordship might make, in order to satisfy the authorities of the lawful nature of their operation, and renewing their claim to protection. They pointed out that vessels sailing under the French flag to the same port had not been molested, and they also gave a list of vessels which were actually allowed to clear from New York for this very port of Matamoras, for which the *Peterhoff* had been destined. Earl Russell replied by offering to see them, and a deputation, introduced by Mr. Crawford, the member for the city of London, waited upon his lordship on Thursday. Mr. Crawford drew his lordship's attention to the illegal detention of the captain, officers, and supercargoes of the *Peterhoff* at New York, and pointed out that the Federal Government assumed the right to dictate the kind of trade to be carried on by British subjects, and to exercise a general supervision over it, supplying his lordship with a most extraordinary document addressed by Mr. Adams to Admiral Dupont, certifying that a particular cargo was really intended for Mexicans—arms to be employed against the French. One of the deputation suggested that the Government should send a mail agent in the ship, which would supply an official guarantee that the vessel was intended for the port for which she was cleared. Earl Russell, who is reported to have expressed his surprise at several of the statements made him, promised to consider the suggestion, and the deputation retired. His lordship did consider it, and came to a conclusion marvellous in its imbecility. The merchants wanted a mail agent on board, not to protect the mails, but to save the vessel and cargo, and Earl Russell graciously relieves the owners of the vessel of the obligation of carrying a ship letter mail. That is to say, his lordship, instead of giving them the protection they ask, deprives them of the little they had, and by the avowal of the British Government Admiral Wilkes has the right to upset all the rules of international law, and seize vessels trading from one neutral port to another. The Yankees have shrewdly calculated the timidity of the English Government. Admiral Wilkes would not have dared to stop a vessel making a similar voyage under the French flag.

The particulars of an equally flagrant violation of neutral rights have this week been published. The British steamer *Dolphin*, on a voyage from Liverpool to Nassau, called at St. Thomas to coal, and leaving that island was captured by the Federal cruiser *Wachusett* on the 24th of March. The crew, after being shamefully maltreated, were landed at St. Thomas. The cargo does not appear to have included any goods of a suspicious character, although, even if it had, the act of the Federal commander would still have been a gross violation of law. The owner of the *Dolphin* has claimed the protection of the British Government, and has been informed by Mr. Hammond that "this case shall be considered."

Sir George Cornwall Lewis was buried on Saturday by the side of his father, in Old Radnor Church. Earl Russell, Earl de Grey, and Mr. Villiers were the only members of the Government present, and the latter represented rather his own personal grief at the death of his brother-in-law than the affliction of the Cabinet,

The place of the statesman whose loss will be so long lamented by the few who knew his great powers, and expected for him the highest position, has been taken by Earl de Grey, his Under Secretary of War; a young nobleman of great wealth, fair ability, and considerable application. Earl de Grey made a very fair Under Secretary of State. For the higher position which he has now taken he has no qualification but his acquaintance with the details of the office work, and that is not the qualification demanded for an English Secretary of State. Such a principle, if admitted, would lead to the elevation to the leading posts in the Government of the chief clerks of the respective departments. Earl de Grey will carry nothing to the deliberations of the Cabinet, and contribute nothing to its prestige with the country. He will do the work of his office fairly as long as things go on in a smooth jog-trot manner; if an emergency arises, he will break down. His place is taken by the Marquis of Hartington, the eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire; a young nobleman who moved the resolution by which the Derby Government was expelled from office, and since that time until a few weeks ago, when he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, has been little heard of. He has lately been travelling both South and North, and described his experiences to his constituents in North Lancashire when seeking re-election. His talents are unquestionable, and Lord Palmerston has by this appointment thoroughly satisfied his supporters.

Mr. Stansfeld, the very Radical member for Halifax, has accepted the Lordship of the Admiralty, vacated by the Marquis of Hartington. Mr. Stansfeld is nominally a barrister, but actually a brewer. He has made some reputation in the House of Commons as a debater, and has now turned it to good account. The principles of the honourable gentleman, who was the intimate friend of Mazzini and Orsini, and whose name figures very frequently in the trials, *par contumace*, of conspirators against the Emperor of the French, differ as widely as possible from those entertained by Lord Palmerston, and acted upon by his Government; but naturally enough, an official position has built an easy bridge over the at one-time impassable gulf, and Mr. Stansfeld will "roar for the future as gently as any sucking dove."

The proprietors of the *Saturday Review* have failed in their attempt to set aside the verdict given against them, and in favour of Dr. Campbell. The ground upon which the application rested was the finding of the jury that the article was written in the *bonâ fide* belief that its statements were correct, and that the writer was not actuated by malice. Counsel contended that the article was consequently privileged. The contention, however, was unanimously rejected by the judges; and the law, as laid down by the Court of Queen's Bench may, therefore be taken to stand, that no belief in the correctness of his assertion will justify a writer in imputing base, sordid, or dishonest motives; he must prove that the motives of the persons upon whose conduct he comments were base and dishonest, or he must pay damages and costs.

Lord Seaton has died, full of years and honours. Born in 1777, he entered the army in 1794, and after serving with great distinction in Egypt, Sicily, and throughout the Peninsular war, crowned his military achievements by his famous charge at the head of the 52nd Regiment at Waterloo. Some time Governor of Guernsey, Sir John Colburne was appointed, in 1830, to the command of the forces in Canada, and subsequently to the post of Governor General of the colony. He suppressed the rebellion, was made a peer for his services, and, in 1843, accepted the Lord High Commissionership of the Ionian Islands, a position which he held until 1849, but in which he comparatively failed. He was subsequently Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, was created a Field-Marshal in 1860; and now, in his 86th year, has passed away, one of the last survivors of that great family of soldiers who in the giant struggles of the dawning century raised so high the honour of England.

EUROPE.

The English, French, and Austrian notes have been delivered to Prince Gortschakoff, and the answer is anxiously expected. There can be little doubt, we should think, as to its character; but the world is anxious to see what next. Will the three Powers be content with the amnesty and the promise of autonomy—or will they make larger demands, and, in default of obtaining them, will they or one of them go to war? The *Pays* publishes what it calls a complete analysis of the French note. Its terms are just those which were expected. France says that the political convulsions of Poland are symptoms of inveterate disease, and

hopes that Russia will recognise in her wisdom and benevolence the necessity of adopting means to give Poland lasting peace. If an analysis given by the *Cologne Gazette* may be trusted, the Austrian note is couched in much the same terms. Such words may mean a great deal, or nothing at all. The mode in which the French Government receives the answer to them will alone tell. There is much talk of war in Paris, but we must profess our belief in peace. No doubt war would be popular in France. The commercial classes of course deprecate it, but the army and the ordinary Frenchmen of the towns would hail its declaration with enthusiasm; and if Russia could be attacked on the Rhine, war would be probable enough; as she can only be reached on the Baltic, it is extremely improbable. It is very easy to talk of landing an army at Riga, but it would be hard work to get it there, and when there it would be of very little use to Poland. France has made one campaign in Russia, and the Emperor of the French is too wise a man to wish for another. His soldiers may be a great deal more than a match for the Russians, but space, time, and elements fight for Russia.

Rumours of an alliance between France and Sweden have been floating about. The French papers tell us that Sweden is arming, that the Swedish Government has ordered a number of vessels to be iron-plated, is generally re-organizing its fleet, and fortifying and improving the harbour of Carlscrona, and hence they infer that Sweden is likely to go to war with Russia. Sweden may be taking all these steps, although no reliance can be placed upon the French statements, but they by no means indicate war. If Russia is to be attacked in order that Poland may be assisted, the attack must be made at once, and ironclads require months for their construction, whilst a year is small time for improving a harbour, so that the squadrons of friendly powers may shelter there. It is not, indeed, certified by any authority worth a moment's attention, that the relations of Sweden with Russia are particularly unsatisfactory. The telegrams of one agency contradict those of another, and neither show any decent claim to credence. It is possible that the enthusiasm shown for Prince Czartoryski may have been disagreeable to the Russian Government, but that Government is not foolish enough to quarrel with the Swedes for partaking a universal feeling, and the conduct of Sweden in stopping the Ward Jackson must have convinced it that she will act as befits a friendly power.

The Warsaw Central Revolutionary Committee have issued a proclamation, in which they definitively declare that they reject all pardons. "We have entered on the struggle," they say, "not to gain more or less of free institutions, but to emancipate ourselves from an odious yoke, and reconquer independence and complete liberty. Away with your Imperial pardons! We have taken up arms, and it is arms alone that must settle our quarrel with the Russians." This was to be expected; but the rejection of the amnesty by the revolutionary Government by no means implies its rejection by the insurgents. The Revolutionary Government will keep up the fight to the last moment,—as long, in fact, as it can find people who will fight. But the amnesty addresses itself to the separate bands, and they will accept it or not according to the chances they have of saving themselves without it. So long, no doubt, as the hope of intervention survives, the insurrection will continue, but that hope dispelled, the Poles, for all the dictates of a central Government, will shift for themselves. They will escape from the kingdom if possible; if not, they will accept the amnesty.

The Revolutionary Committee repudiate the liberties which Europe has asked for them; they say they will be content with nothing but independence. If they speak for their countrymen, this is a notice to Europe to interfere no more unless by arms. That is to say, it throws all the hopes of the movement upon the chance that the Emperor of the French will embark in a hazardous war. It is true, the Poles have the authority of Mr. Pope Hennessey for expecting their independence. That young gentleman, who has a practical turn of mind, and having busied himself in the earlier part of his parliamentary career in trying to prove that revolution was a pestiferous thing for Italy, has taken up the Poles; has visited Cracow to receive the reward of his speeches in the enthusiastic welcome of its citizens. He reaps his glory before it begins to wither, and we cannot blame him. But the Poles will make a great mistake if they give the slightest heed to his words. Mr. Hennessey can only speak for himself, and that is for a very small and unimportant personage.

There is very little war news from Poland this week. A Russian bulletin from Warsaw trumpets forth the

defeat of a body of insurgents, not far from Warsaw itself, an announcement which, upon the safe principle of accepting reports from Polish or Russian sources only as far as they are against the side which supplies them, may be taken as an admission that the insurrection has the hardihood to show itself in the very sight of Warsaw and its immense garrison. Telegrams from Cracow tell of the formation of new bands, and one, professing to come from Wilna, speaks in a vague way of the spread of the insurrection, which justifies us in believing that it is a Polish invention, just as that portentous story sent us two or three weeks ago about a rising *en masse* in Samogitia. A telegram from Lemberg announces the defeat of Lelewel, a partisan leader, who has given the Russians a great deal of trouble upon the Galician frontiers of the Government of Lublin. One point is now put beyond all doubt. The peasants go with the Government. The most vehement partisans of Poland are reluctantly compelled to make this admission, and it is one which ought to satisfy all careful observers that the movement has little hopes of success. Another great blow to the hopes of the Poles is the change which has come over the spirit of the Austrian Government. At the first it winked at the assistance which the inhabitants of Galicia gave to the insurgents. And it may safely be said that without this aid the insurrection would have been suppressed almost in its inception. Now the Austrian Government displays considerable energy in preventing, as far as possible, the Galicians from aiding their countrymen. In Pesen, the Poles have, in defiance of the careful watch of the Prussian troops, for a long time given the insurgents much aid in men and material of war, but the last two or three expeditions of this kind have been very unsuccessful. In the district of Pleschen the Prussian frontier guards have captured a number of waggons laden with material of war, and have had, if we may believe the majority of reports—the Prussian *Staats Anzeiger* contradicts them—a sharp engagement with a band of insurgents who crossed the frontier, and trespassed on Prussian territory, in order to secure the supplies on the way. The insurgents were routed, and some thirty were taken prisoners.

The throne of Greece is not yet disposed of. The *Fædrelandet* of Copenhagen does, indeed, state that the difficulties which opposed the acceptance of Prince William have been removed, but it is quite evident, from the language of the members of the English Government in both Houses of Parliament, that they are by no means assured of the acceptance. Amongst the conditions imposed by Prince Christian are, it is said, the abdication of King Otho, and the education of the children of Prince William in the religion of their father. If the former of these conditions is insisted upon, Prince William will certainly not fill the Greek throne. Otho would be willing enough to resign in favour of one of his nephews, but the Bavarian Royal Family will not abandon the rights given it by treaty, and the Bavarian Gazette assures us that a circular has been addressed to the different courts of Europe protesting against any infringement of those rights. The second condition will be a very hard one for the Greeks to swallow; and it can only be in their very sore need of a sovereign, and their anxiety to bind England to assist them by adopting her recommendation, that they will accept it. A king whose religion differs from that of his subjects can hardly earn their loyalty or confidence. There must always be some disagreement between their views, and this must especially be the case where, as in Greece, the people aspire to form a great empire by the attraction of a common religion. The objection on the part of Prince Christian is, politically and morally, fully justified. Prince William or his children may be called to occupy the throne of Denmark, and the Protestant faith is the faith of the Kings of Denmark. This cool proposal to a young man like Prince William to change his religion in order to accept a throne, or at least to undertake to bring up his children in a creed which he must regard as erroneous and idolatrous, shows a very small regard in the ministers of the English Crown for the Protestant faith of which their mistress is the defender. Certainly Earl Russell cannot deem it a matter of the slightest importance to what creed a man belongs, when he thus suggests to Prince William to change his religion for a crown; and we recommend the Episcopal bench, instead of denouncing the spirit of scepticism which manifests itself in the newspaper press, to rebuke this flagrant encouragement to unbelief and superstition, of which Earl Russell has just been guilty.

The *Berlingske Tidende* announces, so a telegram from Copenhagen informs us, that at a long interview with the British Minister at Copenhagen, Prince Christian

declared the obstacles which had hitherto opposed the acceptance of the crown of Greece, namely, the abdication of King Otho and the state of the finances, removed, and accepted it for Prince William. This statement is not very intelligible. Otho has not abdicated, and the financial difficulty could only be removed by a loan guaranteed by the British Government. We are not disposed to hold the matter yet settled.

The deputation bringing the offer of the crown landed at Trieste a few days since, and must by this time—assuming that, through the economical tendencies or the utter poverty of the Government, they have not been laid up for want of funds at Trieste—have reached Copenhagen. Mr. Elliott has reached Paris on his way to London.

The National Assembly has appointed a new ministry. The names of the persons who compose it are hardly known out of Greece.

The German Diet has referred the ordinance of the King of Denmark regulating the position of Holstein in the Danish monarchy to a committee. In a few weeks a ponderous memorandum combating every one of the assertions of the Danish Government, will probably be presented by the Committee. The Diet has not, however, waited for the report to declare its opinion. The President protested against the assertion of the Danish Government, that the Diet had no right to interfere in the question of the duchies—that is, we presume, the relations of Holstein to Schleswig—and the Diet adopted his protest. Protests, however, will not impede the execution of the Danish scheme, and the Diet is not in a position to go beyond protests. It might, at another juncture, order Federal execution in Holstein, but that is the extent to which it can go; and execution in Holstein, when the Duke means to regulate the internal condition of Holstein just as it chooses to demand, would be an absurdity, because it could not affect the relation of Holstein to Schleswig, or of Schleswig to Denmark proper. To occupy Schleswig would be to enter into war with Denmark and the Powers which have guaranteed Denmark its possession.

Austria and Prussia have also protested, but neither of them is in a position to do more than protest. The Danish Government has chosen well its opportunity. The Prussian Liberals, who are rampant partisans of Schleswig-Holsteinism, and a little time ago would have liked nothing better than war with Denmark, now repudiate war altogether, because they cannot trust their own Government. Herr Twesten, in the House of Deputies, whilst calling upon the Government to declare that the proclamation of the King of Denmark was an infringement of the assurances given by Denmark in 1851 and 1852, and to repudiate as null and void all the agreements based upon these assurances; to withdraw its assent, for instance, from the Treaty of London regulating the succession to the Danish monarchy; insisted that war must not be resorted to; and declared that the House would oppose it. Herr Von Bismarck replied characteristically enough. He said the Government did consider the proclamation an infringement of the assurances of 1851-52, and had already protested, as had Austria, and that it would consult with its Federal allies, and with Austria especially, as to the measures to be taken; but that if it deemed it desirable to go to war, it would do so without asking the consent of the House. However, the Prussians need not have much apprehension that he will go to war. He would like it well enough in the hope of thereby shelving the House of Deputies; but he is not mad enough to expose Prussia to the terrible losses and humiliation which war at such a juncture must bring upon her.

A curious incident occurred in this discussion. Herr Von Bismarck was followed by Dr. Lowe—one time President of the Frankfurt National Parliament, and one of the most extreme Liberals in the House. He assailed the Minister very strongly, and the latter soon retired to the Ministerial retiring room adjoining. It is very little satisfaction to abuse a man unless he hears you, and the Liberals were annoyed that Von Bismarck did not stay and hear Dr. Lowe's invectives. The Prussian Constitution, which gives the Ministers a place in the House, and the right of speaking as often as they please, also gives the House the right to insist upon their attendance at any particular time, although the provision scarcely means that they are bound to sit through a long debate, the only object of which is to relieve the pent-up indignation of some violent opponents.

A member proposed, therefore, that the House should adjourn until the Minister made his appearance; whereupon Herr von Bismarck at once entered the House, and declared that he had heard everything that had been said, the speaker being very loud; and as he had a great

deal to do and many people to see, it was much more convenient to sit in the minister's room. This remark threw the House into a state of intense indignation, which, however, had no effect upon the Minister. No doubt Herr Von Bismarck is very offensive; but the House is rather exacting in insisting that he shall make his appearance to listen to speeches which are, in the main, only invectives against him. It is hard to see what public purpose can be served by such a demand. The Minister appeared and answered the questions put to him, and that was all that could fairly be asked of him.

THE EAST.

A telegram from Shanghai announces another discomfiture of the Imperial troops, attended, it would seem, by the loss of several European officers. The Taepings are much more formidable opponents than Mr. Layard and the *Times* would make them out to be; and we fear that Captain Sherard Osbourne will only succeed in involving England in another wretched war in China. From his point of view such an achievement would be a success; but Englishmen generally are not prepared for more China expeditions, in which much money and many lives are wasted, only to encourage unscrupulous traders to cheat the Chinese Government.

The same telegram says that Admiral Kuper had left for Japan with the English fleet, in consequence of the outbreak of hostilities there. Another little war is brewing here.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, APRIL 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Malmesbury, on rising to inquire what was the present state of the negotiations respecting the Crown of Greece and the cession of Corfu to that country, said he thought that the conduct of her Majesty's Government had been most disrespectful towards the Crown of this country and the nation at large in making use of Prince Alfred's name as a means of shaking the candidature of the Duke of Leuchtenberg. After the Duke of Saxe-Coburg had refused the throne of Greece the noble earl, who seemed to have stood at the door of the Foreign-office with the Almanac de Gotha in his hand, selected Prince William of Denmark as a candidate for the Greek crown. He (Lord Malmesbury) wished to know whether the noble earl had obtained the consent of Prince Christian and the King of Denmark to such a proposition? The Great Powers to the treaty of 1815 had a right to be consulted in the matter, seeing that the King of Greece should at least consent to have his children brought up in the faith of the Greek Church—a condition that would bar the succession to the Danish throne.—Earl Russell declined to give an answer to the inquiries of the noble earl whilst the matters to which he referred were still under negotiation. The Greeks had positively refused to be governed by King Otho, and had determined upon establishing a constitutional monarchy. As to the candidature of Prince William of Denmark, the nomination of his Royal Highness was made conditional upon the assent of the Danish sovereign and of Prince Christian. With regard to Corfu, it should be remembered that England, as one of the protecting powers, had a perfect right to propose its cession to Greece if she thought proper. Should the Ionians themselves assent, then the other protecting powers would be invited to concur in the arrangement.—The Earl of Derby observed that the Foreign Secretary had avoided the question put to him by his noble friend—namely, whether the noble earl had ascertained, before he proposed Prince William to the Greeks, that the Prince, with his father and the King of Denmark, was willing to accept the offer of the crown. As to the Ionian Islands, it was necessary that the consent of the Great Powers as well as that of the Ionians themselves, should be obtained before their cession could be effected. He thought Her Majesty's Government had acted with great rashness with regard to the nomination of the sovereign of Greece and the cession of the Ionian Islands.—Earl Granville vindicated the course taken by his noble colleague, and said that the assent of the King of Denmark was communicated to him before the name of Prince William was submitted to the Greeks. After some further remarks from the Earl of Malmesbury and Earl Russell, the subject dropped.

Upon the motion of Earl Granville, it was agreed that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the merits of the several schemes before Parliament for the construction of lines of railway within the limits of the metropolis.

THURSDAY, APRIL 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to Lord R. Cecil, Sir G. Grey stated that it was not true that spies had been employed to attend upon persons at Liverpool who were supposed to be Confederate agents in this country, and to watch the private dockyards there. The facts were simply that, upon a representation made to the Foreign Office by the United States Minister in England, alleging that certain vessels which he named were fitting out at Liverpool in violation of the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and at the request of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he (Sir G. Grey) had written to the mayor of Liverpool, requesting him to institute inquiries whether such vessels were being so equipped and furnished with arms in contravention of the law. He had prescribed no mode whatever in which the inquiries were to be carried out, but the mayor had informed him that had employed a certain number of the detective police for the purpose, though it did not appear why he had so employed them.

The House then went into a Committee of Ways and Means; the body of the House, the Members, Strangers, and Reporters' Galleries being all crowded. Prince Alfred and Prince Louis of Hesse were present in the front gallery appropriated to diplomatists and distinguished foreigners. Mr. Gladstone rose at five and twenty minutes before five to make the financial statement for the year. He referred to the resolution passed by the House last session demanding a reduction of expenditure; and remarked that his budget would be the answer thereto. Expenditure had, undoubtedly risen to a very high point; owing partly to increased outlay on

education, on the Civil Service of the country, on prison discipline, and on similar objects; but partly also to the extra outlay on the army and navy, made necessary by the progress of military science, and partly perhaps to a "spirit of expenditure" excited among the people, in Parliament, and in the Cabinet by the very fact of a rapid increase in our establishments and our expenses. A large part of our expenditure—that on the debt—was fixed; and for purposes of comparison it was necessary to exclude the cost of the collection of the revenue, only of late years included in the accounts. With these omissions our variable expenditure was in

1853-4	..	..	..	..	£23,511,000
1858-9	..	..	..	..	31,621,000
1860-1	..	..	..	..	42,125,000

With regard to the finance of the past year, notwithstanding the distress in Ireland and the more serious sufferings of Lancashire, he had a satisfactory report to give. The income had been £70,603,000, exceeding the estimates by £543,000. The expenditure had been £69,302,000, or £806,000 less than the estimate. The customs had exceeded the estimates by £484,000; the Income-tax by £467,000. The Excise had fallen short by £4,185,000, a deficiency to be attributed partly to certain peculiar conditions in the levying of the malt duty, and partly to the distress of the labouring classes in certain districts; their distress always immediately affecting their consumption of excisable stimulants. There had been an excess in the miscellaneous receipts, and China indemnity. The result was a surplus of £1,301,000. The Right Hon. gentleman made the following comparison between the expenditures of the last few years:—

EXPENDITURE.					
1859	..	..	..	..	£70,017,000
1860	..	..	..	..	72,504,000
1861	..	..	..	..	70,838,000
1862	..	..	..	..	69,302,000

He pointed out that, side by side, with a diminution of expenditure last year, to the extent of a million and a half, there had been an increase of actual revenue to the amount of £805,000, after deducting the receipt from taxes repealed or reduced during 1861. He now came to the budget of the present year. He showed that the probable income would be from the retention of all the taxes at their present amount, £71,490,000, and the expenditure £67,749,000, giving a surplus of £3,741,000. He proposed, however, to impose a few new taxes. He would equalize the duty on chicory with that on coffee; require clubs to take out a retail spirit license; make a trifling alteration in the law relative to publicans' beer-licenses, and in the licenses of wholesale beer sellers. He would levy a license duty on carriers' carts, and commute the present duty on the receipts of railways from their passenger traffic from 5 to 3½ per cent., doing away with the exemption at present enjoyed by trains running at fares of less than 1d. per mile—which included excursion traffic. He would abolish the exemption of charitable legacies in Ireland from legacy duty, and would subject the incomes of charitable institutions to the income-tax. These taxes would add £138,000 to the revenue, making a surplus of £3,874,000. Of this he proposed to dispose as follows:—He would abolish the charges imposed by himself of 1d. on goods entered inwards, and the 1s. 8d. stamp on bills of lading outwards. He would abolish the distinction now drawn by the Income-tax at incomes of £150, and charge the same rates all incomes above £100; but he would allow the deduction of £60 from all under £200 a year; so that the man with £100 would pay on £40, the man with £180 on £120, and so forth. This would entail a loss of £300,000. The Income-tax would be reduced by 2d.,—a loss in this year of £1,600,000.

With reference to indirect taxation, there were the rival claims of tea and sugar to a remission of duty to be considered, and this, perhaps, was the first time in their history that these articles had been placed in antagonism. Upon weighing their relative claims, however, and seeing that the duty levied on tea was more than 100 per cent. upon the value of the article, whilst that upon sugar was only a little more than half the value, it was the intention of the Government to propose to reduce the duty on tea to 1s. per lb., but not to disturb the sugar duty. He proposed that the reduction of the tea duty should take immediate effect after the resolution had been adopted by the House, so that he hoped on Saturday week the public would be in a position to profit by the remission. This change he estimated would entail a loss to the revenue of £1,300,000.

The losses by all these changes in the present year would be:—

Small charges on commerce	..	..	£143,000
Abatement on small incomes	..	..	300,000
Reduction of tea duty	..	..	1,300,000
Abatement of Income tax	..	..	1,600,000
			£3,343,000

which, deducted from a surplus of £3,874,000, left £531,000, with which the Government did not intend to part.

The following table shows the exact state of the estimates:—

REVENUE BEFORE ALTERATIONS.		
Customs (at present rates)	..	£24,180,000
Excise	..	17,600,000
Stamps	..	9,000,000
Taxes	..	3,160,000
Income Tax	..	10,500,000
Post Office	..	3,800,000
Crown Lands	..	300,000
Miscellaneous	..	2,500,000
China indemnity	..	450,000
		£71,490,000

REVENUE AFTER ALTERATIONS.		
Customs	..	£22,737,000
Excise	..	17,658,000
Stamps	..	9,000,000
Taxes	..	3,160,000
Income tax	..	8,675,000
Post Office	..	3,800,000
Crown Lands	..	300,000
Miscellaneous	..	2,950,000
		£68,280,000

EXPENDITURE.		
Debt	..	£26,333,000
Consolidated Fund	..	1,940,000
Army	..	15,060,000
Navy	..	10,730,000
Collection	..	4,721,000
Miscellaneous	..	8,965,000
		£67,749,000

After reviewing the commercial circumstances of the country during recent years, and congratulating the House upon the general advance of national prosperity as a result of the fiscal policy inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel twenty years ago, the right hon. gentleman concluded by expressing a hope that the example we had set would be followed by other countries, and that the result would be to promote the cause of peace, progress, order, and civilization. For it would be an additional satisfaction if, over and above the benefit that our own people might derive from an alleviation of burdens, we thereby contributed to the allaying of unhappy jealousies and producing a more solid harmony among the great civilized nations of the world.

A number of members took part in a short subsequent discussion, and the House adjourned early.

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Chelmsford called attention to the case of the removal of two of the Judges of the Supreme Council of Justice of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and moved for the correspondence and the papers on the subject.—The Duke of Newcastle said, in accordance with the Constitution of the Ionian Islands the Judges were removable every five years. It had been represented to him that the removal of these Judges would increase the confidence of the Ionians in their courts of justice. He believed it was a wise and proper step, and beneficial to the people of the Ionian Islands.—Lord Derby said the question raised by Lord Chelmsford was, whether the removal of these Judges was not repugnant to the maxims held on the subject in this country. He expressed his astonishment at the position laid down by the Duke of Newcastle, that the Lord High Commissioner should arbitrarily remove men of eminence, of ability, and of integrity from their office without assigning any cause whatever. He was at a loss to reconcile the action of Her Majesty's Government in the present case with the position they had taken up on a recent occasion in refusing to dismiss an Australian Judge—that it was necessary above all things to uphold the independence of the Judges. He trusted the House would not sanction the steps taken by the Government, and hoped that the Duke of Newcastle would reconsider his objection to produce the correspondence on the subject. As, perhaps, the Ionian Islanders were about to separate themselves from us, he hoped that the last action of the Government would not be one which would rankle in their minds—viz., an interference with the independence of justice.—The Duke of Newcastle had no objection to produce the papers moved for.—The Lord Chancellor contended that, as these Judges were removable after a fixed period, there could be nothing more inexpedient than assigning reasons for not re-appointing them. No one in the Ionian Islands had complained of the removal except the two gentlemen affected. He expressed his conviction that the reticence of the Duke of Newcastle in regard to the dismissal of the two Judges had been kinder than the speeches of their advocates, which had brought down a species of condemnation upon them.—Lord Grey dwelt with much force on the necessity of upholding judicial independence, and stated that it was his habit, when Secretary for the Colonies, to refer questions of such great importance as the dismissal of Colonial Judges (who held their office during pleasure) to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was better to put up with a bad Judge for a time than violate the great principle of judicial independence. If the two Judges were removed for being political partisans, that was a good ground for removal, but the charge ought to have been made known and investigated before they were dismissed.

The motion was agreed to, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, conversations took place on harbours of refuge, and the utilization of sewage, without result. The report of the Committee of Ways and Means, approving parts of the Budget, the day before being brought up—Sir S. Northcote observed that the feeling of the House and the country could not fail to be one of satisfaction at the general complexion of the Budget. He feared, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had again fallen into the error of the three preceding years, and over estimated the revenue from the excise. That error was based upon the idea of the right hon. gentleman that he would get from the duty upon spirits the increase which he had calculated upon in the year 1860. They must not deceive themselves with the supposition that the people in the manufacturing districts would not continue to suffer, and if the people suffered the revenue must suffer also. Besides the condition of things in Lancashire and Ireland, there were likewise points of uneasiness in our foreign relations which must influence the revenue of the coming year. But, although the consuming power of the country had been over-estimated and, therefore, the revenue from the excise, the estimates of the right hon. gentleman were not, upon the whole, too sanguine. He believed moreover that, taking one thing with another, those estimates would be realized, and that the surplus he reckoned upon would remain. The reductions of taxation proposed were large and wise, nevertheless he begged it to be understood that they had not come to the end of the policy of reductions yet.

Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

MONDAY, APRIL 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Duke of Somerset, in reply to the Earl of Ellenborough, who called attention to the loss of the Orpheus, said that all masters of Her Majesty's ships were bound to report the discovery of any new rock or shoal to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and that information on those points was also received from colonial governors, consuls, harbour-masters, merchant captains, and the hydrographic department. The route taken by the commander of the Orpheus was the proper route according to chart No. 53. Yet that chart had been since revised in consequence of the shifting of the sand, and the information had been communicated to all the officers on the station. He had seen one of the officers saved from the wreck of the Orpheus, who told him that when the ship was crossing the bar, the commander held in his hand the very notice of the change which had taken place in the position of the bar.

The Earl of Hardwicke brought under notice the holding of a court of inquiry upon Lord Elphinstone for running the Vigilant upon the Gunfleet Sand. He strongly condemned the treatment which Lord Elphinstone had received at the hands of the Lords of the Admiralty, and animadverted upon the censure which had been cast upon him.—The Duke of Somerset said it was a great blunder and gross negligence to run the Vigilant on such a well-known shoal as the Gunfleet Sand; that the Admiralty were forced to censure Lord Elphinstone, to whom a copy of the evidence had been sent.—Lord

Elphinstone had been offered a court-martial and refused it.—Earl Granville thought that Lord Elphinstone had been worse treated by his friends, who had compelled the noble duke near him to reiterate the censure, than by the Admiralty itself.—The Earl of Derby thought it was contrary to notions of British justice to try, condemn, and censure an officer in her Majesty's service without giving him an opportunity of defending himself. He was of opinion that Lord Elphinstone had been very hardly dealt with.

MONDAY, APRIL 20.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Peacocke inquired whether the Government had received any communication from the Federal States' Ministers with reference to the representations made by Mr. Crawford, the member for the City of London, on the occasion of a recent deputation to Earl Russell on the subject of the seizure of the Peterhoff; whether they had inquired into the authenticity of an alleged certificate given by Mr. Adams in favour of a certain vessel bound to Matamoros; and also what course the Government intended to take with reference to Mr. Adams.—Mr. Layard replied that the matter was still under the consideration of the Government, and that no representation had as yet been made to Mr. Adams.

Sir George Grey moved the second reading of the Prison Ministers Bill. Under the present law a chaplain or a clergyman of the Church of England is appointed to each prison, under whose spiritual charge all the inmates of the prison are placed. He visits them, and talks with and exhorts them, whatever may be the religion which they profess. If, however, a prisoner professing any other creed makes a special request for the attendance of a minister of his religion, the visiting justices may allow the attendance of such a minister. The Roman Catholics especially complain that the practical effect of this system is to deprive prisoners of their creed of all catholic religious teaching.

It is very seldom that a prisoner will express a desire to see a clergyman. Sir George Grey proposes, therefore, to allow the visiting justices of a prison, where there are a considerable number of Catholic prisoners, to appoint a Catholic chaplain, with a salary, and in every case to allow a minister of each religious profession to visit the prisoners of that profession. For that purpose a careful register is to be kept of the prisoners' religion. He observed that he could not understand in what manner it involved any question connected with the faith of any church or any principle which would be injurious to those Protestant doctrines to which the vast majority of the House and the country were attached. In fact, it was simply the application to county and borough gaols of a principle which was already in operation in the army and navy. By returns then before the House it appeared that a very large number of the prisoners in the county and borough gaols of England and Wales consisted of Irish Roman Catholics.—Mr. H. G. Langton moved as an amendment that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The title of the bill itself was objectionable, for the number of Protestant dissenters in the gaols of the country was extremely small—not more than twelve per cent. of the whole—and in no instance did they decline the ministrations of the regular chaplain. The bill was, therefore, a measure exclusively for Roman Catholic prisoners, and its title did not truly represent the object it was intended to carry out. By the law as it stood, under the "special request" section, Roman Catholic prisoners might see their own clergy, and in no instance where that request had been made had it been refused. True, the bill was only permissive, but he had no great predilection for bills of that sort. He believed their authors usually doubted their propriety, or, if they did not, proposed them as a means of attaining other and ulterior objects. In the present instance he thought the bill would entail upon the visiting justices an endless controversy on the one hand with the ratepayers, and on the other hand with Roman Catholic congregations urged on by their priests. But his objections to the principle of the bill rested upon far higher grounds; for since the period of the Reformation this was the first occasion on which Parliament had been called upon to sanction the appointment of priests paid out of the public money in every gaol throughout the country; and if the proposal were agreed to they might rely upon it that the next step would be the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains to workhouses.—Mr. Henley could not agree that the bill was unnecessary and uncalled for. It was utterly unreasonable to expect that any priest, however zealous and kind-hearted he might be, would attend and administer the rites of religion to some hundred or two hundred prisoners without any remuneration. The fair principle on which this measure should be judged was that of doing unto others as you would they should do unto you.—Mr. Selwyn, member for the University of Cambridge, opposed the bill. It gave to persons, the visiting justices, whose duty it was to administer the law, the power of altering it. Under its operation there would be one law in one county and another law in another, and even different laws in the same county. And lastly, its real object was and its certain effect would be to give to the Roman Catholic priesthood—a status and position recognised by the law, and which would be antagonistic to our Protestant institutions.—Lord E. Howard, as a Catholic member of the House, thanked the Home Secretary for introducing the bill, which he argued was well adapted to remedy a great and serious grievance.

Mr. Disraeli observed that if he thought the bill had even a tendency to impair the authority of the Church of England, he should oppose it; but he looked at the privileges of the Church as representing popular rights, and that was the real source of her strength. Now, then, could her power be endangered by allowing persons who were not of her communion to enjoy the consolations of their peculiar religion? The application of the bill would be intrusted to the discretion of the natural leaders of the people, and if there were any body of men who did faithfully represent the popular feeling, it was those who administered the office of the magistracy; and who could suppose that under such an influence, proceedings would be sanctioned that would misrepresent the feeling of England and impair the Protestant spirit of the realm? The bill would, in short, perform an act of justice, not only to Roman Catholics, but to the community, and he hoped the House would assent to it, because it was in harmony with the legislation of recent years.—Lord Palmerston, speaking in support of the bill, remarked that the question at issue was not one between Protestantism and Catholicity—it was a question between sound sense and most respectable and honourable prejudice.—Mr. Newdegate vindicated his opposition to the bill against the insinuation that he was actuated by an ignorant prejudice or by any other feeling than a sincere conviction. The bill was a dishonest bill, and its true object was to gratify the ambition of the Church of Rome.

The debate closed with a speech by Mr. Whalley, against.

the bill; after which the House divided, and the second reading was carried by 152 to 122.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Business of no public importance was transacted.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Denman in reference to the Russian offer of an amnesty to the Poles, Lord Palmerston said that more than one version had appeared of the amnesty, and that different interpretations had been put upon it, some giving it the comprehensive sense attached to it by the hon. gentleman, and others a more limited and restricted meaning. All he could say was, that he hoped the larger interpretation was the just one. It was impossible not to feel that the Russian Government, and their troops in Poland, had committed so many acts of ferocious violence, that there was a great arrear of mercy and indulgence due from that Government, to set them right with the public opinion of Europe.

In reply to Mr. Griffith Lord Palmerston said that all the answer he could give was, that it had been his endeavour to make such arrangements as would combine as many advantages and as few objections as possible. It might be desirable that the distribution of Secretaries of State between the two Houses of Parliament should be different, but he was persuaded that the House of Commons would not experience any inconvenience from the present arrangements with respect to the full and proper explanation due to the House on all matters connected with the public service.

Sir George Grey moved for leave to bring in a bill for the amalgamation of the City of London police with the Metropolitan police. It was rendered necessary by the altered circumstances of the metropolis, which in population and area had far outgrown the limits of the City. In this respect, therefore, the Corporation of the City of London differed from every other in the kingdom. Its position was entirely exceptional, inasmuch as it had a separate jurisdiction independent of the surrounding district; so that no other corporation need be under any apprehension that the measure could possibly be applied to them.—Mr. W. R. Crawford would not oppose the motion for leave to bring in the bill, but he intended at the proper time to move as an amendment that it be read a second time that day six months.—Mr. Ald. Sidney opposed the bill.—The Lord Mayor took a similar view, and contended that the bill was uncalled for and unconstitutional.—Sir George Bowyer denounced the measure as one of a most pernicious character, which was not justified by any special circumstances which had occurred of late.—Lord Alfred Paget thought it most advisable that there should be two separate and distinct police authorities in the metropolis.—Mr. Bovill recommended the Government to consult, for their own interests and those of the country generally, by withdrawing the bill, and so avoid a conflict with the municipal authorities all over the kingdom.—Mr. Hibbert objected to the principle of centralisation involved in the bill.—The bill was supported by Mr. Ayrton, Sir Henry Stracey, and Mr. Sergeant Pigott, and opposed by Sir H. Bruce.—After a short reply from Sir George Grey, the motion for leave was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

No business of any public interest was transacted.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, April 22, 1863.

Our market this week has presented no new feature of interest; prices have been well sustained by a good trade demand, and though less animation is now shown than at the close of our last report, our quotations remain the same.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the business reached 12,000 daily; the trade and exporters bought freely, the demand being met by holders at previous prices.

On Monday the sales were 10,000 bales, and on Tuesday 7,000, at firm prices.

To-day the tone of our market is not quite so strong, and with sales of 6,000 bales, prices are rather in favour of the buyer. We quote Middling Orleans, 22d.; Fair Saw-ginned Dharwar, 19d.; Fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttee, 17½d.

The state of Continental politics has to-day had a slightly depressing effect; the fear of further complications arising out of the Polish question has inspired caution here, and curtailed Continental business in Manchester. Our relations with America, moreover, are still unsatisfactory, and it is feared that continued illegal seizures by the Federals in neutral waters may so exasperate this country as seriously to endanger the friendly relations existing between the two countries. This change, however, is so remote that the influence it exerts here is barely perceptible.

The accounts from America still fail to bring us any decisive engagement, the combatants continue to hold their old ground, the Confederates still maintaining the defensive, and the Federals delaying their oft-predicted attack on Vicksburg and Charleston.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, April 21.

Business has again during the past week continued its steady course, at the prices current the previous week, and altogether it may be considered of quite a legitimate character as far as it goes. Most spinners and manufacturers who have received orders to make, can, after buying their cotton and yarns, see a trifle more than their own money back again, a satisfactory state of things as compared with the transactions of many months before.

In yarns from Nos. 40s to 60s mule, spinners are working to order at good prices, for India shippers, and as the demand is still good, more firms are preparing their mills for running again.

Home trade yarns continue very steady in price, the inquiries of manufacturers being very freely met.

Shirtings, mulls, and Jaconets are still in good demand for India shipment, the makers of mulls being quite satisfied, for the present, with the prices obtained for them, as they readily assert that they can cover their orders with yarns at prices which will leave them a profit of about 3½d. per piece, each loom being capable of turning out fourteen pieces per week.

T-cloths and long cloths are also in steady demands for the Levant at, in most cases, paying prices.

Maddapollams and Printers are fetching a slight advance on last week's quotations.

To-day, although our market has been quiet, it has nevertheless been steady, with an improved amount of business doing, during the latter part of the day.

The German exporters showed more disposition to enter into transactions for mule and water-twist, also for pin-cops than has been the case for many months past.

THE SEIZURE OF THE BRITISH STEAMER DOLPHIN.

The following are the facts in relation to the capture of the British steamer *Dolphin*, by the United States' war vessel *Wachusett*, as they appear in the correspondence between the owners of the *Dolphin* and the Foreign Office, published in the *Times* of the 21st inst.

Mr. W. J. Grazebrook, the owner, writes to Earl Russell under date of

Liverpool, April 13, 1863.

My Lord,—I have to call your attention to another flagrant outrage on British property by Federal cruisers, as detailed in newspaper paragraph herewith.

By the West India mail reaching Southampton yesterday, I learn that on the 24th of March the United States' ship *Wachusett* has captured my steamer, *Dolphin*, upon her leaving St. Thomas's, West Indies, while on her legitimate voyage from Liverpool to Nassau, with a general cargo of merchandise on board.

I beg to hand you an attested copy of ship's manifest, also ship's bill of lading; copy of my letters of instructions to her commander, Captain R. H. Eustace (original letter-book, folio 697); and copy of my letter of instructions to the agents for the ship, Messrs. Chambers and Raw, of Nassau (original letter-book, folio 690).

These documents will plainly prove the nature of her voyage, and that her destination was Nassau, New Providence.

As Nassau is a part of the British possessions, and no notification of the blockade of Nassau or of the Danish island of St. Thomas's has yet been issued, I have to claim the protection of the British Government to obtain her immediate release, with full compensation for the injury done to my trade and the insult to my captain and crew.

I am, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

W. J. GRAZEBROOK.

The letters to the captain and consignees of the vessel referred to in the above, are as follows:—

Liverpool, Feb. 6, 1863.

Dear Sir,—I have written to Messrs. Broad and Sons to have ready 40 to 50 tons best Cardiff coals for your service at Falmouth on Tuesday morning. On reaching Madeira it will be necessary to coal there, drawing on me at as long a date as possible. I will endeavour and write to you, care of W. Broad and Sons, with a letter to parties having coals at Madeira; if not, do the best you can. I think it likely after leaving Madeira you may be able to go under half steam to St. Thomas's, and must request of you to use your endeavour to cause engineers to economise fuel as much as possible. I enclose letter herewith to Messrs. Lamb, Ball, and Co., of St. Thomas's, who will give you coal, &c. You must endeavour to draw at as long sight as possible upon me for what coals you may get. These gentlemen will also inform you as to what freights are likely to be offering at St. Thomas's and neighbouring islands, and it would be well to get as much information as you can on these subjects with an eye to future trade. I expect the French army at Vera Cruz will want rum and many articles which you may obtain after discharging at Nassau. I am sure a good trade is to be done in these latitudes after we have got rid of your present cargo. Coals also are sure to be wanted at Nassau, and the coals at Prince Edward's Island are good and cheap—cost 15s. per ton. At Nassau, New Providence, you are consigned to Messrs. Chambers and Raw, my agents, who, I have no doubt, will give you quick despatch. I am told it has become very expensive since the place has been frequented by so many blockade steamers. I rely upon your keeping all charges down. Messrs. Chambers and Raw will probably have the charter arranged for the French Government they wrote about; if not, you must find, in concert with them, some profitable employment. Perhaps trading between Boston or New York with goods for the Nassau market would pay well.

I will write again soon.

Yours truly,

W. J. GRAZEBROOK.

P.S.—I send letters to Chambers and Raw.

Captain R. H. Eustace, steamer *Dolphin*.

(A true copy—W. M. Roonie.)

Liverpool, Feb. 6, 1863.

Dear Sirs,—This will be handed to you by Captain Eustace. I hope the cargo will have arrived in good condition, and will be found suitable for the requirements of the place. I have sent more crockery than we intended, and it has filled up the ship. I think they have sent too many chambers for the assortment. However, the goods are very much according to your specifications sent me from time to time.

I am a little afraid your market may be ordered from New York and the States. If the French charter for the army stores, rum, &c., has fallen through, I fancy a fine trade is to be done between Nassau and Boston, or New York, or it may be through the Canadas, if this war continues, and coal must be greatly wanted for the blockade runners. You might arrange for a return cargo of coals from Prince Edward's Island. I have no doubt you will find plenty of employment for my steamer. If the Federal or any one will pay a right down handsome sum for her I might sell her, but I will have none of your Federal or Confederate paper in exchange for my tight little ship; it must be hard cash.

Yours truly,

W. J. GRAZEBROOK.

Messrs. Chambers and Raw, Nassau

(per steamer *Dolphin*).

(A true copy—W. Roonie.)

The receipt of the above is acknowledged on behalf of Earl Russell by Mr. Hammond, under date of 14th inst., with promise "that this case shall be considered by her Majesty's Government." On the 15th Mr. Grazebrook sends to the Foreign Office some further facts, an attested copy of protest before the British Consul at St. Thomas; and attested copy of protest before a notary at Liverpool, giving further details. Mr. Grazebrook adds:—"This detention is seriously affecting my business, and also the commerce of all West India merchants."

The protest before the Notary at Liverpool is signed by sixteen of the mariners and engineers of the said steamship *Dolphin*, who, after "solemnly and sincerely declaring that they, these appearers, were only shipped for a voyage to Nassau," continues:—

On the 10th of February last set sail from Liverpool in the said steamship or vessel, bound on the voyage thence to Nassau

with a cargo of lawful merchandise properly stowed, and the said vessel being tight, staunch, and strong, and well and sufficiently provided and fitted, and named for the intended voyage, nothing worthy of record occurred until Wednesday, the 25th day of March last, on which day, at one A.M., these appearers sailed from St. Thomas's for Nassau, and on the same day, when about three miles from Calabra Island, off Porto Rico, were fired at and stopped in their course by the Federal ship of war *Wachusett*, the British flag at the same time flying at the stern of these appearers' ship. The Federal ship *Wachusett* immediately sent a boat full of armed men on board these appearers' ship; the officer in charge, as soon as he boarded, demanded to see the ship's papers, but before seeing them armed men took possession of the engine-room, and a petty officer took possession of the bridge. The United States' officer and Captain Eustace then went into the cabin to see the ship's papers. In about twenty minutes the United States' officer and Captain Eustace reappeared, when the officer ordered all hands aft and called the muster roll, ticking off the names, and calling out which men must go on board the *Wachusett*. The men thus picked out were hurried off as they stood, some from the stokeholes, without their coats. They then struck the British flag and hoisted the stars and stripes, and ordered Captain Eustace to go on board the *Wachusett*, who said, "I protest against these proceedings, and I will not go unless I am forced to do so." Four men from the Federal ship then seized Captain Eustace, lifted him over the gangway, and forced him from the deck of his own ship into the boat alongside belonging to the *Wachusett*, the men who were picked out accompanying the captain of the first boat load. The boatswain, William Hales, one of these appearers, seeing one of the United States' men handle roughly the cabin-boy, who is twelve years old, and who was crying, pushed down the United States' man, and locked the boy in the captain's room, and flung the keys to Captain Eustace. Hales was, in consequence, roughly handled and shoved into the boat. Some of the United States' men returned drunk to the *Wachusett*, and it is these appearers' belief they must have broken into the *Dolphin*'s cargo in the fore hold, as a box of champagne was upon the deck of the *Dolphin*, and the coxswain of the first boat's crew was in irons three days for returning drunk from the *Dolphin*, and for striking one of these appearers, George Macdonald, when he was a prisoner on the *Wachusett*. Captain Eustace was kept on board the *Wachusett* for two hours. In the meantime they ordered the engineers who were on board the *Dolphin* to start the engines, who refused, saying, "We are British seamen; we did not ship to serve under the stars and stripes." Finding they could not start the engines themselves, they came and asked the engineers again, who said if they had got written orders from Captain Eustace they would do so, but not otherwise. Captain Eustace was then sent back to the *Dolphin*, and the second and third engineers, the fire men, and the remainder of the crew were ordered on board the *Wachusett*, where they were detained until Her Majesty's ship *Nile* had left St. Thomas's, when they were landed at the American Consulate, and afterwards proceeded, of their own accord, to the British Consul, and acquainted him with these facts, who very kindly forwarded them per *Atrato*, to Southampton. Wherefore these appearers declare and protest, and I the said notary at their request have protested, and by these presents do protest, that all and whatsoever loss, damage, delay, or injury, which have happened to the said vessel, her cargo, or voyage, are wholly owing to the circumstances herein set forth, and not to any default of these appearers, who did their utmost for the preservation of the said vessel.

The Protest before Her Majesty's Consul at St. Thomas's, is signed by fourteen of the crew of the *Dolphin*, and is substantially to the same effect as that before the Notary at Liverpool.

A MARITIME PASSPORT.

At the interview granted by Earl Russell on the 16th instant to Mr. Harving and other merchants interested in the case of the *Peterhoff*, the following letter was read, to show the utter want of good faith, and the monstrous pretensions of the Federal authorities, to regulate British commerce by their convenience alone; it having been circulated at Lloyd's, in an attempt to effect an insurance for a cargo of munitions of war, going from England to Matamoras, and to be used by the Mexicans against the French:—

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

London, April 9, 1863.

Amid the multitude of fraudulent and dishonest enterprises from this kingdom to furnish supplies to the rebels in the United States, through the pretence of a destination to some port in Mexico, it gives me pleasure to distinguish one which has a different and a creditable purpose. Messrs. Howell and Zirman have furnished me with evidence, which is perfectly satisfactory to me, that they are really bound to Matamoras with a cargo intended for the Mexicans. I therefore very cheerfully give them this certificate at their request. It is not the disposition of the Government of the United States to interfere in any way with an honest neutral trade, and it is deeply to be regretted that the frauds which have been so extensively practised in this country have contributed so much to throw it under suspicion.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Admiral Dupont, &c.

As a *pendant* to the above we quote the following from the *Times* City article of April 23rd.

The following correspondence has passed between the owners of the steamship *Sea Queen*, now waiting to sail for Matamoras, and Mr. Adams, the United States Minister in London. It appears that as Mr. Adams, in his certificate granted to the New York contractor, Mr. Howell, and the Mexican officer, General Zirman, had stated that he had pleasure in giving a certificate to any parties engaged in an honest neutral trade, the owners of the *Sea Queen* considered themselves entitled to apply for a similar protection, provided they could satisfy Mr. Adams that that vessel is honestly destined for a neutral port with a cargo totally free from a single package that could be liable to the shadow of an objection that it is not a fair article of honest commerce. In reply, however, they have been informed by Mr. Adams that they are under a misconception as to the course he has heretofore taken, and that he has no authority to exercise any discretion in regard either to the vessels or voyages of Her Majesty's subjects. But his Excellency does not state that the certificate to Messrs. Howell and Zirman was a forgery, and it is therefore difficult to understand wherein consists the misconception to which he alludes. Messrs. Howell and Zirman are not British subjects, but Mr. Adams can hardly intend to intimate that he is anxious by means

of his certificates to secure a monopoly of the trade between Mexico and this country for Americans and Mexicans, or for British shipowners who will employ Americans or Mexicans to make interest for them. In the certificate which has been quoted he made no allusion to questions of nationality, but simply announced the cheerfulness with which he was prepared to assist honest parties. Under these circumstances, there can be little doubt that although the *Sea Queen* is not engaged for such a purpose as that which Mr. Adams has pronounced to be especially "creditable"—namely, the transport of arms and ammunition to enable the Mexicans to resist the attempts of the French Government to obtain redress for a long series of outrages,—the public will consider that her owners were not seeking any undue favour in putting forward their present solicitation. It is true Mr. Adams seeks to console them with the assurance that they are certain to obtain protection from their own Government, but indications that have transpired during the past few days leave room to doubt whether on that point he is not indulging in a little irony:—

2, Cowper's-court, Cornhill, E.C., April 21, 1863.

Sir,—Referring to your letter to Mr. Gourley, in which you state it is not the wish of the United States' Government to subject honest traders to any inconvenience, and to the fact that you have recently granted a certificate to the naval officer in command of the United States' squadron, in favour of a vessel proceeding to Matamoras, I would respectfully ask you to give me a similar certificate in favour of the steamship *Sea Queen*, which vessel is about proceeding to Matamoras with a cargo of merchandise.

To satisfy you that the venture is perfectly legitimate I am prepared to submit to you the manifest of the cargo, all the documents embodying the arrangements under which the ship proceeds on the voyage to Matamoras and back, and I wait upon you for the purpose of affording you any further information or explanations you may desire.

Not wishing to withhold anything, I think it is as well to mention that the *Sea Queen* was formerly called the *Lloyd's*, and that, when sailing under that name, she successfully ran the blockade into and out of Charleston; but this circumstance cannot, of course, affect the present voyage or the present owners, she having changed ownership since that occasion.

To satisfy you that the vessel is intended, *bonâ fide*, to proceed to and return from Matamoras, I should be quite willing that any person you may think proper to appoint should proceed to Matamoras, in the vessel, at my expense.

In making this application, I trust you will rest assured that I am influenced by no other consideration than a desire to afford you the opportunity of averting a repetition of the proceedings with the *Peterhoff*.

As the steamer is lying at Falmouth ready to sail I beg the favour of an early reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient,

JOSEPH SPENCE, of Pile, Spence, and Co.

To the Hon. Charles F. Adams, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

London, April 22, 1863.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the reception of your note dated yesterday. I regret to perceive that you labour under a misconception of the course taken by me heretofore. It must be obvious to you that I have no authority to exercise any discrimination in regard either to the vessels or the voyages of Her Majesty's subjects. When they are engaged in legal undertakings, they have a right to rely upon the protection of her Government, and they will undoubtedly obtain it. When it is otherwise, of course they would not expect it from her, or ask it from a representative of the United States.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

THE POST-OFFICE AND THE MATAMORAS MAILS.

(From the *Times* City Article, April 21.)

The following correspondence has passed in reference to the mails for Matamoras intended to be despatched by the steamship *Sea Queen*, the sister ship of the captured *Peterhoff*, which is now waiting at Falmouth until the Government shall have decided whether they will grant her any protection. From the style of the communications made by the Postmaster-General it would almost appear that the Government, instead of being disposed to grant any extra protection, were desirous of avoiding trouble upon the matter by withdrawing an indirect form of protection which our mercantile marine at present enjoys; but, with the tone of feeling that now prevails in Parliament, it is scarcely likely that this can be the case. In their recent interview with Lord Russell the parties interested suggested that the difficulty might be met by the Government sending a mail agent on board, whose presence would be a sufficient guarantee of the *bonâ fide* character of voyage, and they offered to pay any expenses that this arrangement might involve. Nothing could have been more moderate than this proposal, and Lord Russell promised to consider it. It has been met, however, by a curt refusal on the part of the Post-office, followed by an intimation which looks as if an idea had occurred to the Postmaster-General, and been eagerly seized, by which the Government might get out of its responsibility with regard to the vessel altogether. The owners are informed that, if they will land the mails already received on board, the Government will relieve them of the duty of carrying any. They had pointed to the danger of the mails being violated by the Federal functionaries, with the view of compromising the ship, and the Post-office, instead of reassuring them on this head, have apparently considered it suitable to the dignity of this country to try, as far as they are concerned, to back out of all, even the most customary, connexion with the vessel. Possibly the correspondence may admit of a less derogatory interpretation, but the manner in which it was thought fit to conduct the affair from the first certainly warrants a surmise that there was every disposition to treat the applicants as troublesome persons, to whom it would be officially unwise to give even the encouragement of courtesy. Finally, it is to be remarked that our merchants are entitled to the opportunity of sending letters by this vessel, and that in any case an explanation will be due to them of the grounds on which the Post-office would have been a party to depriving them of it:—

April 11.

Your Lordship,—We have this day received a letter from Messrs. Pile, Spence, and Co., the owners of the steamship *Sea Queen*, declining to allow that vessel to carry the mail to Matamoras, for which we applied to you on the 2nd inst.

They state as their reason that they have been unable to obtain any assurance of protection from her Majesty's Government against the capture of the vessel by Federal cruisers, and, further, that in the case of the *Adela*, captured on her voyage from Bermuda to Nassau, and taken to Key West, the seals of her Majesty's mails were broken open by the authorities, and the judge then informed Captain W. N. W. Hewitt, R.N., commanding her Majesty's steamer *Rinaldo*, that the seals of all bags and letters would be opened, and letters read for information relative to vessels seized.

We also learn that in the case of the steamship *Peterhoff*, despatched by us, and lately seized by the Federal war steamer *Vanderbilt*, that the mail had been taken possession of by the Federal authorities.

In making this communication to your Lordship we beg to point out the danger incurred under these circumstances by taking a mail, as it is not in our power, or that of the owners of the vessel, to control the nature of the letters which may be forwarded through the Post-office, and it would be quite possible for designing persons to forward by the *Sea Queen* fictitious letters of the most compromising character entirely without the knowledge of ourselves or shippers. We are, therefore, desirous of ascertaining, in the event of illegal seizure of the *Sea Queen* on her present voyage, whether such violation of her Majesty's mails can be justified, and whether we should, in that case, incur the risk of having their contents produced to strengthen alleged suspicion, and delay the release of the ship and cargo.

We have the honour to be, your Lordship's obedient servants,
JAMES J. BENNETT and WAKE.

To the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley,
Postmaster-General.

No. 77, Cornhill, E.C., London, April 15.

My Lord,—We had the honour of addressing a communication to your Lordship on the 11th inst., informing your Lordship of the refusal on the part of the owners of the steamship *Sea Queen*, now despatching by us to Matamoras, to carry mail bags, under the impression that their contents if opened by the Federal authorities might compromise the ship and cargo.

We have not yet been favoured with any written reply to our letter, but a messenger who represented himself as sent by the Post-office authorities called on the 13th inst., to say that the mails had that morning been placed on board, and wished to know how they could be recovered, the vessel having left the river.

There being nothing in the appearance of the messenger to indicate the authority under which he professed to call, we waited some more official communication, but the vessel being now at Falmouth, we hasten to inform your Lordship that the owners are aware they cannot legally refuse to carry a mail, and being, indeed, desirous to give the services of their vessel, if they can do so without undue risk, now ask your Lordship to place on board a mail agent to take charge of the bags, and, if your Lordship consents to their request, are willing with ourselves, in the interests of all parties, to support the expense attending on his voyage out.

We have the honour to remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants,
JAMES J. BENNETT and WAKE.

To the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley,
Postmaster-General.

P. Registered No. 27,623.

General Post-office, April 16.

Gentlemen,—Referring to your letter of the 11th inst., respecting the steamship *Sea Queen*, about to sail for Matamoras, I am directed by the Postmaster-General to inform you that previous to the receipt of that letter three ship letter mails for Matamoras, containing eight letters and two newspapers, had been placed on board the *Sea Queen*.

The Postmaster-General must decline to express any opinion with respect to the question raised in the concluding paragraph of your letter.

I am further to state that his Lordship cannot accede to the proposal made in your second letter, dated the 15th inst., that he should place on board the *Sea Queen* a mail agent to take charge of the mails.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

F. HILL.

Messrs. Bennett and Wake, 77, Cornhill.

P. Registered No. 27,623.

General Post-office, April 17.

Gentlemen,—With reference to my letter of yesterday's date, I have further to inform you that, if the owners of the steamship *Sea Queen* shall desire that the mails for Matamoras, which had been embarked before your letter of the 11th inst. reached this office, should not be carried by that vessel, and will instruct the commander to put them on shore at Falmouth, the Postmaster-General will authorise the Postmaster at Falmouth, by means of the electric telegraph, to receive the mails and to return them to London.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

F. HILL.

Messrs. Bennett and Wake, 77, Cornhill.

77, Cornhill, E.C., London, April 17.

My Lord,—We have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letters of 16th and 17th inst. (No. 27,623), and in reply we beg to inform your Lordship that the shippers and owners of the *Sea Queen* have applied to the Foreign-office for some protection for their goods and vessel, and until the reply has been received the owners are unwilling to return the mails, in the hope that the extreme position which caused them to dread having them on board may be somewhat modified.

We may add that the letters and parcels of the merchants in our care have not been posted while the question remained pending, and we are also aware of many houses anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity of forwarding their letters by the *Sea Queen* through the post if possible.

We have the honour to remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants,
JAMES J. BENNETT and WAKE.

To the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley,
Her Majesty's Postmaster-General.

(From the *Times*' City Article, April 22.)

The public have to be informed to-day of the most unpleasant circumstance that has yet transpired in the proceedings to which the *Peterhoff* case has given rise. A correspondence was published yesterday, showing that the Post-office, after treating the parties who had addressed them regarding the precautions to be taken for the safety of any mails that might be transmitted by the *Sea Queen*, a sister ship of the

Peterhoff, now about to sail for Matamoras, with a certain amount of rudeness, had wound up the affair by notifying that the suggestion that a mail agent should be sent with the vessel would not be acceded to, and that the mails now on board might be taken out of her and handed back to the Post-office authorities. To mercantile minds the only object of this course seemed to be that the Government, instead of affording any protection to the vessel, might back out even from the risk of having to make reclamations for the mails in case she should meet with the fate of the *Peterhoff*. Any outrage on our merchant ships is of course aggravated, if it is accompanied by seizure and detention of her Majesty's mails, and the withdrawal of these mails would therefore so far smooth the way for a continuance of the proceedings of Admiral Wilkes that they would enable our Government to exercise a degree of forbearance even greater than that which has hitherto been shown. But it was assumed that the determination was merely departmental, and that it proceeded from the Post-office prior to any decision having been arrived at by Lord Russell. It will now be seen, however, from the following letters that the British Government have actually thought fit to propose that the *Sea Queen* and the other vessels of the steam line established to Matamoras should refuse to carry mails, and that thus, at the sacrifice of a privilege which is the undoubted right of our merchants and of all who are interested in having the advantage of a speedy means of communication with Mexico, they—the Government—should be allowed to meet, or rather to evade, the embarrassments of the case. It was "by the recommendation of Lord Russell" that the Postmaster-General gave the answer published yesterday. If the precedent is allowed to be established, we may have our ship mail services interrupted all over the world, since the same defence that is now shown to the United States, in setting aside the convenience of our commercial houses in order to reduce the danger of having to remonstrate on the conduct of Admiral Wilkes, must, in fairness on future occasions, be extended to all other nations. In the present instance the result will be that the Federal squadron will have to boast not only of putting a stop to British trade with Mexico, except such as is sanctioned by the certificates of their Minister in London, but they have also gained the further advantage of intimidating our Government, so as to restrict our means of correspondence. If the affair admits of any other view, the merchants of London will be heartily glad to discover and accept it; but in the absence of explanation, the announcement appears to be one of the most unsatisfactory that has ever emanated from the Foreign-office, while, at the same time, from its tendency to invite a repetition of arrogant bravado, it will to a majority of experienced persons appear especially calculated to lead the way to war:—

FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STEAMSHIP *SEA QUEEN* TO LORD RUSSELL.

77, Cornhill, E.C., April 17.

My Lord,—We had the honour of submitting to your Lordship yesterday our reason for soliciting the interference of Her Majesty's Government to afford some protection for the steamship *Sea Queen*, now lying at Falmouth, and detained by the owners in consequence of the capture of the *Peterhoff*. It is not necessary for us to dilate on the inconvenience and loss arising to us merchants whose goods are on board the *Sea Queen* by such detention and stoppage of our legal trade. We, therefore, respectfully suggest to your Lordship that the presence of a mail agent on the vessel would offer a guarantee to the Federal authorities that the vessel would proceed to the port for which she was cleared, and we earnestly solicit of your Lordship the appointment of such an official. Should our request meet with the approbation of your Lordship, we are prepared ourselves to support any charges arising from such appointment.

We have the honour to remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servants,

JAMES J. BENNETT and WAKE.
The Right Hon. Earl Russell, K.G., Her Majesty's
Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

LORD RUSSELL TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STEAMSHIP *SEA QUEEN*.

Foreign Office, April 18.

Gentlemen,—I have laid before Earl Russell your letter of yesterday's date, requesting that instructions may be given for placing a Government mail agent on board the *Sea Queen*, which is now at Falmouth, and I am directed to state to you in reply that, at Lord Russell's recommendation, the Postmaster-General will for the present relieve vessels proceeding to Matamoras from the obligation of carrying ship letter mails.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

E. HAMMOND.

Messrs. Bennett and Wake, 77, Cornhill, E.C.

BRITISH SUBMISSION TO YANKEE INSULTS.

(From the *Morning Herald* of April 21.)

The determination of the Federal Government to put a stop to British trade with the West Indian Islands and with Mexico produces from day to day, and will probably continue for some time to produce, unpleasant discussions, if not between Mr. Adams and the Foreign-office, certainly between the Foreign-office and the owners of plundered property and vessels piratically seized. It should not, however, be left to the latter to conduct the case on behalf of neutral rights. Naturally, they strengthen their own cause by pleas which are unnecessary and irrelevant, but which serve to place in a stronger light the absolute want of any excuse or provocation on the part of the Americans; and by so doing they inevitably weaken the general argument in favour of the freedom of commerce, and help to mislead their countrymen as to the real extent and nature of belligerent rights at sea. For instance, the owners of the *Peterhoff* pleaded that their ship had no contraband of war on board—meaning to show thereby not only that the Federal cruisers had no right, but also that they had no provocation to seize her. Taking up this plea, Lord Russell answered that the Americans had certainly no right to capture a vessel proceeding from neutral port to neutral port, and not carrying contraband of war destined for the Confederate States. The fact is—and Lord Russell's own previous despatches show that he knows it—that the Federalists have no more right to meddle with a British vessel bound for Matamoras than the Confederates would have to meddle with a British vessel bound for Quebec; that her destination being lawful the character of her cargo is not a subject of concern to the belligerent; that the vessel being innocent, her cargo is free; and finally that, by the dictum of Lord Stowell, as well as by every maxim of common sense and public law, it is clear that there can be no contraband of war between neutral ports. The case of a British ship sailing for Mata-

moras with a cargo of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, reasonably supposed to be intended for the Confederate States, and the case of the packet between Dover and Calais carrying a letter from Mr. Mason to Mr. Slidell are in law precisely alike. All trade between neutrals is lawful, whether or no its object be the assistance of a belligerent. Neutrals have a right to supply arms and munitions of war to any country, provided only they do not send them direct to the ports of a belligerent power. On their way to such ports they are liable to seizure; on her way to a blockaded port a vessel with an innocent cargo is liable to confiscation. But neither vessel nor goods on their way from one neutral port to another, whatever their previous history or subsequent destination, are subject to capture. The trade between Liverpool and Nassau, and between London and Matamoras, is a lawful trade, even though it be in arms and munitions of war intended at the first opportunity to be transhipped and sent into the Confederate States; and in seizing British vessels engaged in such a trade the Federalists are breaking the law of nations in exactly the same manner and degree as if they were to seize one of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers in the Mediterranean, or to way-lay an Australian gold ship. The right of capture in any case is an exception to the general liberty of the seas, strictly defined and closely limited; the trade in arms is a lawful trade, except when carried on directly and immediately with a belligerent port; and it can not be allowed that a belligerent, who as a neutral was remarkable for his extreme tenacity of neutral liberties, should be permitted to carry the exception so far as to supersede the rule, and to suspend a lawful trade because he finds that it feeds an unlawful trade, which he is unable to suppress. It is because shipowners allow themselves to lose sight of these plain facts; and statesmen find it convenient to ignore them, that we press upon public attention rules of international law so exceedingly trite and familiar. It is no trifling disgrace to the British Ministry that it should have so acted as to make such a reiteration of the first principles of public law seem necessary—that, owing to the failure of the Government to enforce our national rights, it will probably surprise many people to be told what and how extensive those rights are. It is not the fault of the Foreign-office if any gentleman is aware that he has as much right to send a cargo of arms to Nassau as to send a fowling-piece to his friend in the country, and that in seizing such a cargo Admiral Wilkes commits precisely the same violation of law as would a policeman in confiscating a gun duly sent per rail to a sporting squire.

In view of this absolute right of trade between neutral ports we must perceive the peculiar offensiveness of such a document as the certificate by which Mr. Adams gives a license to a particular British vessel to carry on such a trade. It is this which renders so utterly inexcusable the captures made by the United States cruisers. It is this which makes the instructions given to those cruisers to seize particular vessels whenever and wherever found almost a declaration of war against England. If ships having munitions of war on board were liable to be seized on a voyage between neutral ports, then the detention, at least, if not the condemnation, of all vessels trading to Nassau or Matamoras might be palliated if not justified. It is the certainty that, whatever their cargo, these vessels are legally free that forms the *gravamen* of the offence involved in their capture. That offence is greatly enhanced by the fact that it is committed systematically, and with a definite and well-understood purpose. It is the object and intention of the United States to use the right of search as a means of preventing British ships from carrying on a trade which, though provoking to the Federal Government, is perfectly lawful. We say to prevent British ships from carrying on that trade—for ships are allowed to clear from New York for Matamoras, and vessels under the flags of nations whose Government will assert their rights are rarely molested by the subordinates of Mr. Gideon Welles. Their advocates in this country endeavour, as a matter of course, to gloss over the outrageous illegality of this course, sometimes by ignoring the law, oftener by ignoring the facts; while one of them was driven to the desperate resource of alleging the escape of the *Alabama* as an excuse (wholly irrelevant by the way) for conduct which began long before the *Alabama*'s keel was laid down. Mr. Adams answers the complaints made of the arrest of British ships on voyages to neutral ports by saying that many British ships have carried aid for the Confederates. But if they carried that aid to neutral ports they did only what they had a right to do; and it is no excuse for the capture of a vessel, confessedly bound to Matamoras, that another vessel ran the blockade of Charleston. Nor, by the way, is it any excuse that the same vessel on a previous voyage had run the blockade. But, so long as we suffer it, the Federal Government will strain and violate the law of nations with the same shameless audacity. They will seize ships bound on lawful voyages; they will issue black lists of suspected vessels; they will assert the right to confiscate whenever and wherever they find a vessel that has once offended them. Nothing will stop them but a peremptory warning that England will endure no more.

But that warning our Government seems by no means disposed to convey. We publish to-day the correspondence between the Foreign-office and the owners of the *Sea Queen*. The latter vessel, bound for Matamoras, was to carry her Majesty's mails; and, being threatened by the Federalists, the owners requested that a mail agent might be placed on board, as his presence might afford her some sort of protection. It was clear that compliance with this request would secure that the voyage should be lawful; because, with a mail agent on board, the vessel dare not go anywhere but to her nominal destination. And it is equally clear that the British Government is bound to protect a British ship on a lawful voyage; and that the kind of protection asked was perfectly legitimate, peaceful, and proper. But the Foreign Secretary, with the fear of Mr. Bright and Mr. Peter Taylor before his eyes, thought it best to neglect his obvious duty; and preferred to order the mails to be left at home rather than to protect them and the ship which was to carry them from piratical seizure. While our Government acts in this way we are not entitled to complain very angrily of such outrages as those of Admiral Wilkes, or such insolence as that of Mr. Adams. It is scarcely in human nature, especially in critical times, not to encroach on the rights of those who are too cowardly to maintain them; it certainly is not in American nature to abstain from insulting weakness and taking advantage of inability. But we can hardly think that it is in British nature to endure much longer the insults and encroachments which are invited by the vacillating and unpatriotic timidity of the present occupants of the Foreign office; and we may predict that one or two more such captures as that of the *Peterhoff* will raise a storm more dangerous to Lord Russell than the combined displeasure of Mr. Bright and Mr. Seward, Mr. Charles Adams and Mr. Peter Taylor.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance.

All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1863.

Belligerent and Neutral Rights.

The subject at present uppermost in people's minds is the unaccountable and un-English tameness with which the Government apparently endures, or rather invites, the Yankee warfare upon neutral commerce. Merchants complain to the Foreign-office that their lawful trade with a British colony is interrupted by the arrogant and illegal assumption of belligerent powers on the part of the Federal cruisers. The reply is an advice to cease trade altogether with such colony. Complaint is made that the mails between this and another neutral country cannot be carried in safety, owing to the same arrogance and assumption: the reply again is not to carry the mails. A weak and insignificant country, overawed by the threats of formidable neighbours, might find in its weakness an excuse or at least a prudential reason for such a conduct; but forbearance, to call it by no harsher name, has seldom been carried to such lengths, and certainly never by Great Britain at any period of her history. Fully appreciating that prestige is as much a part of the substantial strength of a powerful nation as armaments, she has consistently aimed at making herself respected and even feared, as well by the strong as the weak. It has been left to her statesmen of the present generation to interpret literally, and introduce into international law, the Christian injunction of turning also the other cheek when one is smitten.

There are, however, symptoms that the public is not so meek and long-suffering as the Government. The crowning outrages upon neutral rights in the successive seizures of the *Peterhoff* and the *Dolphin*, without the shadow or scarcely the pretence of reasonable suspicion, have at last broken the camel's back, and excited a feeling of indignation little less intense than that caused by the kindred affair of the *Trent*. The Press is nearly unanimous in giving utterance to this feeling; and even the *Daily News*, notoriously Americanized as is that paper, and bigoted in its admiration of Dictator Lincoln, is forced by an overwhelming public opinion to hint at "the necessity of resisting by energetic action the interference of the Americans with our trade and shipping." Mr. Roebuck has brought the matter under the notice of Parliament, and though Lord Palmerston turned it off playfully at the moment, there can be little doubt that the debate in the House of Commons to-night will be most serious and animated.

The illegality of the recent seizures is so flagrant that it is difficult to conceive how Earl Russell himself, with his admitted disposition to "construe international law liberally" in favour of the Federal Government, can invent an extenuating circumstance for the conduct of his favourites. In this particular case of construction the Foreign Secretary is committed in advance by his own words. In his reply to Mr. Seward's despatch on the surrender of the Confederate Commissioners, he says:—

It is of the very essence of the definition of contraband that the articles should have a hostile, and not a neutral destination. "Goods," says Lord Stowell, "going to a neutral port,

cannot come under the description of contraband, all goods going there being equally lawful. The rule respecting contraband," he adds, "as I have always understood it, is that articles must be taken *in delicto*, in the actual prosecution of the voyage to an enemy's port."

Earl Russell being thus committed to Lord Stowell's, and not his own "liberal" construction of international law, what possible excuse can be framed for the seizure of the *Peterhoff*, unless it be argued that Matamoras, in Mexico, is "an enemy's port"—or that there was, which is not alleged, ground for suspicion as to the destination of that vessel? What reason can there be for refusing to remove all grounds for similar suspicion in the case of the companion steamers of the *Peterhoff*, by placing on board of them, at the owner's expense, a mail agent in charge of the endangered mails? Is the refusal of this reasonable request a deliberate invitation to the Federal officers to repeat the outrage?

But the most serious departure of the Foreign Secretary from the duty of protection which he owes to his fellow subjects, is in attempting to confound, or at least failing to distinguish, in his answer to the *Peterhoff* complainants, the real reasons of the illegality of that capture. It is not because the *Peterhoff* carried no contraband that her seizure was illegal, but because no presumption of doubt did or could exist as to her *bonâ fide* destination. This "essential" and elementary principle is stated unmistakeably in the words of Lord Stowell, quoted by Earl Russell himself. Yet the *Peterhoff* and the *Dolphin* are, unfortunately, not the only cases where captures have been allowed or submitted to by this Government, when the destination of the vessels was quite as unquestionably neutral. Upon the very pretence set up by Mr. Seward, which Earl Russell then combated, he has since permitted the trade to British colonies to be subjected to almost as much risk as trade with the blockaded ports. This pretence of Mr. Seward was, that "Great Britain herself regarded as true maritime law, that the circumstances of a vessel proceeding from a neutral port to a neutral port, does not modify the rights of the belligerent Power." We have quoted Earl Russell's reply to this. Hear, now, the ministerial champion, to whom the defence of the Cabinet policy has been so often confided in the columns of the *Times*. In his letter on Mr. Seward's despatch relative to the *Trent* affair, "Historicus" says:—

Now, if all that Mr. Seward here means is that the right of search may be exercised by a belligerent, whatever may be the destination or point of departure of the neutral ship, he is unquestionably right; but if he intends to assert that the neutral destination of the ship has no effect on the question of contraband, he is just as undoubtedly wrong. In a question of contraband, the destination of the ship is everything. Going to a belligerent port, some goods may be and some may not be contraband. But, going *bonâ fide* to a neutral port, no goods are, or can be treated, as contraband.

And again, in a further letter on the same subject, the same writer speaks yet more strongly, and especially refers to *repeated* detentions and seizures. The reader will be struck with the perfect applicability of his remarks to the cases of the *Peterhoff* and *Dolphin*.

The great and practical danger of the fallacious reasonings of Mr. Seward consists in this, that they would serve to justify, and may be taken to encourage, the captain of the *Tuscarora* to seize the *Dover* packet-boat, and carry her into New York for adjudication, in case Messrs. Mason and Slidell should take a through ticket from London to Paris. If the principles of the American despatch are sustainable at all the *Dover* packet would be unquestionably liable to seizure, and ultimately liable to confiscation. Now, I venture most confidently to affirm that a captain of a man-of-war who should, without any reasonable or probable cause for doubt as to the neutral destination of a merchant vessel, repeatedly detain and carry that vessel before a prize court for adjudication, as a vehicle of contraband, would commit a gross breach of international comity which would properly become the subject of diplomatic complaint. That such a vessel cannot be charged with the unlawful carriage of contraband, whatever may be her cargo, is a point of international law so clearly settled and so universally established that no nation can be permitted to treat it as a doubtful matter.

If—which it is impossible to conceive—an American prize court should have exhibited an ignorance or a contempt of law equal to that displayed in Mr. Seward's despatch, and condemned the vessel, so gross a violation of the settled principles of the law of nations by the tribunal appointed to guard its sanctions would have been in itself a justifiable cause of war.

It is only in doubtful or suspicious cases that a captain of a

man-of-war can be justified in the detention and capture of a vessel, even though he should afterwards submit the question to the adjudication of a prize court. The compensation which such a court can award, may be very inadequate to the mischief which has been done by an act of vexatious and causeless molestation. The great maritime nations of England and France cannot afford to have the leading principles of international law confounded by the loose inaccuracies of Mr. Seward. They cannot suffer their trade to be embarrassed, and their interests compromised by the American navy acting upon instructions of which every line is a blunder. No time should be lost in putting forth an official protest, which shall re-assert the true doctrines of maritime law in opposition to this most foolish performance; for otherwise, with Seward for teachers, and Wilkeses for pupils, there is no saying how soon we may not have another "*Trent* affair" on our hands.

It is needless to point out the parallel which must be evident to the most careless reader. But while upon this subject of belligerent and neutral rights, it may not be amiss to make some further extracts from this writer, who assuredly cannot be suspected of any partisanship with the South, and who, especially in his later letters, has scarcely cared to disguise his earnest sympathies for the Federal cause. The extracts refer to the construction of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the sale of contraband to belligerents, and the fitting out of steamers, &c. The views of "Historicus," supposed to be, at least at the time of their expression, the views of the Cabinet, are peculiarly interesting on these points at this time, when it is announced in the newspapers that the *Alexandra* has been exchequered for a violation of the law, and when it is a matter of notoriety that a systematic espionage has been organised by no less a person than her Majesty's Home Secretary, to watch the movements of alleged Confederate agents in Liverpool. On page 124 of the "*Letters of Historicus*," now collected and published in book-form, he says:—

I unhesitatingly assert that the trade in contraband with either belligerent or private persons of the neutral State, within the neutral territory, is a lawful trade; that it is not the duty of a neutral Government to prohibit such a trade within its own territory; and that the belligerent State can have no ground of complaint against the neutral Government in respect of such trade. That it is the transportation to the belligerent territory, and not the sale in the neutral territory, of contraband which constitutes an offence against the belligerent; and that, even for this offence, the belligerent can have no recourse against the neutral Government, which is in no wise bound to interpose, but must rely for his remedy on the capture of the contraband *in transitu*. It is a discreditable thing to the state of international science that it should be necessary, at the present time, to cite authority in support of propositions so elementary, and which ought to be beyond the possibility of dispute.

On page 169:—

To equip and to arm a vessel of war within the United Kingdom, is not, *per se*, an offence against the statute; it is the equipping and arming, with intent to commit hostilities against a foreign Government, which constitutes the misdemeanor. The act is directed, not against the "cauponantes bellum," but against the "belligerentes." The mere sale or equipment for sale, of a vessel, is in itself no evidence of such an intent, which must be proved conclusively upon some better grounds.

Again, in the same place:—

A subject of the Crown may sell a ship of war, as he may sell a musket, to either belligerent, with impunity; nay, he may even despatch it for sale to the belligerent port. But he may not take part in the overt act of making war upon a people with which his sovereign is at peace. The purview of the Foreign Enlistment Act is to prohibit a breach of allegiance on the part of the subject against his own sovereign, not to prevent transactions in contraband with the belligerent. Its object is to prohibit private war, not to restrain private commerce.

And, having proved conclusively, by reference to decisions of the American Supreme Court, as well as Presidential Messages, that this is the theory as well as the unvarying practice of the United States also; having referred to the fact that during the Crimean War, Belgium supplied Russia with munitions of war without France or England feeling themselves justified to complain of it as a violation of neutrality, "Historicus" further enforces his position with a most valuable quotation of Mr. Canning's opinion, as stated in Parliament by Mr. Huskisson. The quotation is important, as showing the intentions of the framers of the "Foreign Enlistment Act," and is conclusive as to the English law and policy on this subject. Its reiteration and approval by the Ministerial advocate would seem to indicate that the present Cabinet still consider that law and that policy unchanged, and if so, it is difficult to imagine what offence a vessel in process of

construction could have committed to warrant her summary condemnation, and what necessity there is for resorting to a system of secret police, so repugnant to English ideas, as Sir G. Grey's Liverpool espionage. Mr. Huskisson, in the debate on the Terceira affair in 1830, cites the opinion of Mr. Canning to the following effect:—

"Arms may leave this country as a matter of merchandise, and however strong the general inconvenience, the law cannot interfere to stop them. It is only when the elements of armaments are combined that they come within the provisions of the law, and if that combination does not take place till they have left this country, we have no right to interfere with them." These are the words of Mr. Canning, who extended the doctrine to steam vessels and yachts that might afterwards be converted into vessels of war, and they appeared quite consistent with the law of nations. At the very moment he was speaking, arms and clothing were about to be sent out of this country to belligerents. Were they to be stopped, or were they to be followed and brought back? He believed the answer would be, no; and if it were yes, of what use, he would ask, would be our skill in building ships, manufacturing arms, and preparing instruments of war, if equally to sell them to all belligerents were a breach of neutrality?—"Hansard," vol. xxiv., p. 209.

Mr. Adams's Commercial Licenses.

The Government of President Lincoln has done all things ill; but it has done nothing worse than its appointments. Official patronage was never so grossly, absurdly, wickedly misused by responsible statesmen. Most of its selections have been scandalous; nearly all of them have been foolish; all, with one or two rare exceptions, have been unfortunate. It was of extreme importance that the army should be well commanded. Every General who showed courage and capacity, or merely military experience, has been either removed, like McDowell, McClellan, and Burnside, or kept in a subordinate position, like Sigel and Rosencranz; while high commands have been bestowed on electioneering intriguers, adventurous attorneys, or broken-down gamblers. It was of extreme importance to foster as much as possible, if not a Unionist feeling, yet a sense of security under Federal rule in the South; and therefore the General appointed to the government of the first and most important Southern city captured by the invaders should have been an honest man, a strict disciplinarian towards his troops, and a conciliatory and cautious administrator of martial law in an enemy's country. Yet the government of New Orleans was bestowed on a man whose name will go down to posterity as more infamous than that of Haynau;—a thief, a blackguard, and a bully, devoid alike of military and civil virtues; who in a year of rule has realized a fortune for himself, and achieved for his country the intense hatred of Louisiana, and the execration and contempt of Europe. It was a matter of moment to avoid a quarrel with England; and the command of the squadron appointed to watch English ports and overhaul English merchantmen was given to an officer notorious only for an outrage to the English flag, which had left his Government no choice but between submission and war. It was necessary that the representatives of the United States in Europe should be quiet, cautious, conciliatory gentlemen; and the embassy to Russia, with a roving commission to declaim against England, was bestowed first on Cassius M. Clay, and then on Cameron, neither of whom is quiet, cautious, or a gentleman. It was desirable that the Northern cause should be well represented in the English press; and the person appointed to that duty was the unhappy monomaniac Train. Nearly every appointment, from the highest to the humblest, has been filled by a man morally unworthy and intellectually unequal to fill it.

We had thought, however, that the Embassy at the Court of St. James's was an exception. Mr. Adams had a very difficult duty to fulfil. He had to be the mouthpiece of Mr. Seward's falsehood and misrepresentation, without forfeiting the personal respect of the English Government. He had to utter the insolence of his chief without provoking a quarrel, or adding to the enmity excited against his country the further mischief of personal hostility towards her representative. He had to urge upon

the Foreign-office views of international law notoriously unsound and often absolutely ridiculous, and yet not bring himself into personal contempt. He had to defend conduct which would admit of no defence; to palliate affronts which were calculated to excite England to fury; to gloss over intolerable insults; to explain away the most palpable and unmistakeable menaces; to press countless charges which he could not substantiate, and which were often upon their very face absurd and untenable. Worst of all, in a country exceedingly jealous of espionage, and specially of foreign espionage, he had to keep a constant watch on the actions of the Confederates and of their friends, from the fitting out of a gunboat to a private meeting at a friendly table. He did all this; he is doing it now; and we considered that he had done his work with an aptitude which proved him the right man in the right place. To be the tool of a Seward, and yet not provoke the manifest disgust and contempt of a Palmerston and a Russell; to be the spokesman of American violence, bombast, and menace, and yet not be personally disliked in England; to do the work of a spy, and yet maintain the character of a gentleman—this we thought an achievement which proved Mr. Adams's title to the highest rank in the diplomatic service of his country. He had done something to prevent the war which his Government had done so much to provoke; he had tried to soften the indiscretions of Mr. Seward, and he had committed no exasperating indiscretions on his own account. But we must say that his last act seems to us exceedingly indiscreet and very exasperating. It was not meant to provoke anybody; perhaps it was not intended to become publicly known. Possibly Mr. Adams thought that it would do good; that it would indicate a disposition on his own part to avert collisions and smooth over difficulties. But if he did think so, he was guilty of a strange miscalculation. In granting a certificate intended to operate as a passport to a British ship between two neutral ports, he was assuming for himself a responsibility for, and a power over the lawless captures made by his countrymen which will involve him in personal unpopularity; and he was assuming for his country a right to do what England certainly cannot permit—to seize all British ships concerned in a trade which, though obnoxious to the feelings of the Federal Government, is strictly legitimate, unless they are authorized by Charles Francis Adams, acting for and on behalf of the President of the United States, to carry on that trade. He was claiming a jurisdiction over the high seas, the very last pretension which this country will tolerate; and he was exercising that jurisdiction in the case of a British ship, and while he himself is actually enjoying the hospitality of Great Britain. It is a blunder; the blunder perhaps of a well-meaning man, generally cautious and conciliatory, but still a strange and serious mistake, which never could have been committed by the Minister of any Power but that quarrelsome and aggressive Republic which never remembers that she is but one, and not the chief, among a family of nations having equal rights and privileges, and that she must not expect others to bear from her what she would not allow them to inflict. Neither England, France, nor Russia would ever dream of granting a license to an American ship to sail from New York to a country with which the licenser is at peace; or a certificate that, in so doing, she has no unfriendly intentions towards his Government. Only a minister accustomed to see and hear insolence and menace lavished on foreign Governments, and a tone assumed towards them which would not be tolerated from them, could have imagined that he could be allowed to grant a permit to one British vessel to carry on a lawful trade, and thereby virtually declare that trade unlawful to others.

A story is current as to the intentions and freighting of the vessel licensed by Mr. Adams, which, if true, exhibits his blunder in a still more striking light. It is said that she is laden with arms and munitions of war, intended for the use of the Mexican army against the French. Now, it is plain that

if this be the case, she stands in exactly the same position as if she were bound for an unblockaded Confederate port, except that it is the right of the French, and not of the Federal cruisers, to intercept her. Mr. Adams has frequently, and somewhat petulantly complained that the English Government allows the shipment of arms and munitions of war from England to Southern ports. He has been told—and it is very strange that he should need telling—that the Government cannot interfere with such shipments; that they involve no breach of neutrality, and no violation of our or of any other municipal law; that neutrals have a right, at their own risk, and on peril of capture and confiscation, to make such shipments; and that if we were to interfere with the sale of arms to the Confederate States, while allowing them to be shipped to New York, we should be guilty of a violation of our duties as a neutral Power. Still the Federal Ambassador has persevered in his complaints; taking the ground that such shipments are, in point of fact, acts of hostility towards the North. Now we find him pronouncing such shipments, made to aid the Mexicans against the French, perfectly lawful. Of course, they are so, in the one case as in the other. They are lawful, so far as we are concerned; they are unlawful, in so far that they subject the ship and cargo to confiscation, if seized by a cruiser. But we have our doubts as to the legality of the Ambassador's share in the transaction. It is no breach of neutrality for a private citizen to send arms and ammunition to a belligerent. If a Government do so, it is an act of war against the other belligerent. It may be questioned whether, by lending his name and authority to a shipment of arms to Mexico—if such shipment be intended, Mr. Adams may not have given the French Government a right to make formal complaint of his conduct at Washington.

We ought to notice that the Federal envoy has used language concerning other transactions of British shippers which is certainly impertinent, and in the sense in which it is probably intended is false. He speaks of "fraudulent" shipments to Matamoras. Now, if he meant to speak of ships which have sailed from England nominally for a Mexican, but really for a Confederate port, this term, though ill-chosen and wantonly offensive, might be allowed to pass in silence. But it is tolerably certain that he refers to cases in which cargoes of warlike stores destined for transfer to the Texan side of the frontier have been shipped for Matamoras, and in such cases the term "fraudulent" is not merely offensive and impertinent, but altogether untrue. As the Federal cruisers, acting under distinct instructions from Mr. Welles, have chosen to behave as Mr. Adams thinks fit to speak, and to treat such ventures as fraudulent,—and as our Government seems disposed to allow this view to prevail, it may be worth our while to remind our readers that the Federal Government has no more right to seize such cargoes between London and Matamoras than between Birmingham and London. They are not contraband of war. They cannot be so; for *there can be no contraband of war except on board a vessel bound for an enemy's port*. The future destination of ship or cargo are of no consequence. It may be intended that both should be sold to the enemy; nevertheless, while on their way to a neutral port, they are free. The past history of either is of no consequence; a ship that has run the blockade of Charleston nine times over is not liable to be captured on a tenth voyage between London and Liverpool, or between Liverpool and Bermuda. All trade between neutral ports, whatever its purpose, is equally lawful; the conveyance of arms and ammunition from Liverpool to Nassau is as legitimate a business as the conveyance of coffee from Jamaica to Liverpool; and the seizure of a vessel laden with arms which is really and *bonâ fide* bound for Nassau from Liverpool is as great an outrage as would be the seizure of the packet-boat between Dover and Calais. And the abuse of the right of search with a view to prevent—by the penalty of arrest, detention, and trial—the trade between this country and Matamoras or the Bahamas, is an offence of precisely the same character

as would be the attempt similarly to suppress our trade with Hamburg or with Bombay. The seizure of a vessel really bound for Matamoras by Federal cruisers is a piratical outrage; and in granting safe-conducts to particular vessels bound for that port, Mr. Adams puts himself in the position of the Highland cateran, who, for blackmail or other consideration, undertook to protect particular estates from the depredations of his clansmen and neighbours.

Confederate States' Executive Documents.

We conclude, to-day, the publication of the Official Report of the Secretary of War, the first part of which appeared in our impression of the 9th of April. The English reader cannot fail to be favourably impressed with the genuine manliness of this document, the absence of all bluster or boastful promises, the frankness with which it exposes sores and suggests the appropriate remedies. A nation, like an individual, which does not shrink from truth, whether in telling or in hearing it, gives the highest proof of solid strength. The Majority Report of the Committee of the Confederate House of Representatives on a resolution to recall the Commissioners and dismiss the Foreign Consuls resident in the Confederacy, will also be read with much interest. It shows that, though the Executive is firm in resisting such a measure, and continues allowing such consuls of foreign countries as have Exequaturs of a date anterior to the war, to exercise their functions, the popular feeling is evidently strong in favour of allowing such privileges only to nations which reciprocate them to the Consular Agents of the Confederacy. As is usual in American State papers, this difference of opinion occasions a certain acerbity of tone, to which no undue significance should be attached. It is quite probable that if diplomatic recognition is much longer delayed, some such arrangement as that contemplated by the Committee may be agreed to by foreign nations. This species of consular recognition has, it appears, been already accorded by one of the smallest of European sovereignties, the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg.

Of the other Executive Documents published by order of the Confederate Congress, which are not of sufficient interest here to warrant reproduction *in extenso*, we content ourselves with a synopsis.

The report of the Hon. John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General, is very elaborate, and affords conclusive evidence that the war, whilst putting a stop to foreign commerce, has not restricted internal communication. On the 30th June last—the report is dated Richmond, 12th January, 1863, but refers to the year ending June 30th, 1862—there were in the Confederate States, not including Kentucky and Missouri, 8,613 post-offices; and the post routes in operation were 95,577 miles in length, of which 8,266 miles were by railroad, and 87,311 miles were by other routes. What an odd comment are such facts on Mr. Seward's intimation to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that the people of the Confederate States are merely “an insurrectionary party, which is located and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.”

The Confederate States' Post-office has not yet been a paying concern, and so far from yielding a revenue to the national coffers, it has been a considerable charge on the Treasury. The receipts for the year ending June 30, 1862, were \$1,911,189, and the expenditure for the same period was \$2,924,290, leaving, with \$13,542 excess of expenditure for the month of June, a total excess of expenditure of \$1,056,644. This difference had been provided for by grants amounting to \$1,739,450, which had been voted to meet the estimated deficiency. These grants left an excess of revenue and grants of \$682,806, and Mr. Reagan accounts for the discrepancy between the estimated and the actual deficiency by the increased rates of the Confederate postage, his calculations of income being based on those of the United States. The

return of receipts and expenditure is, notwithstanding the deficiency of revenue, gratifying and encouraging. Mr. Reagan compares the actual receipts and expenditure for the last fiscal year, under the Government of the United States, with the first fiscal year under the Government of the Confederate States, and he finds that under the latter the receipts were \$393,648 more, and the expenditure \$1,371,956 less. That is, the Post-office in the Southern States exhibits a financial improvement of \$1,765,604 under the Confederate Government. Mr. Reagan estimates that the deficiency for the year ending June 30th, 1863, will be \$1,465,079, but that is more than covered by appropriations already made by Congress.

There is, in connection with the deficiency of the Post-office revenue, an important issue involved. According to a provision of the Constitution the expenses of the department are to be defrayed out of its own revenues after the 1st of March last. Mr. Reagan urges upon Congress to devise some means of aiding the department, or the service must be reduced, and this cannot be done without depriving portions of the country of necessary mail facilities. The only way of meeting the difficulty is to increase the revenue, and the Postmaster-General suggests some means for so doing. He recommends that there shall be a uniform rate of one cent on all newspapers weighing not more than three ounces; a very moderate charge, for notwithstanding the greater average distances newspapers are transmitted in the Confederate States than they are in England, in this country we charge 1d. for a newspaper not exceeding four ounces. Mr. Reagan also suggests—and we heartily approve of the suggestion, both for its equity and expediency—that the present system of allowing newspapers to exchange with each other through the agency of the post without payment, should be done away with, and that newspaper exchanges should be paid for at the same rate as newspapers posted to private persons. Whilst admitting the usefulness of the press, Mr. Reagan cannot perceive any reason why it is to be fostered at the expense of other industrial pursuits. And he further observes that the free postage is a species of subsidy by act of Congress, yet there is no provision of the Constitution which authorizes the bestowal of such a subsidy. Possibly, if his advice is taken, there will be some limitation of unimportant exchanges; and even if it be so, this slight inconvenience, which can be remedied at a trifling cost, will be amply repaid by the independence of the press, we do not say of Government patronage, for there is no patronage where all share alike, but of its constituents. Mr. Reagan estimates that these changes will bring in a revenue of \$30,000 or \$70,000 per annum. The amount is small, but the suggestions are politically significant. The Confederate Government must have the most implicit confidence in the noble independence and exalted patriotism of the press and people, or it would not, in the midst of a great war, propose such changes. No European nation has ever done so under analogous circumstances.

Before passing to another document we may observe that out of the total annual receipts for postage—\$1,994,729, the sum of \$692,075 was prepaid by stamps. Collectors of postage stamps may, therefore, be assured that as soon as the blockade is raised, they will have no difficulty in procuring Confederate postage stamps for their albums.

The report of the Hon. T. H. Watts, Confederate States Attorney-General, is, unlike most documents emanating from legal functionaries, distinguished for its brevity. He reminds the President that the legal organization of the Indian territories is not completed. He urgently pleads for the prompt organization of the Supreme Court. Mr. Watts calls attention to a difference between the provisions of the Constitution and the legislation of Congress. According to the Constitution of the Confederate States “every law, or resolution having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.” The object of this provision is to prevent laws being passed by Congress unawares, to prevent what we know in this

country as bill smuggling; but however good the object, the regulation presents some difficulties in practice. Two instances are cited in the report before us. One is that of an Act entitled “An Act regulating the fees of marshals, and for other purposes,” and this Act provides for the appointment of criers, and regulates the compensation of criers, jurors, and witnesses. The other case is analogous. Mr. Watts wishes to know what is to be the consequence of such a departure from a clause of the Constitution. “If the law passed embraces more subjects than one, or, if the subject of it be not expressed in the title, what is to be the consequence? Is the whole law thereby to become void? Is the enactment on the first subject named to be alone held valid?—or is the last, or any other named? If more than one subject be embraced, and but one is expressed in the title, which part of the law is then to be considered valid?” No doubt Congress must obey the injunctions of the Constitution, or its acts will be invalid; but though it is a written Constitution the spirit must not be sacrificed to the letter. It would be unlawful for the Confederate Congress to follow the example of the British Parliament in tacking bills together, but we hardly think that the Supreme Court of the Confederate States will rule that the law is violated that provides for the fees of marshals because it also provides for the appointment of criers, for the two provisions relate to one subject. We imagine Mr. Watts dwelt on this matter for the purpose of indirectly showing the great need of a Supreme Court.

Appended to that of the Attorney-General is the report of Mr. G. E. W. Nelson, the Superintendent of Public Printing. The charges in his department seem to us wonderfully moderate. The cost for the Printing of Congress and the several Executive Departments from February 22nd to December 31st, 1862, was \$126,218; and yet the War Department had as many as 4,470,960 blanks, and the various Departments had 1,056 ruled blank books. The total cost of Printing for the Provisional Government was \$103,814. As it may be surmised from these statements, the expenditure of the Government is anything but lavish; and we have, in Mr. Nelson's report, a curious instance of the rigid economy that is practised, and which we commend to the notice of our House of Commons' economists. Mr. Nelson says, “It is the almost invariable practice of printers, when a large order for blanks is received, to put in type two or more forms, but to charge composition upon one only. Presswork is then charged as if one blank only were worked off at a single impression, when the fact is that two or more are produced. To make the matter more plain, let us suppose that the composition upon a single form be 2,000 ems. At seventy cents per 1,000 ems (the price fixed by law) it would only amount to one dollar and forty cents, whilst the presswork on 10,000 copies (if that many were ordered) at seventy cents per token, would amount to twenty-eight dollars. Now, if composition on two forms were charged (and in the case to which I allude two forms would be set up), is it not palpable that two blanks are printed at one impression, and that, instead of the presswork footing up twenty-eight dollars, it would be but fourteen—a clear saving of twelve dollars and sixty cents.” These and similar trade regulations Mr. Nelson refused to comply with, because, after a careful consideration of the law, he was convinced that the intention was to pay for the work actually performed, and for that only. The Southerners are not only better soldiers, but shrewder men of business than the self-sufficient Yankees thought they were.

Mr. Nelson refers to the high price of paper, which hinders him from making contracts for future deliveries. Confederate made paper has advanced 100 per cent., whilst foreign paper has advanced from 250 to 500 per cent. If the blockade is continued long enough the Southerners will learn how to produce superior paper, and will be able to compete with the European makers.

Mr. Rufus R. Rhodes, the Commissioner of Patents, has had more work to do than might have been supposed. The number of applications in 1862

was 147, and 64 caveats and 75 patents were issued. The list of patents has naturally a very warlike aspect. There are, for example, seven patents for marine batteries and vessels of war, and twenty patents for improvements in firearms and projectiles. But war has not put an end to the pursuits of peace. There are six patents for agricultural implements, and five for cleaning and preparing cotton. Some of the inventions—such as those for tanning,—for a machine for making shoe pegs,—for wooden soled shoes, and for wooden bottom shoes—were no doubt suggested by the exigencies caused by the blockade. The Yankees have thus lost the monopoly of making wooden shoe pegs, and the only consolation we can offer them is that the Confederates will never interfere with the New England trade in wooden nutmegs.

The report of the Hon. S. S. Scott, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has mainly reference to a visit that he made to the Indians, in consequence of a rumour that there were some indications of disloyalty to their treaty engagements with the Confederate States. Mr. Scott was, owing to the difficulty in some places of procuring suitable transportation, upwards of a month in travelling from Richmond to the Indian territory; and we mention this to show that the benign and considerate treatment of the Indian is not a war measure, but the settled policy of the Confederate States: for the Indians being so distant cannot exert any influence upon the present struggle. Mr. Scott found the Choctaws had remained perfectly loyal to the Confederate Government; that the Chickasaws had lost forty families who had deserted to the enemy; and that the Seminoles, Creeks, and Cherokees had lost about half their people in the same way. Mr. Scott had no trouble in confirming the loyalty of the Indians; for their sympathies are Southern from association, and from similarity of institutions, the Indians being slave-holders. The Confederate States allow the Indian nations to be represented in Congress by delegates, and they have established law courts in the Indian territories, so that the Indians can have justice administered to them at home. The Indian nations have regular governments, and certainly pay great attention to the formalities of government. The General Council of the Choctaw nation passed two resolutions, the one expressing confidence in the good faith of the Confederate States, and the other gratefully acknowledging the visit of Mr. Scott; and these resolutions are signed by "B. L. Leflore, Speaker of the House;" "B. Harrison, President of the Senate;" "Samuel Garland, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation," and countersigned by "James Riley, National Secretary." Such precision would charm the most inveterate red-tapist in Europe. It is popularly, but erroneously, supposed that the American Indian is a kind of wild negro; with the exception of a few tribes, they are a high-spirited and superior race.

From this notice of the Confederate States' Executive Documents, it will be seen that the Confederate Government, although its existence is diplomatically ignored, is actively and peacefully fulfilling all the vast and important functions that appertain to it, just as completely as the English, and more completely than the United States' Government is doing. For the Richmond Government, unlike the Washington Government, is able to carry on the war without concealing the truth and making false statements; without robbing the community to buy the support of fraudulent contractors; without gagging, and much less attempting to bribe the press; and without destroying the liberties and rights of the people.

The Budget of 1863.

Whether the theme be attractive or the reverse, a discourse by Mr. Gladstone is sure to delight both those who hear it, and those who read it. There was, therefore, no doubt about the Budget speech being a success. If the eager crowd that waited on Thursday last for eight hours to hear

the Chancellor of the Exchequer make his financial statement had been told by him that their taxes were to be forthwith doubled, they would still have found it difficult to comply with that very proper rule of the House of Commons which forbids strangers, under divers pains and penalties, to indulge in any manifestation of approval. In the first place, one of Mr. Gladstone's budget speeches is an oratorical treat that no one thinks dear at any price while it lasts; and then Mr. Gladstone has the happy faculty of convincing tax-payers that he never dips his hand into their pockets except to save them from present trouble and to increase their riches in the future. But though the speech could not fail to find favour, there seemed a prospect of the Budget offending all sorts and conditions of people. Mr. Gladstone had a surplus to deal with, and we ventured to predict that in the disposal thereof he would inevitably make more enemies than friends. We must confess we were wrong. As far as we know, the budget is everywhere pronounced good. The merchants are conciliated by the repeal of some stamp duties which were more trouble than profit, and this graceful concession of taxes lately devised and imposed by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is a proof that he is not so wedded to his own schemes as to ignore the lessons of experience. The reduction of the duty on tea is to the greatest tea-drinking community in the world a general boon, which is not the less agreeable because, by increasing the consumption of the commodity, it will probably not entail any permanent loss to the revenue. The 2d. in the pound off the income tax is, of course, approved of as a just and expedient measure, and the new scale of assessment for small incomes is an equitable arrangement, and one that will do away with the temptation to evade the payment of the impost. With the income tax, as with the excise on spirits, an excessive demand inevitably leads to fraud, especially as cheating the Government is not regarded as dishonest, for those who send conscience money to the Chancellor of the Exchequer are, instead of being applauded for so doing, derided for their folly.

The least important of the proposed changes is compelling clubs to take out a license to sell wines and spirits. This will delight the ultra-radicals, and it is but fair that these lean and hungry creatures should participate in the Budget feast, though the portion assigned to them is a bare bone. Altogether Mr. Gladstone has managed to satisfy everybody. He has divided his apple so as to give many claimants a slice. The only criticism of the Conservatives is, that he has taken some hints from their programme, but we need hardly remark it is not condemnation, but strong approbation to say, "You have done what we recommended you to do." Indeed, the Opposition has acknowledged the soundness of the Budget with very commendable frankness.

The Budget of 1863 is, considering the surrounding circumstances, extraordinary. Other nations are adding to their indebtedness or to their taxation. Our market is full of foreign Serip. The late United States, heretofore so prosperous and solvent, are getting into debt at a rate that no European State has ever done. At this juncture the Chancellor of the Exchequer is able to remit and decrease our taxation. And this is still more surprising when we look to the actual condition of the country. Europe is unsettled, the Federal American Government is threatening us with hostilities, and we are therefore obliged to be fully prepared for war at any moment. Our staple industry is paralyzed, and a considerable source of income is cut off by the pauperism of Lancashire. Ireland, that a few years ago was supposed to be on the road to riches, is now so steeped in poverty and misery that the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the reports of Irish distress are not exaggerated. Now, if in the face of the loss of our cotton trade; of the starvation in Lancashire, of the distress in Ireland, and of the stern necessity for keeping our army and navy on a war footing, Mr. Gladstone had announced a deficiency of two or three millions, and a consequent increase of taxation, it would have been

thought a natural consequence of the troubles that have come upon us, and of the provision we are obliged to make for contingent troubles. That we have a disposable surplus shows the greatness of our resources, but, at the same time, reflects the highest credit on Mr. Gladstone. The refusal to acknowledge the merit of the Minister by saying that the flourishing condition of our finances is due to the wealth of the country, and not to his management, would be equally absurd and ungenerous. Of course, if he had not straw he could not make bricks. It is not the business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to create wealth, but to make the best use of the means afforded him by the natural riches of the country and the energy of the people. This Mr. Gladstone has done, and the Budget of 1863 is a certificate of his ability for finance, of which his friends may well be proud, and of which his political opponents do not, and cannot, dispute the validity.

London Criminal Returns for 1862.

The annual statement of the Metropolitan Police has lately been issued, and some of the returns deserve and will repay consideration. There is a proverb that a policeman is never to be found when he is wanted, and the inference is that the police are neither very vigilant nor very serviceable. We must hold that this opinion is unfounded, and that the Metropolitan police are vigilant and of great service, seeing that during the last year they took into custody 45,317 males, and 22,970 females, being together 68,287 persons, or upwards of 1,300 per week. It is evident then that "X 10" has other work besides wearing out his heavy regulation boots, and paying his addresses to the kindly disposed cooks on his beat.

When we inquire what became of the 68,287 persons taken into custody in 1862, we find some apparent cause for supposing that the police are over-vigilant, or that they give too much heed to those who are reckless in breaking the ninth commandment. The magistrates discharged 31,771 persons, or nearly one-half of those arrested by the police. Many of them were drunken cases, which were formerly dismissed by the inspectors; and many others were trivial offences, which the police, having a due regard for public order, could not leave unnoticed, but which were sufficiently punished by a few hours' incarceration in the police cell and by an appearance before the magistrate. But making a liberal allowance for drunken and frivolous cases, there was a large number of persons taken into custody upon mere suspicion or upon false accusation; yet it is notorious that the police are exceedingly careful in taking a charge, and very often refuse to do so. Either this discretionary power must be continued and extended, or some other means must be devised to check the propensity for giving into custody under the influence of passion, or from a vague suspicion that So-and-so stole the purse because it is gone and *somebody* must have stolen it.

Of the 36,516 persons who were not discharged from custody, no less than 32,894 were summarily convicted, or held to bail by the magistrates. That is, eight out of nine cases were adjudicated without the intervention of a jury. But we must not, therefore, conclude that the magistrates are irresponsible judges, for they are perpetually at the bar of public opinion. Their proceedings are watched by lynx-eyed reporters; and if they are guilty of the slightest indiscretion, it is denounced in the newspapers by indignant letters and caustic leaders. The complaints of metropolitan magisterial decisions are, however, very few—whilst the county magistrates, or, as they are called, the "great unpaid," are periodically abused.

We have in Table 5 of the Metropolitan Criminal Returns, conclusive evidence of the discretion of the Metropolitan Magistrates. They committed for trial 3,622 persons. Of these, 2,936 were convicted and sentenced, 573 were acquitted; 113 were not prosecuted, or true bills were not found by the grand jury. Five out of six of the committed were found guilty, and such a result gives some colour to the oft-repeated complaint of those whose applications and accusations are rejected, that the magistrates are so anxious about their reputation that they will not commit for trial, except upon such evidence as cannot always be procured at the earlier stages of an inquiry, and that, consequently, many guilty persons escape punishment. This, at all events, is a fault that leans to virtue's side, for it is better the guilty should go scot free than that the innocent should suffer imprisonment during the term that must intervene between the committal and the trial. For example, eleven persons were taken into custody on the charge of murder. Of these five were discharged by the magistrates, and of the six committed for trial two were acquitted. We are bound to assume the innocence of those who were acquitted of the capital charge, and what then can compensate them for the terrible ordeal they had to pass through? Would it not have been deplorable if it had also been the fate of the five discharged by the magistrates?

A table showing the degree of instruction of the persons taken into custody is very suggestive. Of the 68,287 persons,—

17,674 could neither read nor write.
47,624 could read only, or read and write imperfectly.
2,916 could read and write well.
73 were of superior education.

In connection with this part of the subject, a return of the occupations of the persons taken into custody will prove instructive. Of the 63,287, not less than 43,033 were of no trade or occupation, and 10,801 were labourers,—that is, unskilled labourers. Perhaps if every child, male and female, were taught an industrial art, more good would be done than by teaching to read and write imperfectly. Of the 22,970 females taken into custody, 20,599 were of no occupation. How can we wonder at the growth of immorality, and the continued development of crime?

Although the police are evidently vigilant there is reason for supposing that the force ought to be increased. It will always happen that many crimes are not brought under the notice of the police, but we submit that something more than a small percentage of crimes known to the police ought to be traced and punished. In 1862 the total number of felonies committed in the Metropolitan police district was 15,752, and the loss of property by them was £65,552. The number of persons tried and convicted for felony was 2,688. Now, assuming that only one person was concerned in each felony (which is far from being the case), we still find that even when the robbery is placed in the hands of the police, the chances of escaping detection are seven to one. The amount of property recovered by the police was £15,988, and the total loss was £49,564—a result which leaves the thieves an encouraging margin of profit. As we are just now getting rather tired of trying to cure criminals, perhaps it would be as well to see what can be done in the way of prevention, and the only plan we know of is to make crime unprofitable and dangerous, by making detection and punishment swift and certain.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONFEDERATE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The subjoined completes the official report of the Confederate Secretary of War, the first portion of which, reviewing the conduct and events of the war, appeared in our impression of the 9th of April:—

Pursuant to another Act of Congress, approved October 11, 1862, in each city, county, parish, or district in the several States, a place of rendezvous for persons enrolled is established, where they are examined by surgeons, and in each Congressional District a board of three surgeons is appointed to make the examinations aforesaid. It has not been found practicable to spare from the service of the armies and hospitals a sufficient number of Confederate surgeons to constitute these, but at least one in each district will be associated with local surgeons of repute for the duty, and the effort will be made to prevent, by exchanges with other districts, surgeons of any particular county from officiating on the conscripts therefrom. In at least each county or city an enrolling officer is expected to act, and he is instructed to enrol all not of the exempted classes, between the specified ages of eighteen and forty, so that those who have evaded or been neglected in former enrolments, and the number startlingly large of soldiers who, on one pretence or another, are avoiding service, as well as those embraced by your late call, may be subjected to duty.

In the enforcement of these laws of conscription, the department is constrained to be inflexible, and even appear harsh. The sacrifices exacted for service are painfully realized, but they are felt to be imperatively demanded for the public safety. The exemptions, though far more liberal in the last than the former act, still affect comparatively few, and those of certain limited classes, while the exempting power vested in your discretion seems to contemplate only individual cases of persons who ought to be exonerated "on account of justice, equity or necessity." In considering the character of the classes exempted, it is evident that Congress contemplated the enumeration of all of the prescribed ages, whose offices or functions seemed more essential to the public weal at home than in the service. The principle of the bill is, therefore, that the whole necessary operations of society and business can and must be done by the exempts, and those above and below the prescribed ages, while all other white males, capable of bearing arms, shall be in the armies of the Confederacy, for the sacred duty of public defence.

This principle the department rigidly applies, with but few inconsiderable exceptions of the clearest equity or necessity. An impression has strangely prevailed, that the exemptions prescribed by the act availed, as well to discharge from the army, as to exonerate from the call of conscription. For this no foundation can be found in the law, while the earnest aim clearly expressed in the first act to retain the army as absolutely essential, as well as the general phraseology of the law, excludes such construction. The whole scope and operation of the second act apply exclusively to those to be subjected to the expected call of the President, and the act of exemption, passed to limit and define it, can, of course, have no wider stretch. The very term exemption implies freedom from a call to be made, not discharge from existing service. It is well, too, in every view, that such is the only reasonable construction of the act, for a more mischievous mode could hardly have been devised to weaken and dissatisfy the army, than to have made the grounds of exemption causes of discharge. Apart from the inevitable loss in numbers to the army, it could not be expected that the soldiers not embraced seeing comrades equally capable of service discharged on such grounds, as, for instance, that they had plantations with twenty slaves without other male adult on them, or because of their addition to special mechanical, mining, or manufacturing pursuits, would not feel the gravest discontent and indignation. Demoralization, if not more disastrous effects, must inevitably have ensued.

There are certain classes of officers and employes, not exactly engaged in State or Confederate service, yet so important in their public ministry, such as the officers and police of cities, firemen, superintendents of water or gas works, and the like, and others again essential to corporations private in interest, but highly important to the transaction of general business, or to works of public benevolence, such as the officers and clerks of express companies, of leading banks, evangelical societies, and similar institutions, to whom it might be advisable to extend the privilege of exemption.

The classes of tradesmen or mechanics exonerated in deference to the peculiar needs of society, might also be enlarged.

There are, too, in the Confederacy, districts of not very fertile country, where the citizens are generally in moderate circumstances, and have few or no slaves. The draft on them of all the males between eighteen and forty will probably remove their labouring classes to such an extent as to endanger scarcity and even destitution among the remainder. Some relaxation of the law, graduating the number to be conscribed in proportion to the deficiency of slave labour in any county or district, would be both equitable and judicious.

One of the exemptions of the act, that which "to secure the proper police of the country" exempts "one person on each plantation of twenty negroes, on which there is no white male adult not liable to military duty," has caused, in many portions of the Confederacy, dissatisfaction and complaint. This has been, in some instances, from invidiously regarding the slaves merely as property, and not as a servile class to be controlled from considerations of general safety, in others from regarding the slaves only as helpless dependents to be cared for and directed. The claim has been asserted that similar privilege of exemption should at least be accorded to those who had many helpless children or females dependent solely on their care or labour. The latter view would alone seem entitled to consideration.

It would probably relieve the law from much odium, and yet promote only equity and the public good, if where, as in cases not unfrequently presented, eight or ten helpless whites are dependent on one male friend within the prescribed ages, exemption should be accorded by law.

It will be observed you have not yet exhausted your power of call. The faithful execution of that mode it is confidently hoped will dispense with the need of further draft on those, who from their age are apt to be, by their larger ties and interests, most essential to society. Our armies may thus be adequately recruited and maintained at the maximum required by their organizations. More need scarce be desired.

The organization of the army has been advanced by the appointment, under the act of Congress, of seven Lieutenant Generals. They were all Major Generals, and selected for approved skill, conduct, and experience. They are all now in active service, some commanding separate departments, and others heading army corps under a general in the field. Major and Brigadier Generals in requisite numbers to meet the exigencies of the service, have been appointed and assigned. The policy of organizing the brigades with troops and generals from the several States, has been pursued, and as opportunities offer, without detriment to the service, will be carried out. The greater satisfaction of the men from each State, when collected together, the generous emulation for glory to their State, and the fair apportionment of officers assured to each State according to its contribution of defenders to the country, will, it is hoped, overbalance the inconvenience of separating regiments or companies previously associated, and the liability to State jealousies. The policy will be persisted in to a full trial of its merits.

The military courts authorized at the last session of Congress have been constituted. In making the appointments while qualifications were first considered, preference among the applicants was, as far as the range of choice allowed, given to those who had been wounded or disabled in service. These tribunals supply a need much felt by our commanders in the field. The necessity of frequent courts-martial causes much embarrassment and many delays. Without them now the prompt administration of the military law may be secured, desertion and straggling checked, licence of all kinds restrained, and temperance, discipline and subordination advanced.

The various branches of special service heretofore established have proved judicious and worked generally well.

The battalion of sharpshooters attached to each brigade has done much to restore our superiority as marksmen, which had begun to be endangered by the guns of long range and constant practice therewith, of our less skilful adversaries. On many occasions their efficiency, as well as the valour of these battalions, have been strikingly exhibited, and they are now regarded as almost a necessity to a proper organization.

The appointments of artillery officers for ordnance service, and of engineers, have as yet been made only in part. Boards, however, have been constituted for the examination of candidates, and are required to hold their sessions in different parts of the Confederacy, so as to afford similar facilities of access to those at a distance from the capital. Some sessions have been held and reports have been made, assigning the order of merit in which the successful candidates have passed. It is the purpose of the department, when these lists have been completed, to make the appointments from them, and as justice and implied faith seem to demand, to give priority in commission according to the reported grades of qualification.

The engineer officers already appointed and acting, have proved most efficient aides, as well in field operations as in local works and defences. They have had, however, no special corps of men, but only such as, when occasion required, were detailed for the special service. It may be well doubted whether a company or two in each brigade should not be specially devoted to engineering work, and be exclusively commanded by engineer officers. Greater skill and efficiency could not fail to be attained by the men so employed, while the inconveniences which often arise from the delay in special details and the occasional controversies arising between the officers in command of the detailed men and the engineer officers guiding their operations would be avoided. In connection with such a corps, a company of pioneers and pontooners armed only with revolvers and sabres, but carrying some effective tool, such as an axe, a pick, or a spade, might be advantageously constituted, under the command of an engineer officer. One detachment of them might precede each brigade in its march, smoothing the roads and bridging the small streams, while another should accompany the trains, prepared to remove impediments, or give prompt assistance in case of accidents. The celerity of army movements, on which often great results depend, would be sensibly increased by such an arrangement.

The officers for ordnance service, as far as appointments have been made, have rendered the distribution of munitions and the supply of arms and artillery more regular and complete, and have, at the same time, promoted economy in consumption, care in preservation, and greater efficiency in their use.

The signal corps has been filled and organized, and is now in effective operation. It justifies the expectations entertained of its utility, and contributes materially to the despatch of orders, the transmission of intelligence, and the general safety of the army.

The policy of organizing corps of Partisan Rangers has not been approved by experience. The permanency of their engagements and their consequent inability to disband and reassemble at call, precludes their usefulness as mere guerillas, while the comparative independence of their military relations, and the peculiar rewards allowed them for captures, induce

much licence and many irregularities. They have not unfrequently excited more odium and done more damage with friends than enemies. The men composing them would be more useful in the regular organizations, and while the department has been reluctant to disband them, it avoids raising more, and endeavours to persuade and promote the conversion of existing corps into similar bodies in the line of the Provisional Army.

The principle now applicable to nearly all the regimental and company organizations, of promotion by seniority, and of election in the lowest grade only, is believed to have given more satisfaction than did that of general election. A feeling of greater security and more professional pride is engendered, and stronger inducements are presented to all subordinate officers to improve and prepare themselves for higher positions. Still in an army where a large proportion of the officers have had no previous military training or experience, due assurance cannot be felt of the competency of those on whom promotion may, by this rule, be cast. A provision against gross incompetency is, indeed, made by the authority conferred by Act of Congress for the convening of a board to determine qualifications; but resort to this remedy is naturally odious, and in practice it proves but little efficacious. It is not to be denied, too, that promotion by seniority alone represses ambitious aspirations, and the spirit of enterprise and daring which promotion by merit inspires. Some recognition of this, and desire to avoid its effects, have been manifested by the enactments of Congress allowing promotions to be made by the President in cases of distinguished skill and valour, but save in the rare case where recommendation of extraordinary merit is given by the commanding general, such appointments can only be made to a vacancy in the company, battalion, or regiment to which the party is attached. Besides, where promotion by seniority is the almost invariable rule, the exercise of this appointing power becomes odious, is construed into injustice to all the inferior officers of the special organization, and breeds discontent and dissension. In consequence, it is very rarely exercised, and the injurious effects of promotion by seniority alone are not by this provision effectively counteracted. It is suggested that some beneficial effects in inspiring to deeds of valour and the display of extraordinary merit, would result from confining election to the lowest grade (the starting point on the road to honours) to those, if any were in the company, who had been recommended by their commanders for distinguished skill and valour. This would not deprive the company of the privilege of election, but would confine the choice among the most worthy. Still the higher and more important grades would be supplied only by seniority, and, with deference, it is recommended, that some mode be devised by the wisdom of Congress to have vacancies of that class more frequently the rewards of high deeds and superior qualifications. This is the more necessary since the commissions of officers in the provisional army being dependent on the continuance of their organizations, some of the most valuable in the service have been thrown out by the dissolution or disbanding of their companies or regiments, when, often through their own gallantry, too much reduced for service. Under the present system, however meritorious or efficient, there is no place for them in the line, and they can only be replaced in the army by conscription as privates. This is scarce less unjust than impolitic. Some provision should be adopted by which such officers should retain their commissions, or the privilege of appointment to vacancies which they are eminently fitted to fill should be accorded to them. The hardships to the officers in such cases, together with reluctance to lose their services, has sometimes induced generals in command, particularly in the more distant departments, to assign such officers temporarily to vacancies, for which the officers entitled by seniority were known to be less competent, or to special duties. An embarrassment results. The officers, in some cases, after a long service, find that they have lost their commissions by the previous disbanding of their commands, and can neither be recognised nor receive their pay as officers. Some appropriation to meet such cases, and provide compensation at least for the period of their actual service, should be provided.

In this connection another interesting class of cases deserves passing notice. It has repeatedly happened that officers who have raised companies or regiments, or who have been passed over by a State with their commands to the Confederate service, after joining some of our armies, but before their muster rolls have been duly returned, or notice properly given to the Adjutant-General, have been captured, or had their commands broken up and dispersed by the enemy. Some, in such cases, have pined long in prison, others have served in assigned commands for months, and when either exchanged, or led to apply for recognition and pay as officers, have found no authority in the department to allow either. Several cases like these of peculiar hardship occurred among the officers of the Louisiana State troops transferred to the Confederate service, who were either captured or dispersed after the fall of New Orleans. It is recommended that whenever their imprisonment or service as officers can be satisfactorily established, payment to them be authorized by law.

Measures to afford adequate supplies of ordnance, arms and munitions for the army have claimed the earnest attention of the department. The increased stringency of the blockade by the enemy, while it has made the importation of sufficient supplies more difficult and costly, has at the same time induced more energetic efforts to find and develop all internal resources. The results so far are very encouraging. Our present supplies are at least as abundant as they have been at any time past, and our prospects for the future more promising. Two establishments, in addition to the leading one heretofore existing at this city, for making ordnance have been founded in interior towns under the auspices of the department, one of which is already in successful operation, and the other will be in a very short time. Besides these, some smaller establishments have been fostered and engaged in similar work. Thus the serious anxiety which resulted from dependance on a single establishment, liable to be interrupted by casualties or the chances of war, has been removed, and a larger provision secured for future supplies. Of small arms, the department can now furnish stores more adequate to the requirements of the army than at any preceding date, while of munitions it entertains now no dread of deficiency. In these particulars also, by the encouragement and establishment of manufactures within the Confederacy, the department is daily becoming less dependent on foreign supply, and it indulges the hope that it will, at no remote period, be able to dispense altogether with that reliance. In this connection, it would be injustice not to refer to the efficient aid which has been rendered by the Nitre Bureau, which is charged with much more general operations than its name would indicate. The most serious embarrassment to be apprehended, in reference to the ordnance supplies, is in the deficiency of iron. Before the war, nearly all iron works within the States of the Confederacy had languished or decayed, and from the sense of precariousness in the future, and the scarcity

of suitable labour, it has been very difficult to establish them in sufficient numbers, and on an adequate scale to meet the necessities of the war. It has been necessary that the department should stimulate enterprise by large advances and liberal contracts, and likewise contribute by details to the supply of labour. Many new furnaces have been established, and those in operation have been enlarged and tempted to continue more uninterruptedly in blast. If the contracts made with the department are only fully carried out, it is believed the supply will prove adequate, but there are many difficulties in the prosecution of the work from the enhancement of all prices, and from the temptations constantly offered to contractors to prefer the superior profits which they can command by supplying the general market. In some instances the department has had no alternative but to resort to impressment to enforce the fulfilment of its contracts or to supply its pressing necessities.

Embarrassments of the like nature have affected the operations of the Quartermaster and Subsistence Departments. For some of the leading articles required by the former, reliance has necessarily been placed to a considerable extent on foreign supplies, since they are not adequately furnished within the Confederate States. This has been specially the case with woollens and leather, and under the losses and interruptions caused by the blockade, there have been at times rather scant supplies of blankets, shoes, and some other articles of clothing. Still, by using to the utmost internal resources, by the establishment of factories and the organization of workshops, and by greater economy in use, the army has never been allowed seriously to suffer. Of late greater success has attended importations, and besides, contracts for supplies have been made on liberal terms to so large an extent that security is now felt of timely and abundant provision. To attain a result so indispensable to the comfort and preservation of our gallant armies, the department will spare no exertion or sacrifice.

For due supplies of forage and subsistence, reliance has been placed on the productions and resources of the Confederacy alone, and so far they have proved abundant. They are, however, more affected by the peculiar circumstances of the country. The harvests of the past season have not generally proved propitious, and notwithstanding the much larger breadth of land devoted to the culture of cereals and forage, the product in many extensive districts of the Confederacy is below the average and in some even threatens scarcity. The cost and want of transportation make difficult the collection, distribution, and equalization of such products. In addition, the ravages of war, prosecuted by our malignant enemies in shameful violation of all civilized usage for the ends of rapine or destruction, have desolated considerable districts of fertile country. The districts thus devastated have been, too, mainly those which have heretofore afforded the largest supplies of meat. The rearing of animals for food has been since the war very generally increased throughout the Confederacy, and from other districts larger supplies than heretofore may be expected. Still the scarcity of grain and forage must check considerably this increased production, and render adequate supplies for the future more doubtful. A yet graver cause renders the procurement of the supplies that exist difficult. The redundant issue of Treasury notes, which the needs of the Treasury have made inevitable, by inflating the currency far beyond the wants of the country for a circulating medium, has caused a great enhancement of all prices, and inspired a general and inordinate spirit of speculation. As the cause of enhancement has been and must be continuous, being the necessary issue of Treasury notes, so the increase in prices has been, and without check from legislation must be, steadily progressive. This is so understood or has been so experienced by all classes, that there is the strongest repugnance on the part of all having necessary supplies to sell, to part with them even at the exaggerated current rates, from the conviction that a longer holding will assure still higher prices. This motive is so influential and general, that it is next to impossible to supply the necessities of the Government at fair prices, or by voluntary contracts.

Resort to the power of impressment has become an absolute necessity for the support of our armies. It is a power of great delicacy, liable to perversion and abuse, and should be surrounded by every safeguard of equity consistent with its exercise. The sanction and regulation of the power, by law, is earnestly recommended to the early consideration of Congress. By controlling the transportation on the railroads some judicial general system, and the due regulation and exercise of the power of impressment, the evils referred to may, in a measure, be remedied, and the supplies absolutely essential may be commanded. But it is not to be disguised that a more complete remedy is desirable, and that it can only be found in the regulation of the currency, the cessation of inflation, and the consequent reduction of prices to a more stable standing. This more appropriately pertains to the province of the Treasury Department, by the able head of which it will doubtless be fully presented. As, however, the War Department is the great consumer, and most prejudiced by this evil, it may be pardonable to say, that there is but one radical remedy. That is easy and simple. It is by legislation to limit the negotiability of the Treasury notes, so that there shall never be outstanding, at any one time, more than the maximum required for the circulation of the Confederacy.

The estimates of the several bureaux of this Department for the period ending June 30th, 1863, are herewith submitted. They will be found to be large, but not larger, it is believed, than the exigencies of the service require.

An interesting report, from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is herewith submitted. During the past summer, there were among the tribes in the Indian country some agitations and disturbances, which threatened internal conflicts, and a possible outbreak upon the contiguous States. They have, however, been happily appeased, and there is every reason now to expect tranquillity among themselves, and their amity and alliance with the Confederate States.

From the preceding imperfect review may be found assurances of the increasing power, means and resources of the Confederacy for the successful prosecution of the war. We have room, too, for gratulation at the firmness, unity and self-devotion of our people, and the skill and valour of our generals and soldiers, and much cause of devout gratitude to the God of battles for the signal triumphs vouchsafed over the hosts of our malignant foes.

Nor can I conclude without commemorating another glorious victory that has just given added cause of thankfulness and rejoicing. General Lee and his noble command have, at Fredericksburg, hurled back in dismay, and with frightful slaughter, the grand army of invasion, engaged for the fourth time in the vain task of conquering our capital. They had sacked and desolated the town, one of the most respectable of the State, with rapacity and brutality that would have disgraced savages, and it was made the appropriate scene of their retribution, for its streets were piled with their dead

and wounded. From the face of the avengers they slunk away amid storm and darkness, leaving to our gallant army the assurance of acknowledged superiority, and affording to all a bright augury of their future total expulsion from our soil.

Such happy result will likewise be advanced by the renewed gallant repulse of the enemy's combined attack by land and water on Vicksburg, and by the decided victory of General Bragg and his brave command, which, on the 31st ultimo, crowned the triumphs of the year. Scarcely less hopeful assurance is afforded by the indecisive and bloody struggle of the 2nd instant, which, while resulting in the temporary retirement of General Bragg's forces to a better line of defence, inflicted such grievous losses on the enemy as to leave his army too shattered and dismayed to follow.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES A. SEDDON, Secretary of War.

ON THE RECALL OF THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS AND THE DISMISSAL OF FOREIGN CONSULS.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE CONFEDERATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

TO WHOM WAS REFERRED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:—

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire into the propriety of requesting the President of the Confederate States to recall the Commissioners sent by this Government to certain European States, and to notify all Foreign Powers whose consuls reside in the Confederate States, and are accredited to the Government of the United States, that such persons will not be recognized by the Government of the Confederate States as exercising any of the powers or having any of the functions of Consuls within the limits of the Confederate States, unless appointed by their respective Governments as Consuls to the Confederate States of America; beg leave to report, that in the absence of any reference to Foreign Affairs in the message of the President, on the opening of Congress, and without access to the archives of the State Department, your Committee deemed it due to the importance of the subject submitted to them, and respectful to the House, by whom they were charged with its examination, to report that they were uninformed on the matter before them, and to request the Executive, by a resolution of the House, to communicate to Congress such facts regarding the number and character of our foreign agents as could be made known, without detriment to the public service.

The House accordingly adopted the following resolution of inquiry:—

Resolved, That the President be respectfully requested to communicate to the House, if not incompatible with the public interest, the number and names of all persons engaged in the service of the Confederate States in foreign countries, either as diplomatic, consular, or commercial agents, or in any other capacity, stating the places to which they have been sent, the date of their appointment, the salaries they receive, the duties they are expected to discharge, and how far such agents have been officially or otherwise recognised by any Foreign Government; also, what are the number and character of foreign agents, whether consular, commercial, or other, known to our Government, representing in any capacity Foreign Governments, within the limits of the Confederate States, and whether, in communicating with this Government they do so under an exequatur from our Government or that of the United States; also whether said agents are subordinate or subject to the control and direction in any way, and to what degree, of the ministers of their respective countries accredited to and residing in the United States; and the President be further requested to communicate such instructions as may have been given to our Foreign Agents and such correspondence as may have been had with other Governments, either through the Secretary of State or our Commissioners abroad, as will aid Congress in its legislation regarding Foreign nations, and their citizens residing in our midst."

To this resolution on the 16th inst., the following response was received from the State Department, and referred to the Committee:—

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
Department of State, Richmond, Sept. 15, 1862.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred a certain resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted on the 1st inst., has the honour to report to the President:—

That it would be impossible to communicate to the House without very great detriment to the public interest "the number and names of all persons engaged in the service of the Confederate States in Foreign countries, either as diplomatic, consular, or commercial agents, or in any other capacity, stating the places to which they have been sent, the date of their appointment, the salaries they receive, the duties they are expected to discharge." It is presumed that the House is acquainted with the particulars called for in the foregoing extract from the resolution, so far as diplomatic agents are concerned, but a tabular statement marked A, hereto annexed, may prove convenient for reference. During the pendency of hostilities, the very objects for which other than diplomatic agents have been sent abroad, would be exposed to defeat by divulging the details called for in the resolution, and these objects are of great national importance.

The resolution further inquires how far the agents aforesaid "have been officially or otherwise recognised by any Foreign Government." The extracts of the correspondence of the department hereto annexed, marked B, furnish the only information on this subject contained in official communications.

The resolution further inquires as to "the number and character of Foreign agents, whether consular, commercial, or other, known to our Government, representing in any capacity Foreign Governments, within the limits of the Confederate States, and whether in communicating with the Government they do so under an exequatur from our own Government or that of the United States."

The annexed list, marked C, shows the names of the only agents of Foreign Governments known by the department within the limits of the Confederate States. All of these agents except one had been recognised by the Government of the United States by exequatur as the duly authorized agents of the Foreign Governments by which they were respectively appointed, at a period antecedent to that when the several Confederate States revoked the power previously delegated to the United States, and under which the Government of the United States controlled the relations, whether diplomatic or commercial, which grew up between those States and Foreign countries. According to well-recognised principles both of public and private law, these agents of foreign Governments

having been recognised as such by the agent of the several Confederate States, prior to the revocation of the powers delegated to that agent, remained so recognised after the revocation.

It was, and is undoubtedly within the power of this Government, as it is within that of all Governments, to decline permitting the above-mentioned agents to remain within our limits, but for obvious reasons the exercise of such a power has been deemed unwise and impolitic.

The one agent who is excepted from these remarks, is Ernst Raven, Esq., who was appointed Consul for the State of Texas, by His Highness, the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, and who applied to this Government for an exequatur, on the 30th of July, 1861, which was issued to him on the 21st of August, 1861.

It is proper to add that a short time ago it came accidentally to the knowledge of the Department, that a certain Baron de Saint Andre had assumed the functions of Consul or Consular Agent, for the French Government, at the port of Charleston, since the establishment of the Confederate Government, and without applying for an exequatur to this Department. But just at a time when this information was received, intelligence was also received that Baron Saint Andre had left Charleston, with his family, for the United States, with the probable intention of returning in the autumn. In the event of such return, proper action will be promptly taken by the department to repress the offensive assumption of consular functions by a foreign agent without the sanction of this Government.

The resolution further inquires, whether said agents "are subordinate or subject to the control and direction in any way and to what degree of the ministers of their respective countries accredited and residing in the United States." The Department has no information on this subject, but it is thought not improbable that the instructions sent by foreign Governments to their Consular Agents within the Confederacy are transmitted through diplomatic agents residing in Washington. It is not thought probable that the foreign consuls within the Confederacy are under the control and direction of foreign ministers accredited to the United States in any other manner than is above indicated, but no positive information on the subject has reached the Department. It is known to the Department, that the foreign Consuls within the Confederacy communicate with their Governments in Europe by sending despatches to the care of the Ministers of their respective Governments residing in Washington, and the Department has thus been enabled on different occasions to cause correct information to reach foreign countries on matters which it was highly important to the public interest should be widely disseminated and properly understood.

The resolution of the House further requests the President "to communicate such instructions as may have been given to our foreign agents, and such correspondence as may have been had with other Governments, either through the Secretary of State or our Commissioners abroad, as will aid Congress in its legislation, regarding foreign nations and their citizens residing in our midst."

The accompanying document, marked B, contains all the communications called for, not hitherto submitted to Congress, except such as cannot, for the present, be divulged without injury to the public service.

Respectfully submitted,

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

To the PRESIDENT.

Your Committee have examined carefully this letter of the Secretary of State, with the documents accompanying it, and are not prepared, upon the data furnished, to recommend either the adoption or rejection of the original proposition submitted to them, and without entering at large into the reasons that have induced this conclusion, state briefly, that the facts communicated are so limited and of such a character as to have aided them but little in their investigation. They consist simply of a statement already known to the country of the names of our Commissioners and their Secretaries abroad, with some extracts from their correspondence and instructions from the State Department, accompanied by an incomplete list of the agents of foreign Governments residing in our midst. Your Committee are well assured that it was not the desire of the House to trench in any manner upon the province of the Senate as the Constitutional advisers of the Executive in matters relating to foreign affairs, by the adoption of its resolution of inquiry; nor is there any disposition to complain of the Executive exercising a just discretion in withholding the communication of such facts in relation to foreign affairs, and our secret agents abroad, as he may deem it detrimental to the public interest to make. Your Committee feel, however, that as the recognition of our independence by foreign powers has not yet been secured nor our foreign relations established with other Governments, and as it is by virtue of direct legislation on the subject, and not merely of a constitutional provision, the President has felt himself authorized to send Commissioners and commercial agents abroad, and as Congress has before it for legislation matters affecting our commercial relations with other Governments, and the security of the rights of our citizens abroad, and those of foreigners in our midst, this House in no way transcends its powers when it seeks of the Executive, through the proper channel, a knowledge not only of the number and names of our diplomatic agents; but also a statement of the fact, whether consular or commercial agents have been sent abroad, and if so, to what countries; and whether they have been permitted by the Governments to which they have been sent to exercise the customary powers of such agents, or have been forced to forego entirely the discharge of the very important duties pertaining to such appointments, and made to occupy the character of extraordinary or special or secret agents. The necessity of such information is apparent to the discussion of the resolution before the House, in its twofold character:—First, whether it would be politic to recall our Commissioners sent to European States; and second, whether it would be wise to refuse to recognise the consular agents of other Governments, openly exercising their privileges in our midst, under an exequatur from a Government with which we are at war.

Without further remark upon the reserve of the State Department on this subject, your Committee will merely add that they are not allowed to be ignorant of the fact made known by the published official correspondence of foreign Governments and the debates in the British Parliament, that some such agents of our Government in some capacity, either consular or commercial, do exist abroad; but of their number or the countries to which they have been sent, or the powers they are permitted to exercise, your Committee are ignorant, and the communication of the Secretary of State gives no information on the subject. We are, however, incidentally made aware of the fact that a regular correspondence is carried on between the Consuls of Foreign powers, residing in our midst, and the ministers of those powers, accredited and

residing at Washington, through a regular established channel of communication, which the United States Government has succeeded in inducing those powers, notwithstanding the remonstrances of our Secretary of State, to close effectually against all correspondence of our Government with its agents abroad. It is also made known by the communication from the State Department that one of our Commissioners, Mr. Rost, has resigned his position, and that, before doing so, he submitted to the President whether it was consistent with our self-respect and the dignity of the country, "to keep longer abroad Commissioners who are under no circumstances to be received or listened to."

Another, Mr. Mason, dated June 23rd, writes:—"I have conferred frequently and freely with Mr. Slidell on the expediency of making a renewed request to the Governments of France and England or to either for recognition of our independence, and I am happy to say that a cordial understanding exists between us to act independently or simultaneously as our joint judgments may approve. My own strong conviction is that it will be unwise, if not unbecoming in the attitude of the ministry here to make such a request now, unless it were presented as a demand of right, and, if refused, as I little doubt it would be, to follow the refusal by a note stating that I did not consider it compatible with the dignity of my Government, and, perhaps, with my own self-respect, to remain any longer in England, but should retire to the Continent to await the further instructions of the Government there. I do not mean to say that I contemplate such an immediate step, but only if the demand be made and refused, to remain longer in England, as the representative of the Government, would seem to acknowledge the position of a suppliant; and, therefore, the step is not to be taken without the most grave and mature deliberation. I have earnestly consulted the judicious and enlightened friends here among the public men, who are earnestly with us, and they advise against a renewed demand at present, whilst they admit it might place me under such necessity."

Our other Commissioners express themselves less decidedly, but no one of them seems to anticipate our early recognition, although all unite in the expression of the confident belief, that had it not been for the fall of New Orleans, with the consequent loss of the Mississippi river, we would have been before this recognized by foreign powers.

Your Committee, in conclusion, repeat that without recommending either the adoption or rejection of the resolution submitted to them they are of the opinion that it would be, under present circumstances, unwise for the House to advise the immediate recall of our Commissioners, uninformed, as it is, what other agents of communication with foreign powers would remain to us abroad, or what may be the possible effect of recent events upon the disposition or policy of foreign Governments; nor would they recommend the dismissal from our midst of the Consuls of foreign nations, except in the event of their persisting to discharge their duties under exequaturs of the Government of the United States, without any reciprocal right of consular protection being extended to our citizens visiting or residing and owning property in the countries they represent.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

THE SENATE, MARCH 9.

NATURALIZATION OF FOREIGNERS.

Mr. Clay, of Alabama, introduced the following bill:—

To be entitled, "An Act to repeal the Naturalization Laws."

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That all laws and parts of laws for the naturalization of foreigners, and for securing to them the rights of citizens of the Confederate States of America, be and the same are hereby repealed; excepting those laws passed by the Provisional Congress, which provided for the naturalization of persons enlisted in the armies or engaged in the naval service of the Confederate States of America during the existing war with the United States of America.

Sec. 2. No person of foreign birth, who was not a citizen of the Confederate States at the time of the inauguration of the permanent Government of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Confederate, unless he has voluntarily and faithfully served in the armies or navies of the Confederate States during the existing war, and has been naturalized in accordance with the provisions of the act, approved August 22nd, 1861, entitled "An Act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization for persons enlisted in the armies of the Confederate States of America," or of an act approved December 24th, 1861, entitled "An Act to amend an act, entitled, an Act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization for persons enlisted in the armies of the Confederate States of America."

On the 11th of March, Mr. Hill, of Georgia, from the Judiciary Committee, reported back the bill to repeal the naturalization laws, with an amendment, and with the recommendation that it pass.

The amendment of the committee was to strike out the second section of the bill.

The bill was placed upon the calendar.

SEATS FOR CABINET MINISTERS IN THE SENATE.

The bill to grant to the principal officer in each of the executive departments a seat upon the floor of Congress, as amended, came up as unfinished business.

The following is the bill as amended by the Judiciary Committee:—"That the principal officer in each of the executive departments of the Confederate Government shall be entitled to a seat upon the floor of the Senate, subject to such rules as now exist, or may hereafter be adopted by the Senate, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.—Mr. Sparrow moved to amend, by inserting after the Senate when first occurring, the words "during the present Congress." The amendment was agreed to.—Mr. Haynes moved to amend by striking out the words "with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department."—Mr. Clark, of Missouri, spoke against the bill. It had been asserted that the admission of ministers to participate in legislative debate had worked well in England. That that was no argument why the custom should be adopted here, Mr. Clark undertook to show, from the difference in the institutions of the two countries. He would not have it understood that in opposing the bill he did so through any ill feeling towards either the President or either of the Secretaries. Such was not the case.—Mr. Oldham, of Texas, opposed the bill. The disadvantages of admitting the minister to participate in the debates had been seen in the Provisional Congress. Scarcely a single measure then advocated by either of the ministers had been

defeated. The measure would endanger the independence of Congress.—Mr. Wigfall said the words proposed to be struck out by the amendment of Mr. Haynes were a transcript of the language of the Constitution. If the amendment were adopted it would amount to a destruction of the bill. He had introduced the bill because he believed that the ministers, being present in Congress, could make many valuable suggestions on questions pertaining to the respective departments which would facilitate wise legislation, and that the ministers themselves would also receive many edifying suggestions. From an interchange of opinions the Government would be made more efficient. If the bill should pass, and the ministers will take seats in Congress, we would have no more inefficient men in either of the offices. No man would be appointed by the President who could not comprehend and understand the policy and views of the Executive. Ministers would thereafter be men of a high grade of ability.—Mr. Orr said that in the times of Washington the President's Messages were delivered in person, and he frequently took his cabinet ministers into Congress with him. The practice was relinquished on account of its inconvenience, and he had no doubt, should the bill pass, that ministers would absent themselves upon the ground that the press of business in their department would not allow them time to be present during the sessions of Congress. He however hoped the bill would pass; that ministers would not excuse themselves from attending. Much legislation would not have been omitted if means of information had been at hand, such as would be afforded by the presence in Congress of the ministers.—Mr. Yancey said he agreed with the Senator from Texas, (Mr. Wigfall) that the measure would have the effect of bringing into the Cabinet men of great ability. Great dialecticians and men cunning at intellectual fence would be put into those offices to enable them to carry through Congress the plans of the Executive, and the more superior these men were the greater would be their advantage over Senators. It was a very dangerous bill and ought to be rejected.—Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, said the Senator from Alabama had said that experience of this measure in the Provisional Congress had proved a failure, and cited as an example that more vetoes were put upon bills passed by that Congress than under the permanent Government. It should be borne in mind that the Provisional Congress consisted but of one House. There was no Senate, as at present, and this, no doubt, would account for the number of bills passed by it which the President had found it proper to veto. He would like to have the Secretary there in the Senate chamber to demand of him why he had dared to disregard the will of the Senate in such or such a matter. It would have a most salutary influence to have him there and look right into his eye while putting these interrogatories.—Mr. Hill thought the measure had worked well in the Provisional Congress. He had there seen information obtained in fifteen minutes which could not be obtained in this Congress in a month.—Mr. Hayes said he had offered the amendment to test the question whether the bill would pass. He called the question. The ayes and noes were demanded on the question.—Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, spoke at length in opposition to the bill.

The question being taken, Mr. Haynes's amendment was agreed to by yeas 14, nays 8.—Mr. Sparrow said that as the adoption of the amendment had virtually defeated the bill, he would move to postpone the subject indefinitely. The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 11.

Mr. Conrad, of Louisiana, introduced the following

RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO A RESTORATION OF PEACE.

Whereas, The present administration of the United States, by its reckless disregard of all constitutional restraints, by its persistent efforts to subvert the social institutions of these States, and the ferocious war which it is waging for that purpose has more than realized the worst apprehensions of our people, and fully justified their wisdom and foresight in averting, by a timely separation from the Union, the calamities which a longer continuance in it would have rendered inevitable; and whereas, a portion of the people of the United States have recently manifested their disapproval of the war, of the objects for which and the manner in which it is conducted, and their desire for its speedy termination, and several foreign Powers, notably the Government of France, have expressed a similar desire; now, therefore, the Congress of the Confederate States, deeply impressed with the conviction that it is their duty to leave no means untried to put an end to a contest injurious to the civilized world, and disastrous to the parties engaged; believing that its prolongation can only tend to embitter and perpetuate feelings of hostility between States which, however politically disunited, must ever be intimately connected by identity of race, of language, and of religion, and by the unalterable laws of geographical affinity, and of mutual demand and supply, deem the present time, when there is a momentary pause in the conflict, a suitable one to utter the words of peace. The Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States do therefore

"Resolve, That they will cordially co-operate with the Executive in any measures it may adopt, consistent with the honour, the dignity and independence of these States, tending to a speedy restoration of peace with all or with any of the States of the Federal Union."

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

THE CONFEDERATE SENATE ON THE DURATION OF THE WAR.

The following interesting debate, eliciting the opinions of individual senators on the probable duration of the war, took place on Monday, March 9, in the Confederate Senate:—

Mr. Maxwell, of Florida, introduced the following preamble and resolutions:—

Whereas a strong impression prevails throughout the country that the war, now being waged against the people of the Confederate States, may terminate during the present year; and whereas this impression is leading many patriotic citizens to engage largely in the production of cotton and tobacco, which they would not otherwise do; and whereas, in the opinion of Congress, it is of the utmost importance, not only with a view to the proper subsistence of our armies, but for the interest and welfare of all the people, that the agricultural labour of the country should be employed chiefly in the production of a supply of food to meet every contingency; therefore,

Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That it is the deliberate judgment of Congress, that the people of these States, while hoping for peace, should look to prolonged war, as the only condition proffered by the enemy,

short of subjugation; that every preparation necessary to encounter such a war should be persisted in; and that the amplest supply of provisions for armies and people should be the first object of all agriculturists. Wherefore, it is earnestly recommended that the people, instead of planting cotton and tobacco, shall direct their agricultural labour mainly to the production of such crops as will ensure a sufficiency of food for all classes, and for every emergency, thereby with true patriotism subordinating the hope of gain to the certain good of the country.

Resolved, That the President is hereby requested to issue a proclamation to the people of these States, urging upon them the necessity of guarding against the great perils of a short crop of provisions, and setting forth such reasons therefore as his judgment may dictate.

Mr. Maxwell expressed the opinion that those persons who expected the olive branch of peace would be offered to us by our enemies, were very much mistaken. Foreign intervention may or may not come, but he did not look for it. The Emperor of the French may choose to stop where he has recently placed the question. In England Earl Derby, who had been regarded as friendly to the South, had recently presented some very lame reasons for a very decided opposition to the recognition of the Confederacy. Look where we will, we find nothing to justify our people in directing their labours to the production of any crops except those required for a condition of war—cruel, ruthless war. It was with a view of impressing this fact upon the people that he had submitted these resolutions.

Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, expressed his concurrence in the remarks of Mr. Maxwell. He hoped that the resolutions would be passed by an undivided vote, and that the roll would be called in order that each may record his vote. The enemy, this day, are more hopeful of success than they were six months ago; and one of the chief causes of this reviving hope is the condition of the country, as they deem it, with reference to provisions, and they are carrying on the war with that idea. As they advance, they are destroying agricultural implements, burning fences, barns, gin houses, crops, &c. This fact is significant as to one of the means they have for prosecuting the war.

In regard to our foreign relations, Mr. Yancey remarked that never at any time has there been as little prospect of Great Britain taking any action towards recognition. Both the Opposition and Ministerial party entertain similar views upon this question. We can do without recognition, and we can prosecute the war to a successful termination without it. Mr. Yancey closed by declaring that, in his opinion, every acre of land should be cultivated for provisions for man and beast. There should be no cotton.

Mr. Clark, of Mobile, approved of the resolutions. He had no doubt, as the Senator from Alabama had remarked, that the Federal Government entertain the belief that their prospects are better than they were six months ago. The action of the out-going Congress in clothing Lincoln with dictatorial powers indicated a purpose to prosecute the war to a ruthless extent. He believed that all the acts of that Congress would be submitted to—in the North-west as well as in other portions of the North. Our friends in the North-west, if we have any, are not numerous enough to resist the enforcement of those laws. It is a delusion to suppose that the feeling in that section against the Administration will ripen into a rebellion. He knew something of the people there, and believed that they would submit to the Conscription and other Acts of the out-going Congress.

In Missouri, no one is now allowed to plant unless he gives bond and security to be loyal to Lincoln, and those who do not comply are banished. This war is now in its full blaze, and we must rally all our energies, display the utmost confidence in our rulers, and not stop to inquire whether this is right or wrong in immaterial matters. He had full hope if the agriculturists will raise an ample supply of provisions, that before next autumn no foot-print of a Yankee Vandal will be found in the land.

The question was then put on the adoption of the preamble and resolutions, and was decided in the affirmative—every Senator voting aye, except Messrs. Johnson, of Georgia, and Peyton, of Mobile, who were absent.

COMMERCIAL UNION.

(From the *Augusta [Georgia] Constitutionalist*.)

The United States are becoming fruitful of schemes, both warlike and peaceful; and we are rather fearful that the latter may prove more dangerous to us than the former. The Administration and its adherents still regard war as the only mode. Its policy is to subjugate us—not to restore the Union, but to restore the authority of the United States over the territory it claims; and, failing in that, to acknowledge our independence, hoping to make some terms which shall benefit it commercially. A part of the Opposition still cling to the delusion of restoring the Union as it was—by arms. Another portion would have a cessation of hostilities, that peaceful means may be allowed to work, and that intercourse and business relations may gradually restore the original condition. Another meditates secession, to cast its fortunes with the Confederates in political and commercial union. And still another, despairing of any restoration of the old relations, would give us peace and political independence, with commercial union only. These things are strong indications that the great Northern mass is becoming convinced that it can never be victorious, but that it is still loth to give up the South and the advantages it has derived therefrom.

An opposition member of the House, Mr. Henry May, of Baltimore, and an Abolition Senator, Mr. Conway, of Kansas, it appears, have both introduced measures looking to a separate political independence, but to a commercial union of the Confederate and United States. Conway, to prevent the secession of the West, would at once acknowledge our independence, on the basis of a common tariff, free trade between the sections, and a united declaration against European interference in the affairs of this continent. Mr. May would have a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of a commissioner to endeavour to restore the Union, but failing in that, to provide for the separation, not only of the Confederate States, but of any others which desire to secede, and to organize a system of commercial union among the whole, similar to the Zollverein among the German States, which he says is the plan suggested before his death by Judge Douglas. Both acknowledge that arms have failed, and must fail, either to conquer the South or restore the Union.

Half a loaf is better than no bread, thinks the North, and so, unable to retain the South in the same Government, she would fain endeavour to secure something from us. But will the Confederate States be so simple as to agree to the proposed commercial union? We have cheerfully given up the national glory and grandeur which pertained to us as a part of the old Union, and the national strength of that unity. To us

really belonged the glory of arms and administration in the old Government—to the North mainly the honour of commerce, and of letters and arts, such as they were. Having renounced these, is there anything glittering or alluring to us in the idea of commercial union with the United States? Assuredly not. Nor does the North suppose there is. The offer is an offer of commercial bondage on our part, and it is the price for which the enemy proposes to give us peace and political independence. Now, if we were growing weaker and less able to defend ourselves; if it appeared almost impossible to gain our entire independence except by long-continued and great havoc—by a war protracted for years, with all its horrors and enormities, producing almost total exhaustion, and likely to result in loss of our agricultural supremacy, then we might be pardoned for inclining to accept half a loaf—political independence with commercial vassalage.

We ought to know instinctively that the North would make no proposition to us but for her own advantage; that she is not yet prepared for peace, except coupled with conditions injurious to us and our best interests. But we should learn also that any proposition looking to peace is evidence of the hopelessness of Northern arms. The United States are learning valuable lessons, learning them rapidly and well at the hands of Lee and Longstreet, Johnston and Bragg, and Beauregard. Surely none can doubt that commercial union between us and the North would result in lasting injury to us, perhaps would ultimately bring about that greatest of evils, political re-union. Then the question is, are we so much exhausted, so tired of the war, so doubtful of final victory, so fearful of a protracted struggle, so blind to the accumulating evidences of Northern division and weakness, that we will pay the price of commercial bondage, with its train of ills, for the sake merely of a separate nationality? Surely we cannot; but rather let the teaching of Lee and his generals be continued; let that powerful finishing school be kept in unabated vigour; let all the energies of the people, as speedily and powerfully as possible, be brought to bear on the Abolition hosts. And thus may we hope soon to bring the North to peace on our own terms. After peace and independence, the Confederate President and Senate can determine commercial and all other relations with the United States, or what remains of it.

CONFEDERATE FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

The *Charleston Courier*, of the 24th of March, gives the following synopsis of the "Act to provide for the funding and further issue of Treasury Notes," which had passed both Houses of the Confederate Congress:—

1. All Treasury Notes not bearing interest, issued previous to 1st of December last, shall be fundable in 8 per cent. bonds or stock until 22nd April, 1863; thereafter, until 1st August next, in 7 per cents., and thereafter shall be no longer fundable at the pleasure of the holder, but be receivable in payment of public dues, except the export duty on cotton, and payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace. Notes issued after 1st December last, and within ten days after the passage of this Act, shall be fundable in 7 per cents. until 1st August next; thereafter shall be fundable only in 4 per cent. bonds. All such notes not funded shall be receivable, &c., as aforesaid. All call certificates outstanding on 1st July next, shall, after that date, be deemed to be bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest.

2. Authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue, monthly, amount of notes, not exceeding fifty millions of dollars, fundable within six months from date of issue, in 6 per cent. bonds; thereafter in 4 per cent. bonds.

3. Notes fundable in 6 per cent. bonds may be converted into call certificates bearing 5 per cent. per annum; and, if not reconverted within six months, shall be exchanged for a 6 per cent. bond. Notes fundable in 4 per cent. bonds may be converted, at any time, into call certificates, bearing 4 per cent. interest, until reconverted or paid.

4. All bonds or stock issued under this Act to be payable not less than thirty years after date, but shall be redeemable five years after date, at pleasure of the Government.

5. Authorizes the purchase of Treasury notes bearing no interest issued after passage of this Act until whole amount in circulation shall not exceed \$175,000,000.

6. The notes shall be of any denomination not less than \$5, now authorized by law.

7. Authorizes an increased issue of \$1 and \$2 notes, and also an issue of fifty cent. notes, not fundable.

8. Authorizes the sale of 6 per cent. bonds at par for Treasury notes issued since December 1 to such of the Confederate States as may desire to purchase the same, or the sale of such bonds when guaranteed by any State to an amount not exceeding \$200,000,000. Also authorizes the sale, at par, of \$100,000,000 coupon bonds, 6 per cent.—the coupons to be paid at the pleasure of the owner in currency, or in Cotton certificates, which pledge the Government to pay the same in Cotton, at the rate of 8d. sterling per pound, to be delivered at any time within six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace, at New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, or Wilmington, as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

9. Provides for the publication of the Act.

SALES OF IMPORTED GOODS.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, 24th March.)

Several cargoes of foreign goods having lately reached this city, parts of them will be offered to the public during this week, and the first sale took place yesterday at the store of Messrs. John G. Milnor and Co., on Meeting-street, consisting mostly of merchandise from the steamer *Havelock*. The following is a report of the prices brought by many of the articles:—

Panel saws, \$25 to \$36 per dozen; circular mill saws, \$23 to \$25 each; patent screws, \$4 per gross; nails, 4d. to 12d., \$7 per keg; patent English shot, \$1.25 per lb; rifle gunpowder, \$6.50 to \$7 per lb; percussion caps, \$1 to \$3.50 per box; shoe bills, \$1.50 per lb; catechu, \$1.75 per lb; extract of logwood, \$3 per lb; sal soda, 92½c. per lb; bi carb soda, \$2.72½ to \$2.80 per lb; wool cards, \$12 per pair; sulph morphine, \$21 per oz; copperas, \$1.30 per lb; pure tannin, \$4.25 per oz; sulph. potass, \$3.25 per lb; hyd. morphine, \$18.50 per oz; gum opium, \$43 per lb; balsam copaiva, \$12.50 to \$13.50 per lb; quicksilver, \$2.60 per lb; india rubber cloth, \$10 per lb; East India castor oil, \$17.25 to \$17.50 per gallon; green flint bottles, \$12 per gross; English tooth brushes, \$9 to 16.50 per dozen; dressing combs, \$20 per dozen; fine ivory and horn combs, \$10.25 to \$15 per dozen; extra French violet toilet soap, \$20 per dozen; candles, \$1 per lb; black pepper, \$2.75 per lb; Congou tea, \$4.87½ per lb; young Hyson tea, \$8 per lb; gunpowder tea, \$7.75 to \$10 per lb; London starch, \$1.35 per lb; London blue, \$4.50 per lb; London

salad oil, \$77 per dozen; Cognac brandy, \$140 to \$170 per dozen; Hennessy brandy, \$37.50 per gallon; Holland gin, \$97.50 per dozen; peach brandy, \$22 per gallon; sherry wine, \$52.50 per dozen; chewing tobacco, \$1.30 to \$1.47½ per lb; blue top matches, \$15 per gross; Florida segars, \$54 to \$68 per 1,000; cream laid and other letter paper, \$28.50 to \$39 per ream; ruled cap paper, \$39 to \$43 per ream; bank bill paper, \$72 per ream; filtering paper, \$13 per ream; wrapping paper, \$10 to \$28 per ream; bull, blue, and white envelopes, \$24 to \$42 per 1,000; Faber's lead pencils, \$102 per gross; French Nutria hats, \$7 to \$20.50 each; drab wool hats, \$3.12½ each; men's straw hats, \$5 each; patent leather calf skins, \$195 per dozen; shoe hides, \$2.87½ per lb; shoe thread, \$14.50 per lb; blue shoe thread and stitchins, \$12.50 per lb; ladies' coloured gaiters, \$6.25 per pair; ladies' black heeled gaiters, \$15.50 to 16.50 per pair; ladies' French heeled gaiters, \$17.75 to \$18 per pair; ditto satin and cashmere Congress gaiters, \$20 to \$21 per pair; prunella heeled slippers, \$10.75 per pair; men's patent leather gaiters, \$20.50 per pair; white Welch flannel, \$1.93 to \$2.30 per yard; blue twilled flannel, \$3 per yard; scarlet cloth, \$6 per yard; black doeskin cassimere, \$15.50 per yard; brown linen drills, \$2.95 per yard; white drills, \$1.87½ per yard; white duck, \$2.50 per yard; drab cassimere, \$8.50 per yard, bed ticking, \$1.60 per yard; mariners' stripes, \$1.70 to 1.77½ per yard; fancy denims, \$1.85 per yard; blue denims, \$1.72½ per yard; brown denims, \$1.67½ to \$1.80 per yard; blue drills, \$2.62½ per yard; black and coloured all wool delaines, \$3.50 to \$4.25 per yard; black do., do. \$2.50 to \$3.25 per yard; French merinos, \$6.25 per yard; poplins, stripes, &c., \$3 per yard; dark muslin delaines, \$1.75 per yard; black and white delaines, \$1.62½ per yard; blue and chocolate delaines, \$2 per yard; mohair debege, \$1.30 to \$50 per yard; barege anglaise, \$2.87½ to \$2.95 per yard; figured Orleans, \$1.15 to \$1.17½ per yard; Coat's spool cotton, 200 and 300 yards, equal quantities of each, \$5.25 per dozen; Clark's spool cotton, 200 yards, black and white, \$4.37½ to \$4.62½ per dozen; Clark's spool cotton, assorted colours, \$4 to \$4.30 per dozen; fancy prints, \$1.40 to \$1.80 per yard; mourning prints, \$1.72½ to 1.87½ per yard; coloured jacobets, \$2.52½ per yard; fancy organdy muslin, \$2.85 to 3 per yard; English bleached longcloth, \$1.37½ to \$2 per yard; cambrie longcloth, \$2.32½ per yard; pillow case cottons, \$2.07½ per yard; bleached shirting, \$1.42½ to \$1.65 per yard; fancy gingham, \$1.67½ per yard; coloured paper cambrics, \$1.80 per yard; Irish linen, \$4.05 per yard; long lawn, \$4.45 per yard; black alpaca, \$4 per yard; figured serge, \$3 per yard; linen cambric handkerchiefs, \$16.25 to \$18 per dozen; linen cambric handkerchiefs, hem stitched, \$65 per dozen; Turkey red handkerchiefs, \$25 per dozen; silk handkerchiefs, 7 in a piece, \$31 per piece; printed cotton handkerchiefs, \$17.50 per dozen; merino shirts, \$48 to \$90 per dozen, children's button boots, \$5.87½ per pair; children's and infants' ankle ties, \$3.25 to \$3.75 per pair; men's Oxford ties, \$15.25 to \$16 per pair; men's brogans, \$13 per pair.

SOUTHERN WAR NEWS.

The latest date of Southern papers received by us is 30th of March. The following is the telegraphic summary of news from the various seats of war, which appeared in the Richmond papers of that date:—

SUCCESSFUL CAVALRY RAID BY GENERAL FORREST.

The following official despatch was received on Saturday at the War Department:—

TELEGRAPH, March 27.—To General S. Cooper. A.G. and I.G.—General Van-Dorn reports that General Forrest made a successful visit to Brentwood with his division. He burnt the bridge and took all the property and arms, and captured 800 prisoners, including 35 officers. He lost three killed and five wounded. (Signed) BRAXTON BRAGG.

ANOTHER DESPATCH.

CHATTANOOGA, March 27.—The *Rebel* has received the following, dated Columbia, 26th:—

General Forrest captured yesterday at Brentwood, nine miles in the rear of Franklin, 800 prisoners, with their arms, ammunition, &c. He destroyed a large house of commissary stores, burnt the railroad bridge, tore up the track, and captured 17 covered wagons.

FROM KENTUCKY.

PANOLA, Mississippi, March 24.—The *Memphis Bulletin* is received. Louisville is being fortified, and citizens sympathizing with the Confederacy paroled. The Hetty Gilmore and crew had captured more Confederates on Green river. The Confederates had occupied Owenton, Kentucky. The sale of fire-arms had been prohibited at Indianapolis.

A Yankee despatch says Fort Pemberton cannot be attacked by infantry. The Confederate force there is estimated at 6,000. It is stated that the fort once passed, no danger is apprehended between there and Yazoo City. The next news, it was supposed, would be flattering. Five small boats had arrived in the Coldwater with reinforcements. The position of the enemy was unknown. The Mississippi was falling at Memphis.

MORGAN'S LATE FIGHT.

CHATTANOOGA, March 27.—Nothing additional from the front to-day.

The official report from General Morgan of his late fight states that it lasted six hours, and that he drove the enemy two miles, and they were heavily reinforced and held their position. Morgan says his loss in officers was heavy.

[ANOTHER ACCOUNT.]

AUGUSTA, March 28.—The *Chronicle* has a special despatch from McMinnville, Tennessee, March 27, which says that General Morgan had a severe fight with the Federals near Milton, on the 26th, which lasted five hours. The Federals were repulsed and driven eight miles. Our loss was, fifteen killed and 75 wounded. Federal loss about twice that number. They advanced in order to draw our forces from Liberty, but they were compelled to fall back to Murfreesboro'.

FROM TENNESSEE.

KNOXVILLE, March 28.—The report of the capture of the Federal General Carter's brigade by Humphry Marshall is not confirmed. The *Register* has received the following despatch:—

Wartrace, March 27.—There is daily skirmishing on the Shelbyville pike. The enemy's videttes are four and a half miles from Murfreesboro', and their pickets are at Stone's river. It is believed that the enemy is moving a heavy force on our left flank, in the direction of Columbia. The object is doubtless to form a connection with Grant, and thus cause the Confederates to fall back to Bridgeport. The enemy are devastating the country, burning fences, killing stock, forcing

off negroes, and stealing generally. A train ran off the track between this point and Shelbyville. No lives lost.

FROM VICKSBURG.

MOBILE, March 27.—A special to the *Appeal*, from Vicksburg, says:—"At 5 o'clock this morning four boats were seen advancing towards the upper batteries. A vigorous fire was opened upon them, driving back two, when the other two passed under a raking fire, almost every shot taking effect. One received a shot in her steam chest, compelling her crew to desert her, and in fifteen minutes she filled and sank. Part of her crew escaped to the opposite shore. The boat that escaped is supposed to be the Benton, badly disabled. One shot penetrated her steam drum, disabling her so badly that the Albatross came up to tow her out of danger of our gunboats.

FROM FORT PEMBERTON.

MOBILE, March 27.—The *Jackson Appeal* says the intelligence that the enemy has appeared again in front of Fort Pemberton is confirmed. On Monday afternoon firing took place, but the result is not known.

COTTON WARRANTS.—In explanation of the statement published this morning relating to the cotton warrants representing nearly 2,000,000 lbs. of the staple which are in circulation, we have been requested to intimate that they are those which were issued to Mr. Z. L. Pearson, who had large transactions with the Confederate States, and that when that gentleman failed and became bankrupt, they passed into the hands of his assignees, who are now seeking to effect sales of them at as good a price as they can, to increase the assets of the estate. Unfortunately the price is placed at 6d. per lb., whereas in the Cotton Bond it is not above 5½d. or 5¼d., so that the latter is in a better position for those who may desire to make investments on this account. These cotton warrants form an exceptional parcel, and were not issued at the full price of 6d. per lb., but the assignees are justified, if they can, in getting the increased terms for the benefit of the creditors. All other cotton warrants have been withdrawn, and are under lock and key, and never will be reissued now that the Confederate Cotton Loan has been so successfully completed.—*City Article, Morning Herald*, April 22.

THE SPY SYSTEM IN LIVERPOOL.—Under this heading the following paragraph appeared in *The Times* of Friday:—"It is currently reported that the head constable of Liverpool, acting under instructions from the Government, is employing detectives Cousin, Skaffe, Smith, and Horne to go about incog. and obtain information respecting suspicious vessels, and also to watch the movements of leading Confederates. It is alleged that these detectives have already attempted to bribe the employees of certain firms. It is understood that the Mayor was first called upon to initiate this spy system, but declined, and that it is done against the wishes of the Watch Committee." The truth of the above, after being rashly denied *in toto* on 'Change on Friday morning, was substantially confirmed the same evening by Sir George Gray. That our head constable received instructions to make inquiries into alleged designs to infringe the Foreign Enlistment Act, and that he has employed a detective with that purpose is now admitted—it matters not whether one or more detectives are employed—but it is denied that bribery has been authorized. It is, however, well known that a number of private detectives have been employed for the same purpose; also, that attempts have been made to bribe employees. Who, then, is to distinguish between the official detective and the private spy? Neither wear uniform, and both conceal their object. It may be doubted whether any detective would hesitate to bribe if it served his purpose, and just now information—true or false—is at a premium in the Federal consulate. Probably if detectives had more money at their disposal—when there is no reward as an incentive—the detective system would be more successful as a rule. We are not in the confidence of the mayor, but that his worship is a willing party to these measures we take the liberty of doubting. As chief magistrate he is bound to transmit orders from Government to the head of the police, but that certainly does not make him a *particeps criminis* in an unpopular proceeding. As for the Watch Committee's part in this matter little need be said. Having no jurisdiction in a case where the prerogative of the Crown is put in force, they cannot exercise any control over their own servant, or even demand information from him. They can only refuse to supply the ways and means for prosecuting inquiries, which they would have done if called upon. When we see an official intimation from the Watch Committee that they have willingly acquiesced in the orders given to the head constable we may credit the assertions to that effect which have been made, but not until then. It is but right to say that the head constable is only acting up to his instructions, which he has strictly to carry out irrespective of personal feeling, and we know, from a lengthened experience, that he will not, as far as in him lies, take any measure calculated to lower the position of the police force and its head. His duties in this case are of an unpopular nature, but that is his misfortune, and not his fault.—*Liverpool Albion*.

MILLROY'S OPERATIONS.—The accounts recently received from the valley confirm those previously had of the tyranny exercised by Millroy in his rule in that section. We learn that on Monday, the 16th of the present month, a body of the enemy made a raid from Harper's Ferry, through Lovettsville and Waterford, to Leesburg. Their force consisted of three hundred cavalry and several pieces of artillery. At Leesburg they took a number of valuable horses, and seized several citizens as hostages and carried them off. Being harassed by a portion of Waite's cavalry as far as Hillsborough, the latter were in turn pursued by the enemy as far as Purcellville and Woodgrove. As the enemy returned back above Hillsborough they stopped at the house of Mr. John Thompson, and under the pretence that he had harboured "rebel soldiers" applied the torch to his premises, valued at \$10,000, and reduced the whole to ruins. At the time of committing this outrage the vandals announced their intention of burning up the houses of ten other rebel sympathisers in the same neighbourhood. Millroy is carrying out fully Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in the valley. In Clark and Jefferson all the negroes are being carried off. The enemy went to Dr. Wm. McGuire's house, near the Shenandoah, and his negroes refusing to leave, the women and children were put in waggons and the men made to follow them to Winchester.—*Richmond Despatch*, March 30.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD has officially presented the sword taken from the commander of the captured Federal steamer *J. P. Smith*, to Lieut.-Colonel Joseph A. Yates, as a token of appreciation of his distinguished conduct in the capture of the said steamer.

THE PATENT FILE MACHINE,
AND FILE MANUFACTURING COMPANY, (LIMITED.) Makers of every description of Steel and Files suitable for Engineers, Machinists, Agricultural Implement Makers, and for the general and export trade. Works,--Ashton Old-road, Manchester.

VALUES of GOLD.—WATHER-
STON and BROGDEN, for the information of the public and their numerous patrons beg to make the following announcement regarding the VALUE of GOLD, feeling persuaded that the interests of the fair trader and public will be alike protected by the wide circulation of knowledge on the subject. Gold being divided into 24 parts or carats, it follows that gold of

Per oz.	Per oz.
24 carats fine is	13 carats £2 6 0
worth £1 4 11	12 ditto 2 2 5½
23 ditto 4 1 5	11 ditto 1 18 11
22 ditto (British	10 ditto 1 15 4½
standard) 3 17 10½	9 ditto 1 11 10
21 carats 3 14 4	8 ditto 1 8 3½
20 ditto 3 10 9½	7 ditto 1 4 9
19 ditto 3 7 3	6 ditto 1 1 2½
18 ditto 3 3 8½	5 ditto 0 17 8
17 ditto 3 0 2	4 ditto 0 14 2
16 ditto 2 16 7½	3 ditto 0 10 7½
15 ditto 2 13 1	2 ditto 0 7 1
14 ditto 2 9 6½	1 ditto 0 3 6½

Manufactory, 16, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London, W.C.
N.B. Assays made of Chains and Jewellery for 1s. each.

Notice.—This Establishment is closed at six o'clock in the evening, and on Saturdays at one o'clock.

18mo., cloth, extra gilt edges, price 1s.,
BEN RHYDDING, THE ASCLE-
PION OF ENGLAND: its Beauties, its Ways, and its Water Cure. By the Rev. R. W. THOMSON. With Map of the Railway Routes to Ben Rhydding. Third Edition.

T. NELSON and SONS, London and Edinburgh. To be had, free by post for 13 stamps, of SHUTTLE-WORTH, Bookseller, Ilkley.

2000 CAVALRY SABRES (French Chasseurs). Also Officers' Swords, Surgical Scissors, and Trusses, for sale, in lots to suit purchasers.
Enquire at the office of THE INDEX.

SHIRTS.—International Exhibition. Class 27 C. No. 4872. Prize Medal and honourable mentions 1851 and 1862. Shirts, Collars, Flannels, and every description of underclothing manufactured on the premises.

J. BRIE and Co.,
43, Conduit Street, Regent Street, W.
The only Shirtmakers admitted as Exhibitors at the International Exhibition of 1862.

TWO PRIZE MEDALS awarded
"For General Excellence" in DRESSING CASES, BAGS, DESPATCH BOXES, &c. Gentlemen's Travelling Bags, Useful Size, 11s. 6d.; Full Size, 18s. 6d.; Large Size, 21s. Courier Bags, with Shoulder Strap, from 10s. 6d. Morocco Ladies' Bags, 10s. 6d., 12s. 6d., 14s. 6d., 18s. 6d., and 21s. Tourists' Writing Cases, 8s. 6d., 10s. 6d., to 21s. Finest Cutlery in Razors, Scissors, Needles, &c.
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H. LEVY AND SON,
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